

**ROME'S BUCOLIC LANDSCAPES:
PLACE, PROPHECY, AND POWER IN *AENEID* VIII**

by

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Chapter I

Introduction

This dissertation was born of an observation and an intuition; the former, that *Aeneid* book VIII is filled with bucolic imagery; and the latter, that this was such a patent and recurring feature of the text, that it could be no accident. After all, book VIII is where Aeneas comes face to face with Greek Arcadians, who were associated with the bucolic tradition from its inception. This line of research is important because it would explore how Vergil goes back to his earlier work and builds upon it. From these observational roots springs the basic organization of this work. Each of the next three chapters deals with an instance of sustained bucolic allusion in the text (the story of Hercules and Cacus, the grove in which Aeneas receives the Shield, Evander's story of Italian prehistory and the Golden Age), analyzing it in terms of its intertexts and formal characteristics in order to develop a reading of the passage that takes the bucolic material properly into account. It is only in the fifth chapter that I attempt to place this material into a broader theoretical context based on observations made in the previous chapters. What emerges is a construction of Roman power in which Vergil as *vates* appeals to history and imperial destiny as a necessary background to evaluating Augustan rule. Perhaps most unique is the way that this appeal is addressed to the contemporary Roman reader through the medium of generic variation, and the way in which, in Vergil, rereading becomes a means to engage in a discourse about Roman power.

From the beginning, I have striven to be as undogmatic as possible, by which I mean that I have wished to let the formal features of the text emerge naturally in the course of examination, and only then to find the theoretical model which best seems to accommodate those features. As it turns out, this was a model heavily indebted to some work of Gregory Nagy on Homer.¹ In the work in question, Nagy draws on Bakhtin's essay "Epic and Novel",² as well as Prague-school linguistics,³ to show how genres can interact in dialogical fashion to present two alternative temporal perspectives.⁴ The advantage of this scheme is that one need not espouse any of the essentializing descriptions of genre that Bakhtin presents at various times; one only needs two markedly different genres that seem to align with markedly different attributes in the narrative in question, not, once again, in other contexts, or in some essentially defined way. In other words, it is the confrontation of epic and bucolic in *Aeneid* VIII that provides the clue that the reader is being presented with two mutually exclusive time frames: the radically distant epic past on the one hand, and contemporary Rome on the other.

I. Some Formal Features: Place, Prophecy, Power

It was heartening to find some strong structural and thematic similarities in the bucolic passages that I examined; I took these as evidence that there was indeed something meaningful going on in the text. The first, and most striking, was the text's insistence on introducing each passage by means of an artistic description of landscape, a

¹ Nagy (2002).

² Bakhtin (1981).

³ Especially Kurylowicz (1966); for more on relevant aspects of Prague-school linguistics, see Waugh (1982). Nagy (1990) represents earlier work within this theoretical framework.

⁴ Nagy (2002) 79.

type of *ekphrasis* known as *topothesia*. The Hercules narrative begins with a description of the site of Cacus's cave and the valley below; Aeneas's reception of the shield is preceded by a description of the sacred grove and surrounding countryside; and Evander's Golden Age story begins with a reference to the woods, which in turn serves as a bridge for a description of its ancient inhabitants. These bucolic *loci* act also as *loci* for bucolic allusions, which, I maintain, are instrumental in helping to highlight and interpret the latent issues of Roman power and its teleological justification.

Vergil returns again and again to material from the same *Eclogues* in these allusions: *Eclogue* IV, with its prophecies of the Golden Age and its optimistic reading of history; *Eclogue* VI, which presents yet another historical reading and locates that reading in relation to philosophy as well as to a meditation on divine song; and *Eclogue* X and its preoccupation with the possibility for human happiness. Along with these I have also chosen to focus on the end of *Georgics* II as a relevant allusion of bucolic character, particularly where it praises rustic life and traces virtue to its roots in the ancient Italian landscape. Of course, the allusive content of the relevant passages of *Aeneid* VIII includes much more than these poems, and those other allusions are discussed in their appropriate chapters. But the poems mentioned above are central to the dialogue which Vergil, as writer of the *Aeneid* and poet of the march of Roman history from its inception to Augustus, seems to have with himself as writer of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, a kind of consideration of the progress of his own history and ideas *ab origine*.⁵ This meditation is resolved (and the poems above represent aspects of this movement) through the adoption of the mantle of *vates*, a role both prophetic and

⁵ Or perhaps a construction of that progress in a manner very similar to that christened "Do-it-yourself literary tradition" in Hinds (1998) 123-9.

political, and with deep ties (real or imagined) to traditional Roman culture and belief. All of these ideas are eminently *à propos* in *Aeneid* VIII.

Structurally, these scenes exist alongside other, non-bucolic scenes, thus vividly enacting the dialectic between epic and bucolic genres that forms the basis of my theoretical formulation in chapter V. The Hercules scene follows on a conventional heroic-epic exchange of greetings and feast; Aeneas's encounter with Venus in the sacred grove leads to the *ekphrasis* of the Shield, with its links to epic tradition in the *Iliad* as well as the Homeric *Scutum*; the story of the Golden Age and tour through the future site of Rome is followed by the Homeric seduction of Vulcan by Venus and the subsequent description of the crafting of the Shield itself. What is important in this alternation is primarily the way in which literary filiations are so strongly emphasized, in order to make the distinctions in genre a marked feature of the text.

II. The Tiber River: A Case Study

I shall provide a brief example of my method by pointing out some features of Aeneas's dream encounter with the river Tiber at the opening of *Aeneid* VIII.⁶ This river is first described in lines 30-35, after a troubled Aeneas has fallen asleep:

huic [Aeneas] deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amoeno
populeas inter senior se attollere frondes
visus (eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu
carbassus, et crinis umbrosa tegebat harundo),
tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis:

⁶ For a good overview of research on the Tiber in Vergil, see Horsfall (1990a). Cf. also Benario (1978). On this particular passage, see Boas (1938); Buchheit (1963) 176-80; and Eden (1975) *ad loc.* On the different names for the Tiber in the *Aeneid*, see now Cairns (2006).

The god of the place, the old man of the Tiber himself, seemed to him [Aeneas] to
rise
Among poplar leaves, up from the beautiful river –
He was dressed in a garment of linen, shimmering and sheer,
And the shady reed capped his locks –
Then he seemed to speak, and redeem his cares with these words:

The brilliant description encompasses both setting and character, applying equally well, as it does, to both river and god. The reader knows that Aeneas lies close to the future site of Rome, and the linen garment evokes the sails of future riverine traffic.⁷ In case any of his readers were too literal-minded in taking the description to refer strictly to the river's personification, Vergil has placed his description scant lines after his famous simile for Aeneas, who sends his mind racing

in partisque rapit varias perque omnia versat,
sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aenis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia pervolitat late loca...

And hastens it to various places, wheels it over everything,
Just like when trembling light is struck from a bronze basin
Filled with water, by sunlight or moon's radiant image,
And flits over everything around it...

Vergil, *Aeneid* VIII.21-24.

This passage associates gleaming and water, thus preparing the reader to take the description of the shimmering god Tiber as simultaneously describing the river. Already we see the first formal feature, the description of the landscape, at play in order to evoke the future grandeur of Rome.

The river then speaks to Aeneas in his dream, telling him not to fear, because he is at the site of his people's permanent settlement: *hic tibi certa domus*, "here is a safe home

⁷ Ennius (*Ann.* 573), Vergil (*Aen.* IV.417), and Ovid (*Ep.* VII.171; *Fasti* VI.715; *Met.* XI.477) use *carbasus* in this sense, meaning sail. Cf. *OLD* s.v. "carbasus."

for you” (VIII.40), and *ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis / Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam*, “when thirty years have passed, Ascanius of the famous name shall establish Alba” (VIII.47-8). Aeneas is repeatedly told that the river’s report is truthful, *ne vana putes haec fingere somnum*, “lest you think that a dream invents these things to no end” (VIII.42), *haud incerta cano*, “I sing sure things” (VIII.49), and proof is even offered to him in the form of the omen of the white sow surrounded by her thirty piglets, which he will see on the shore (VIII.42-5). Here the element of prophecy is evident⁸, as well as its relation to Rome’s future. Thus we have prophecy, our second formal element, along with some inklings of a dialogue about imperial power.

To modern readers, familiar with such poems as Milton’s *Lycidas*, Vergil’s description of the river may seem straightforwardly a part of pastoral tradition: “O fountain *Arethuse* and thou honour’d flood, / Smooth-sliding *Mincius*, crown’d with vocall reeds” (*Lycidas*, 85-6); and “Next *Camus*, reverend Sire, went footing slow, / His mantle hairy, and his bonnet sedge” (103-4). We must indeed beware of foisting our own understanding of the genre back on Vergil and his readers; yet Milton is astute in his associations, noting the similarities of language between *Aeneid* VIII’s description of the Tiber and some of the *Eclogues*. First there is *Eclogue* VII, which sets up its pastoral landscape in the following terms: *huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuvenci, / hic viridis tenera praetexit harundine ripas / Mincius, eque sacre resonant examina quercu*, “The cows, of their own volition, will come hither over the fields for a drink; here Mincius

⁸ The name ‘Thybris’ in particular may have already had prophetic associations, being derived from an Etruscan form and quite possibly having been drawn from the Sybilline Oracles. See Horsfall (1990a); Meister (1916) 64-70; le Gall (1953) 50-3; and Momigliano (1966) 616, 625. Cf. also Reed (2007) 6 n. 9; and (1998) 401-4, where he claims that the names of the Tiber in the *Aeneid* could be used to evoke Rome’s multiethnic identity.

covers the shores with the flexible reed, and the swarms echo sacred song from the oaks” (VII.11-13.). The reedy banks lend cover in both passages, and the river’s covering is characterized as light or flexible in both; both are the sites of sacred sound among trees. Even the differences seem meaningful: where Mincius has oaks, Tiber has poplars, sacred to Hercules (also mentioned later in *Eclogue* VII.61, *populus Alcidae gratissimo*, “the poplar pleases Alcides greatly”), who will soon appear in *Aeneid* VIII and let his cows drink from the river, *vallemque boves amnemque tenebant*, “the cows filled the place and crowded the river” (VIII.204), much as the herdsmen of *Eclogue* VII do at the Mincius. As an added note, the herdsmen of the *Eclogue* are *Arcades* (VII.4, 26), Arcadians, as are the men to whom Tiber sends Aeneas: *Arcades his oris...delegere locum et posuere in montibus urbem*, “Arcadians chose a place on these shores and built a city in the hills” (*Aeneid* VIII.51, 53).

Eclogue X features the river Arethusa, to whom the speaker appeals for help. He begins with an address: *Extremum hunc, Arethusa, mihi concede laborem*, “Grant me this final deed, Arethusa” (X.1), and follows it with a conditional wish: *sic tibi, cum fluctus subterlabere Sicanos, / Doris amara suam non intermisceat undam, / incipe*, “Thus begin, and may bitter Doris not mingle her flow with your own as you sweep ‘neath Sicilian waves” (X.4-6). The Latin makes it clear that what is meant is that, if the river helps, then the speaker casts his wish that his flood may retain its sweetness. And what, finally, is the task with which the speaker requires the river’s aid? *Carmina sunt dicenda*, “songs are to be sung” (X.3). The situational parallels between this proem to the *Eclogue* and Aeneas’s encounter with the river are striking: the river gives his aid in the form of a speech, a prophecy in the form of a hexameter *carmen*. And Aeneas, awaking from the

dream, addresses the river and asks for its further aid, complete with the usual promise of benefit in return:

“Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est,
tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto,
accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis...
semper honore meo, semper celebrabere donis
corniger Hesperidum fluvius regnator aquarum.
Adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes.”

“Nymphs, Laurentine nymphs, whose race does spring from the rivers,
And you, father Thybris, along with your sacred flow,
Protect Aeneas and ward off these final dangers...
I will always hold you in honor and celebrate you with gifts,
O horn-bearing River, ruler of western waters.
Only, be by my side, and draw your protection nearer.”

Aeneid VIII.71-3, 76-8.

The *extremus labor* of *Eclogue* VII finds its parallel in the *tandem arcete periclis* of *Aeneid* VIII. Yet there is a more specific descriptive correspondence in these passages than the situation, namely the description of the river sinking down: *dixit, deinde lacu fluvius se condidit alto / ima petens*, “The river spoke, then it hid itself in the deep lake, seeking the bottom” (*Aeneid* VIII.66-7), which recalls the Arethusa sinking down beneath the Sicilian currents while maintaining its own integrity as a body of water. This motif is repeated a few lines later in Aeneas’s invocation to the river, where he says ‘*quo te cumque lacus miserantem incommoda nostra / fonte tenent*’, “in whichever fount the lakes hold you, who take pity on our pains” (*Aeneid* VIII.74-5). Thus the language of the Tiber description recalls specific *Eclogues*, as well as introducing more generic elements of bucolic, such as the address to the Nymphs that Aeneas inserts into his address of the river.⁹

⁹ Theocritus also associated Arethusa with a Thybris at *Idyll* I.117-8: χαῖρ’, Ἀρέθουσα, / καὶ ποταμοὶ τοὶ χεῖτε καλὸν κατὰ Θύβριδος ὕδωρ. As the scholia make clear, this

Having established these basic facts, it is then necessary to explain what these bucolic allusions amount to. As this forms the bulk of each chapter, it would exceed the bounds of this brief example to pursue such a reading in too much detail. I hope that for present purposes, a mere sketch will suffice. In this case, there is an interesting dialogue between *Eclogue X* and the river passage in the *Aeneid*. In *Eclogue X*, Gallus creates an imaginary world for himself in which he temporarily escapes his pain and wanders among the Arcadian landscape, only to find himself unable to sustain the fantasy. He must acknowledge that his song is not *nostris medicina furoris*, “the cure for our madness” (*Eclogue X.60*), for indeed the god Amor’s sway is too strong: *non illum nostri possunt mutare labores*, “our pains cannot change him” (*X.64*), he laments. His only option: *omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus Amori*, “Love conquers all; let us, too, surrender to Love” (*X.69*). Aeneas’s path is to follow the river god, as well as to attempt to propitiate Juno, as the river recommends (*VIII.59-61*). In the midst of this, however, he too wanders among Arcadians and their landscapes, and must take up arms.¹⁰ He is an anti-type of Gallus; his piety and the gods are upheld. Is it possible that this reversal enjoins another, a return to *furor* in the end, rather than a move away from it? Or is it more complex than that, calling into question the categories of madness, action, fate, and the gods?

originally referred to a different river (or mountain) in Sicily, but the passage would have been ripe for reinterpretation by Vergil. Servius ad *Aen.* III.500 refers to this tradition when he claims that the Tiber was so named by Sicilian refugees after a *fossa Syracusana*, a Syracusan moat.

¹⁰ Gallus complains in *Ecl. X* that *nunc insanus amor duri me Martis in armis / tela inter media atque adversos detinet hostis*, “Now reckless love detains me, equipped with the arms of pitiless Mars, in the midst of spears, and before me my enemies” (*X.44-5*).

There will be a lot more about *Eclogue X* and divine discourse in following chapters, and more about the recurring language of water, rivers, and cold in that poem as well. But along with considerations about how the poems interact to lend perspective to the action of the characters and their values, there is the added element of Vergil's encounter with his earlier poetry. If Vergil seems to support Rome's divinely-ordained empire (and its divinely fated emperor, Augustus) in the *Aeneid*, on what does he base that support, and how do those underlying ideas compare with the ideas in his earlier poetry, which he takes the opportunity to revisit in *Aeneid VIII*? These are the sorts of questions that this dissertation is intended to address, beginning with a discussion of the encounter between Hercules and Cacus in chapter II.

III. Bucolic and Definition

One final matter remains to be briefly addressed. As undogmatic as I have striven to be, my argument does take some things for granted, as any argument must, and among these is the particularly thorny issue of genre. I therefore feel that I must present some brief *apologia* on behalf of my use of the generic term "bucolic." For the uninitiated, this may seem a pedantic digression, but in fact pastoral, bucolic, and their definitions are highly contested terms even within the narrow realm of classical studies. Another important issue at stake in defining bucolic is the recognition of bucolic material when it occurs outside of a bucolic context. Without some concrete standard for what constitutes bucolic, one runs the risk of making circular arguments.

First, as to the term itself, I have chosen to use the word bucolic rather than pastoral, in accordance with the view that 'pastoral' carries too many associations from

the later tradition.¹¹ In particular, the term is loaded down by associations with herdsmen which are more a reflection of Vergil's influence on subsequent poetic practice than his own use of the source material.¹² Although Vergil does concentrate on the theme of herdsmen in many of his *Eclogues*, he is willing to draw from bucolic sources which do not fit this categorization, such as the urban mime of Theocritus *Idyll* II.¹³ Therefore such a term is unsuitable for a study, like mine, which concentrates on Vergil's reception of Theocritean and post-Theocritean material.¹⁴

However, my use of "bucolic" is at variance with the use of the term among many Theocritean scholars, who consider Vergil part of the later tradition, and thus include him in the category of pastoral.¹⁵ These scholars go on to look for the characteristics of bucolic in Theocritus' work, and so their definitions are too specific for my purposes.¹⁶ I must therefore have recourse to a definition of the term that incorporates features of both the "pastoral" and "bucolic." In particular, I will establish a historical definition of bucolic for the pre-*Aeneid* material (since Vergil draws on this material as part of a

¹¹ See Krevans (2006) 127; Van Groningen (1958-9); and Alpers (1990). For different views, see Hubbard (1998) 20-1; and Alpers (1996) 145-161. For some definitions of pastoral, see Alpers (1996); Poggioli (1975); Rosenmeyer (1969); and Empson (1935).

¹² For recent discussions, see Bernsdorff (2006), esp. 168; and Reed (2006) 211 and n. 12.

¹³ Posch (1969) 15-27 includes a complete catalogue of references to Theocritus in Vergil.

¹⁴ "Bucolic," of course, also refers to herdsmen, but through the vagaries of modern scholarly debate the term has developed much less baggage around this idea than "pastoral."

¹⁵ See, for example, Gutzwiller (1991) 6-9; Hutchinson (1988) 144-6; Halperin (1983); and Rosenmeyer (1969).

¹⁶ For definitions of bucolic based on Theocritus, see Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 153; Hubbard (1998) 20-1; Gutzwiller (1991); Van Sickle (1976) 21; and Van Groningen (1958-9) 300-1. For a more capacious definition, see Halperin (1983) 118-257.

tradition), and a formal definition for use in determining what counts as legitimately bucolic in Vergil's *Georgics* and *Aeneid*.

The first concern is to literally define bucolic prior to Vergil's *Aeneid*, that is, to set the bounds around what counts as bucolic for allusive purposes. In terms of the Greek material, I shall ultimately turn to the concept of the bucolic corpus itself. Though we know that this corpus existed in a variety of different forms, and thus individual poems may become objects of debate, its existence is not really in doubt.¹⁷ Ancient use of the term "bucolic" sheds no clearer light on what is meant other than hexameter poems¹⁸; the evidence for dialect is inconsistent.¹⁹ Thus I think that it is fair to define any hexameter poem in the bucolic corpus as "bucolic," since this seems compatible with the ancient usage.²⁰ In terms of the Latin, it is straightforwardly Vergil's *Eclogues*.

The second concern is to determine what may be legitimately called bucolic in the remainder of Vergil's body of work. It is easier to define Vergil's bucolic than Greek bucolic broadly understood, because the former is more focused. Vergil's reception of the Greek bucolic tradition seems to me no mere *imitatio*, but rather an agonistic *aemulatio*; he refines the disparate subject matter of Greek bucolic into a smoother collection in which the herdsman is a key figure. I therefore propose to adopt a modified form of Alpers' definition of pastoral in regard to Vergil's use of the genre, which entails

¹⁷ See Gow (1952) v-xi on the manuscripts and papyri, especially p. viii on Artemidorus Tarsensis' collection of bucolic poems.

¹⁸ See *Suda* θ 166 Adler, which describes Theocritus' poetry as τὰ καλούμενα Βουκολικὰ ἔπη Δωρίδι διαλέκτῳ, or "the so-called bucolic hexameter poetry in Doric dialect." See also Gutzwiller (1996) on bucolic as a title for Theocritus' poetry.

¹⁹ Scholia Ap. Rh. *ad loc.* I.1236 and 1289 refers to the Ionic *Idyll* XIII as bucolic.

²⁰ This is in accordance with the broad definition in Halperin (1983). It also seems to accord with Vergil's practice.

two characteristics: herdsmen and their lives, and convention.²¹ The second item has been best expressed by Nita Krevans: “The ‘conventions’ (read: artificial limitations) of the pastoral world...depend on an internal and external audience who accept the invitation of the poet and who recognize the importance of poetic inheritance in the pastoral tradition.”²² This second item is of key importance, although admittedly vague. In fact, it is its vagueness that I feel makes it a necessary adjunct to the certainty of the first.

In this, I follow philosopher of language John Searle when he writes that “it is a condition of the adequacy of a precise theory of an indeterminate phenomenon that it should precisely characterize that phenomenon as indeterminate; and a distinction is no less a distinction for allowing for a family of related, marginal, diverging cases.”²³ To many literary theorists, this raises the problem of verification, and rightfully so, argues Searle, so long as the demand is not for some kind of mechanical criterion. In a discussion of intentionality, Searle writes:

How do we tell what a person's intentions are? The answer is, in all sorts of ways, and we may even get it wrong in the apparently most favorable cases. But such facts as these—that there is no mechanical decision procedure for identifying an author's intentions, or for determining whether or not a work is a work of fiction or whether an expression is used metaphorically—in no way undermines the concepts of intention, fiction, and metaphor. Our use of these concepts and our distinctions between the intentional and the unintentional, the literal and the metaphorical, and between fictional and nonfictional discourse is grounded in a complex network of linguistic and social practices. In general these practices neither require nor admit of

²¹ On the former, see Alpers (1996) 22. On the latter, see Alpers (1996) 79-93; and Alpers (1983). I have made one major modification to Alpers' formulation in my discussion above: whereas he opposes character to setting, I don't find it inconsistent to conflate the two. After all, Alpers correctly extends the figure of herdsmen metonymically to include their 'lives'; this should, to my mind, also include their milieu.

²² Krevans (2006) 130. See also Hubbard (1998) 21.

²³ Searle (1983) 79

rigorous internal boundary lines and simple mechanical methods of ascertaining the presence or absence of a phenomenon.²⁴

These are the principles that lie at the heart of my definitions of bucolic, definitions that for the most part focus on existing manifestations of the genre, but which acknowledge that the tradition has defining characteristics (such as herdsman). The quotes provided also have the advantage of revealing my own philosophical and methodological biases towards pragmatic analytic philosophy.²⁵

²⁴ Searle (1983) 79.

²⁵ In fact, Searle's perspective has the potential for correcting a major shortcoming of generic theory in classics, namely, an over-reliance on texts as a form of mechanical criterion for any type of attempt at generic definition. As a stroll through a bookstore or a browse through Netflix will show, genre is a construct that, while clearly existing and functioning, defies any rigid definition in terms of a single or any combination of concrete examples.

Chapter II

Echoes from the cave: Bucolic allusion and the Cacus episode

Iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem,
Disiectae procul ut moles desertaque montis
Stat domus et scopuli ingentem traxere ruinam.
Hinc spelunca fuit vasto summota recessu...

First, now, look at this cliff that hangs from the rock,
How masses of stone have been thrown far asunder, and lonely
A hill home remains, and the cliffs have cast an avalanche vast
Down upon it. Here was a cavern, encased in deserted recess...

Aeneid VIII.190-3

Evander's retelling of the fight between Hercules and the monster Cacus in *Aeneid VIII* begins with this description of the broken cliff, an appeal to the physical evidence before Aeneas lest he believe the Arcadians' celebration of Hercules as savior was the result of some empty superstition (*vana superstitio*, *Aeneid VIII.187*). Yet this description of place, or *topothesia*, simultaneously appeals to the Roman reader in the same terms; after all, they too can see the famous hill and its great altar, the *Ara Maxima*, and know the truth that lies behind Vergil's report. This system of resonances, whereby Vergil makes use of a single event both to advance the action, i.e., for dramatic purposes, as well as for metapoetic purposes, as an address to the audience that suggests a parallel

interpretation of the lines, applies equally to his use of allusion. It is this system of parallel resonances, or echoes,²⁶ which this chapter purports to investigate.

More specifically, the chapter will examine the way that Vergil's *topothesia* of the Aventine hill and its surroundings allude to bucolic poetry, establishing a dialogue with the earlier tradition that colors the events of the story. The first section will explore the ways in which Vergil signposts the multivalent function of his landscape description in the action of the narrative, making it clear that the place is also a *locus* of bucolic allusions.²⁷ The second section will begin exploring these allusions, concluding that Vergil's use of material from *Eclogues* IV and VI, as well as *Idyll* XXIV, constitutes a strong claim of prophetic authority on behalf of the text, no surprise when a descendant of the nymph Carmentis is speaking. Finally, section three will show that the claim for prophetic authority is itself the springboard for an intertextual dialogue between the *Aeneid* passage and the *Eclogues* about the role of violence in history, both in the time of mythic heroes such as Hercules and in a time much closer to the Roman reader, the end of civil wars and the establishment of the Augustan principate.²⁸

²⁶ Hinds (1998) 5-10 contains an excellent discussion of echo as "allusive self-annotation" and "allusion troped as recognition, a signpost integral to the narrative." His discussion was in part inspired by Hollander (1981) 13, where the echoes of *Hyla, Hyla* in *Ecl.* VI.44 are briefly discussed. The relevance of that specific echo will become clearer later in the chapter.

²⁷ See Leach (1988) on landscape as constitutive of political meaning in Vergil. Understandably, most critics who deal with landscape in Vergil work on the *Eclogues*. Connolly (2001) is an instructive example of this latter focus. For more general discussions of landscape in ancient literature, see Hunter (1999) 14-17; Van Sickle (1967) 493; and Putnam (1975) 170.

²⁸ Of course, the notion that bucolic was effectively used to convey a political message is well established. On the *Idylls*, see Griffiths (1979); Hunter (2003); and Stephens (2003) and (2006). For Vergil's politicizing pastoral see most recently Nauta (2006).

I. Setting as character

The setting of the action plays an important role in the developing narrative. This becomes evident from the moment that the description of the cave subsumes (one could almost say hijacks) the description of the monster Cacus:

hic spelunca fuit vasto summota recessu,
semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat
solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis
ora virum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.

Vergil, *Aeneid* VIII.193-7.

Here was a cave, in a deep recess hidden,
That the fearsome face of half-man Cacus held
Untouched by the rays of the sun; always the earth
Was warm from the recent slaughter, and fixed to the doorposts proud
Hung the faces of men, pale, pitiable, putrid.

It is noteworthy that in line 194 a subordinate clause (with the antecedent to the relative pronoun being the cave) introduces Cacus, and that by line 195 the description has reverted to the *spelunca*. The cave is described as dark, bloody, and adorned with savage trophies, but all along it is of course Cacus who is being characterized.²⁹ This introduction to Cacus, coming a scant few lines after the introduction to the narrative of line 190, *iam primum saxis suspensam hanc aspice rupem*, “Look first on this crag, hung

²⁹ The cave is also a key element for intertextual links with the *Odyssey*; all the linguistic parallels Knauer (1979) found between the Cacus story and that of the Cyclops belong to the topographical descriptions in *Aeneid* VIII.193-7 (with *Odyssey* IX. 182-92) and VIII.211 (with *Odyssey* IX. 243). Münzer (1911) 36, 48-9 finds the doors to be similar (*Aeneid* VIII.225-7 and *Odyssey* IX.240-3), as well as the monsters’ lineages. For further parallels between Cacus and Polyphemus, see Jacobson (1989) 101-02; and Sansone (1991) 171.

among the stones”, acts almost as an echo of that motif, thus highlighting the primary importance of the setting to every level of the story that follows.³⁰

In fact, the cave is both the primary means of defense of the monster and, somewhat ironically, the primary source of Hercules’ arms in the struggle. The former element takes precedence as Cacus flees into his cave:

ut sese inclusit ruptisque immane catenis
deiecit saxum, ferro quod et arte paterna
pendebat, fultosque emuniit obice postis...

Vergil, *Aeneid* VIII.225-7.

Inside the cave he shut himself, he broke the chains,
Let fall the rock which hung from the iron links
His father’s art had fashioned, barred the door...

This is the first indication that the cave is more than a merely natural defense. Vulcan provided it as a defense to his son, and thus it acts as an extension of the monster’s persona (as it did above), with the emphasis on his divine aspect this time. But Hercules, though stymied at first (*ter saxea temptat...nequiquam*, “three times he tries the rocks...in vain,” 231-2), responds by using a tree to uproot the mountaintop (233-9), leading to another description of the cave, this time in terms of the darkness of the underworld (243-6). Once again, the description of the cave reinforces the dreadful character of Cacus, while acting as an extension of his behavior, which in lines 250-5 takes the form of a vomited cloud of smoke that obscures the cave from sight. It is only after pelting Cacus with rocks and trees torn from the mountain (249-50) that Hercules jumps in to confront Cacus face to face. The ease with which he then dispatches Cacus

³⁰ Münzer (1911) 33-6, 52-3 deals with the importance of the landscape as a prop in the struggle between Hercules and Cacus. Galinsky (1966) 30-6 uses landscape, especially rock, to support a reading which equates Cacus and Turnus in book XII.

emphasizes the importance of his cave as protective measure; in fact, it seems as if the cave was the main enemy (as it eventually becomes Hercules' main ally) all along.

Yet the double-edged nature of the cave is perhaps nowhere as evident as in the passage where the stolen cows are discovered. *Reddidit una boum vocem vastoque sub antro / mugit et Caci spem custodita fefellit*, "One of the cows echoed the voice, bellowed below / the cavern vast, and from her hiding place revealed the vanity of Cacus' plan," *Aeneid* VIII. 217-8). One can imagine the cavern's emphasized vastness helping to echo and magnify the sound of the cow's lowing even as it was supposed to keep the cows hidden. It is here that this liminal space of the cave, both natural and artificial, both help and hindrance, begins to cast up echoes of its own, both bucolic and epic.³¹

The first and most literally "bucolic" aspect of the events of the narrative is that of cows and cowherding.³² We are introduced to Hercules in the following way: *Alcides aderat taurosque hac victor agebat / ingentis, vallemque boves amnemque tenebant*, "the grandson of Alceus hither led his spoils of victory, giant bulls, / and cows that occupied the land, the river and the valley," VIII.203-4.³³ Thus the connection between Hercules and the herding of cattle is made clear, and immediately the cattle are brought to the forefront as subjects of a sentence. In fact, the images of cowherding are taken to such an

³¹ Hinds (1998) 5-8 sees echoes as a metaphor for intertextuality. See also Hollander (1981). For echoes as typical of pastoral, see Hardie (2002) 123-4, 128, 152-6, and 163-5; Boyle (1977); Damon (1961) 281; and Desport (1941) 274.

³² Although here I am using the word bucolic in its literal sense, my use of it elsewhere in the dissertation will include anything in the Greek bucolic corpus as well as works or passages which imitate that corpus; see my discussion in the Introduction.

³³ Vergil had already dealt with the herding of cows and bulls at some length in the third book of his *Georgics* (49-241, with passages about horses interspersed). In that case, the description of cattle and horses leads into a meditation on the universal power of love, especially its power to madden (242-85). The relevance of this theme will emerge more clearly in the discussion of allusions to Hylas and Pasiphae.

extreme that they begin to make demands upon the reader's credulity; for not only do the cattle fill up the river valley, feeding and grazing, but somehow there are "stabulis" in line 207 whence Cacus leads his prey. Though it is almost certain that the word is being used in its meaning of pasture (as evidenced by its reappearance in line 213 as an instrumental ablative), it can't help but bring the image of the structure to mind. This notion of a shelter for cows brings the landscape closer into line with the expectations of a bucolic landscape.

In 213 Hercules reappears after the description of the theft of cattle, and once again he is mentioned along with his cattle, which are now sated from feeding and which he is preparing to drive. In other words, he is literally herding them, as presumably he has done and will continue to do all the way from Spain to Greece.³⁴ There can be little doubt, then, that for the attentive reader the figure of Hercules will recall that of a herdsman, i.e. to the figure of the *boukolos*.

The setting also evokes cows in a more roundabout way. The mention of the river and the fields that the cattle occupy³⁵ would have been intelligible to the audience as the site of the contemporary Roman Forum Boarium.³⁶ This would be reinforced by the idea of *stabulis*, pasture in its use in line 213, but a polyvalent word more commonly used to mean the actual physical structure of stables for cattle, which look forward to the existence of pens for cattle in the Forum Boarium of Vergil's day. The lowing of the

³⁴ After wresting them from Geryon, as described in VIII. 201-4.

³⁵ *Aeneid* VIII.204.

³⁶ As testified by Servius *Aeneid* VIII.271. See Coarelli (1988) 61-77 on the Forum Boarium and Richardson (1992) 186-7 sv "Herculis Invicti, Ara Maxima" on the Ara Maxima and its location near the Forum Boarium. Grimal (1948) 348-51 proves that the landscape descriptions in the tour of Evander and Aeneas refer to sites in Augustan Rome. See also Galinsky (1966) 21; and Norden (1901) 271-3.

many cattle, as well, would have been an anachronistically placed feature which would help bring the past and present of the site closer together in the mind of the audience.

Vergil also incorporates stylistic features of bucolic within these lines. Gransden mentions that “the bucolic diaeresis is clearly a conscious prosodic feature in V. and his successors”³⁷ in the context of a note on bucolic diaeresis in line 198. A scant few lines into the story, at the first opportunity after the description of the cliff in which Cacus’s cave lay, Vergil has placed a bucolic diaeresis. It is surely no coincidence that soon afterwards³⁸ the theme of cows and cattle is introduced.³⁹

II. Establishing the Prophetic Mode

Hercules makes his first appearance in Vergil in *Eclogue IV*, a poem that describes a Golden Age that will gradually come about as a mysterious *puer* grows into adulthood.⁴⁰ Yet these lines are situated at a more troubling point in history:

pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.
alter erit tum Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo
delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella
atque iterum ad Troiam magnus mittetur Achilles.

Eclogues IV. 31-6

³⁷ Gransden (1976) *ad loc.* 198.

³⁸ *Aeneid* VIII.203.

³⁹ The bucolic diaeresis (as defined in the strong sense of a full grammatical pause at the end of the fourth foot) occurs 61 times in the *Aeneid*; clearly such a high incidence should make us doubt that each and every one of those instances is meant as a reference to bucolic. Indeed, the bucolic diaereses at *Aeneid* VIII. 388 and 660 are not part of a bucolic description, nor do they introduce bucolic passages. Yet in those cases where the context suggests the bucolic, such as at VIII. 198 and 352, the action moves towards cowherding soon afterwards. On the bucolic diaeresis, see E.A. Schmidt (1972) 40-5; Allen (1973) 336-7; and Wendel (1914) 21.

⁴⁰ For a good survey of the scholarly problems with this poem, see Kraus (1980). Breed (2006) 136-48 is a good recent treatment of *Eclogue IV*.

Nevertheless the trail remains, though dim, of earlier crime,
Which bids men brave the waves with sails and ring their towns
With walls, and score the face of earth with scars.
Another Tiphus then, another ship to bear her company
Of hand-picked Argonauts; another string of wars
Leads forth to Troy once more looming Achilles.

In the following lines, however, there is an immediate return to the prophecy of how these things will no longer need to be once the child has matured, because *omnis feret omnia tellus*, “all the earth bears everything,” 39.

The relevance of these lines for the situation of the Trojan refugees as they sit listening to Evander’s story of Hercules is clear: they have sought to cross the sea in ships, to build walls for towns (and shall again), they are heroes (Aeneas in the literal sense) and they will fight wars around a new Troy. Thus, they serve to suggest an identity between Aeneas and Hercules. The degree of similarity in their situations is unsurprising in the *Aeneid*, as these activities are characteristic of epic. Yet they are somewhat more surprising in the context of the poetry collection of which *Eclogue IV* is a part, and the prologue to the prophetic song acknowledges this:

Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus!
non omnis arbusta iuvant humilesque myricae;
si canimus silvas, silvae sint consule dignae
Eclogues IV. 1-3

Let us sing matters somewhat grander, Muses of Sicily!
Shrubs and minuscule tamarisks impress but few;
If woods we sing, let woods become the highest magistracy.

These lines serve to cast the generic quality of the poem, as well as bucolic in general, in doubt.⁴¹ Yet it is important that although they are *paulo maiora*, “somewhat grander”,

⁴¹ Van Sickle (1978) 63-8; and Rohde (1925) 58 defend its pastoral characteristics. Breed (2006) 136 provides a list of features which make *Eclogue IV* different from the

these are still *silvae*, the Muses are still Sicilian, and Vergil is still writing an Eclogue. Thus the admission is made that on the one hand, the poetic register of the *Eclogues* can be associated (whether on a purely surface level or not) with the lower, the more humble, yet if desired it is not incompatible with things of great import, and in particular great political import (as the word *consule* attests). That which is higher, namely the content of the poem, includes the political fortunes of Rome, elevated prophecy, and the deeds of great heroes such as the Argonauts. To ignore these facts is to risk underestimating the degree to which Vergil's bucolic and epic genres are represented as subject to renegotiation and redefinition. What is clear is that they are not incompatible in terms of subject matter. If they are distinguishable, it will be on some other level. In fact, *Eclogue IV*, through its intertextual relations with Theocritus XVI and Catullus LXI, is a prime example of what Breed refers to as a "negotiation... of new poetic space for epic and encomium vis-à-vis the previous tradition."⁴² The allusions in the poem, rather than its content, are the key to its identity as encomiastic and, to some degree, epic as well.

Eclogue IV wears its prophetic pedigree proudly; the first line of the song proclaims *ultima Cumaevi venit iam carminis aetas*, "the last phase of the prophecies of Cumae comes already," *Eclogue IV*. 4. This reference to the Cumaean Sybil, whose prophetic ravings had been preserved in a collection of Greek hexameters, makes it

rest of the collection, but in the end reconciles the two by finding multiplicity of voices to be a hallmark of the book. Hubbard (1998) 76-86 sees the poem as moving beyond bucolic, as does Leach (1974) 248-50. Putnam (1970) 136-65 represents a balanced view, as does Alpers (1979) 160-4. Servius ad *Ecl.* IV.1 is evidence of ancient opinion that the poem was not in fact bucolic.

⁴² Breed (2006) 140, but the discussion begins on 138. For *Eclogue IV* and Catullus LXIV, see Marincic (2001); Hubbard (1998) 78-83; Arnold (1994) 149-51; Van Sickle (1992) 37-64; and Berg (1974) 162-6. Many critics, such as Hunter (2001) 160; Clausen (1994) 122-5; and Williams (1968) 274-85, prefer to see *Idyll XVII* as the relevant Theocritean intertext, but this scarcely affects the conclusion.

immediately clear that prophecy is the theme of the poem.⁴³ These oracles were consulted in times of crisis for the state while they lasted, meaning that they were envisioned as containing information about the future of Rome (from the point of view of their original writing). After their destruction in 83 BCE, a new corpus was gathered that probably included Orphic material as well,⁴⁴ and Orpheus is mentioned in lines 55 and 57. Since they officially fell under the purview of the *XVviri sacris faciundis*, they were also associated with foreign cult and in particular the figure of Apollo, who had a cult at Cumae and who appears in line 10 and again in 57. Furthermore, *redeunt Saturnia regna*, “the reign of Saturn returns,” 6, and *ferrea primum / desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo*, “first ceases the iron race, and then the golden tribe rises throughout the world,” 8-9, leave little doubt that Hesiod’s prophecies about the ages are being alluded to as an important source.⁴⁵ This prophetic tradition in particular, springing from the *Works and Days*, makes reference to the past as well as the future, bringing to mind the characterization from earliest times of the mantis’s art as that of seeing what is, what had been, and what would be.⁴⁶ Yet of these three options, it is no secret to anyone that the prophecy of *Eclogue IV* is most concerned with the state of things in contemporary Rome; Pollio’s consulship, for example, is cited in line 11 as providing the time frame for

⁴³ Nisbet (1978) establishes Vergil’s use of the Sibylline material.

⁴⁴ Coleman (1977) 130.

⁴⁵ *Opera* 109-126 and 174-8. It must be emphasized, however, that Hesiod is only one of the sources. Nisbet (1978) discusses these in full, mentioning Jewish, Italic, and Stoic influences, among others. Norden (1924), for example, makes a strong case for the importance of Asian ideas of time.

⁴⁶ *Iliad* I.70.

when the events prophesied would take place.⁴⁷ Thus the poem uses prophecy, among other things, for encomiastic purposes.

The question of who, beyond Pollio, is praised in the poem, however, is heavily dependent on how one interprets the Golden Age in *Eclogue IV*.⁴⁸ This is in turn complicated by the problems of establishing a reading of the changing ages of the poem (both the child's and the world's).⁴⁹ This complex of concerns is highly relevant for *Aeneid VIII*, where Evander tells Aeneas of the Saturnian age, and in particular of the Golden Age:

Aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat,
deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas
et belli rabies et amor succedit habendi.

Aeneid VIII. 324-7

The centuries known as golden passed in that king's
Sway: thus he ruled the tribes in restful peace,
Until by slow degrees a wicked age and worse
With rage for war and lust for gain replaced him.

This is also very close to the lines in *Eclogue IV*, where wars and sea-travel are ranked among the traces of old injustice and the speaker foretells that the practice of exchanging goods in particular will become obsolete because the earth will provide for all needs (31-5 and 38-9, respectively). These lines may also be concerned with the political situation at Rome at the time of the civil wars, just as *Eclogue IV* deals with contemporary Roman

⁴⁷ Du Quesnay (1977) 26-43 has a good overview of the historical background.

⁴⁸ Perkell (2002) 12-18; Gatz (1967) 87-103.

⁴⁹ Arnold (1994) 151-9; Leach (1974) 218-22; and Otis (1964) 139 see evidence of moral progress. Perkell (2002) 14-16 problematizes that view.

political figures.⁵⁰ Much like the historical discourse of *Eclogue IV*, *Aeneid VIII*.626-728 goes on to present a history of Rome, including the Augustan period. Furthermore, in its position within the Hercules narrative, the thematic parallel with *Eclogue IV* calls particular attention to the problematic nature of the Age of Heroes (the Age to which the Hercules lines in the *Eclogue* refer), that is to say, the role of Hercules and of Aeneas. This intertext, then, serves three important functions: to question the relationship of bucolic to epic; to establish a potential concern for contemporary politics; and to highlight the role of history in forming moral judgments on heroic or violent actions, while acknowledging the difficulty of such an attempt.

The lines on Hercules and the heifer in *Aeneid VIII* also allude to a passage in *Eclogue VI*: *his adiungit Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum / clamassent, ut litus 'Hyla, Hyla' omne sonaret*, “to these he added spring-bound Hylas for whom the sailors cried, till all the shore resounded ‘Hylas, hail!’” (*Eclogue VI*. 43-4). Here the *nautae* are analogous to the lowing cattle of *Aeneid VIII*.215-6, and the echoing response recalls that of the stolen cow in lines 217-8 (the verb *mugire* is used in both the call and response halves of the cows’ dialogue, creating yet another echo effect). *Eclogue VI* also contains the story of Pasiphae, immediately following the lines on Hylas (45-60). This includes such lines as *Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros*, “Proetides who filled the fields with counterfeited lowing” (48), and a sequence in which Pasiphae (who could be interpreted as playing the role of a cow) speaks out to recommend that a bull be enclosed,

⁵⁰ Binder (1971) 103-5 believes that *Aeneid VIII*.326-7 are a reference to Antony in particular and that there is also perhaps an allusion to Lucretius III.59-73, which associates ideas of greed for gain with civil war.

that its trail might be easier to follow.⁵¹ This reverses the action of those lines of *Aeneid* VIII in which Cacus drags the cattle into his cave tail first in order to make their trail harder to follow (205-212); both passages refer to the *vestigia* of the cattle.

In order to understand the allusion to *Eclogue VI*, some attention should be paid to the context in which the Hylas and Pasiphae lines appear. *Eclogue VI* is a highly structured poem, with several discrete sections. The outermost frame (1-12) involves the speaker making a *recusatio* in generic terms:

Cum canerem reges et proelia, Cynthius aurem
vellit et admonuit: “pastorem, Tityre, pinguis
pascere oportet ovis, deductum dicere carmen.
nunc ego (namque super tibi erunt qui dicere laudes,
Vare, tuas cupiant et tristia condere bella)
agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam

Eclogues VI.3-8

As I began to sing battles and kings, Cynthius pinched
My earlobe and admonished: “Proper it is, O Tityrus,
That shepherds should fatten sheep, but sing a fine-drawn song.
Now I (for many remain who’ll crave to praise you,
Varus, and crave to celebrate your saddening battles)
Will exercise my rustic muse upon my trifling fife.

What Tityrus refuses to write about is characterized as praise and battles, the content of an epic poem.⁵² This concern with the relationship between epic and bucolic is only one

⁵¹ See Breed (2006) 74-94 on speech and echoes in *Eclogue VI*. DServ. *ad loc.* 47 reveals that a refrain of the Pasiphae story is a quote from Calvus’ *Io*, on which further see Thomas (1979).

⁵² This *recusatio* must be understood in relation to Callimachus’ *Aetia* prologue. See Clauss (2004); Cameron (1995) 454-60; E.A. Schmidt (1972) 19-32, 238-98; Clausen (1964) 193-6; Wimmel (1960) 132-47; and Pfeiffer (1928). Acosta-Hughes and Stephens (2002) presents a much-needed reassessment of the text.

of the features that this proem shares with that of *Eclogue IV*.⁵³ It begins with a first-person narration, entirely lacking in framing, and it emphasizes the ties to the Syracusan (i.e. Theocritean) style and the notion of *silvae*. In addition, it purports to give some kind of explanation for the content and/or form of the poem before the beginning of the song portion. Yet there is an important difference in the way in which VI constructs its own role. Tityrus makes it plain that what he considers proper matter for a *deductum carmen* is the theme of love:

...Si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis
captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae,
te nemus omne canet...

Eclogues VI. 9-11

...However, if anybody,
If any captive of love, I say, shall read this, our shrubs, o Varus,
Will sing of you; in fact, the entire wood will...

Love, tamarisks, and groves are intertwined here into a powerful programmatic statement on bucolic. Furthermore, in the stories of the poem, Tityrus seems to indicate that it is not just any love, but rather that overmastering love that renders its captives completely helpless, that is best suited to the genre of bucolic. This is not Vergil's opinion, as a comparison with *Eclogue IV*'s completely different subject matter reveals. Rather, by letting a character make this programmatic statement within the fiction, Vergil shows that bucolic is subject to a wide range of constructions, even while toying with the notion of its essential difference from epic.

After the *recusatio* the stage is set for the primary vehicle for the poem's content, the song of Silenus. This song gives an overview of history, beginning with the creation

⁵³ On this and many other matters pertaining to *Eclogue VI* and its generic identity, see Farrell (1991) 291-314. He also has an excellent discussion of the program of the *Eclogues* as a whole in generic terms beginning on 278.

of the world, then moving into a series of mythological stories about the age of heroes, including Pyrrhus, Prometheus, the reign of Saturn, and, of course, Hylas.⁵⁴ One important feature of the song is its prophetic character. Apollo appears frequently, six times in all, and is presented almost as the tutelary deity of the song.⁵⁵ At the beginning he admonishes Tityrus to sing this kind of song, for example, and later it is revealed that Silenus's song is precisely that which Apollo once sang by the river Eurotas (82-3), making it seem almost as if the whole poem were the result of divine dictation or *enthousiasmos*. This is a standard way of characterizing oracular practice. Notable mention should also go to lines 72-3, in which the Grynean grove is mentioned along with the name of Apollo. This was not only a sacred site associated with Apollo, but also the home of an oracular cult and perhaps the place where Mopsus defeated Calchas in a trial of divinatory prowess.⁵⁶ Furthermore, Orpheus is introduced in line 30 in a pairing with Apollo that characterizes them both as singers in the wilderness.⁵⁷

Hesiod is a yet more important presence, beginning with the mention of the *Saturnia regna* in line 41 and expanding into a full identification with the figure of Gallus in 64-71, including mentions of Permessus, Aonia, the old man of Ascraea (Hesiod) and the movement of oak trees by means of song. The other important feature is the way that prophecy is used to tell a problematic story about history, including Roman figures such

⁵⁴ For *Eclogue VI* as pessimistic history, see Otis (1963) 136-8; Leach (1974) finds that "the historical retrospect" of VI "urges an awareness of the here and now," 244. See also Hardie (1986) 67; and (2006) 291-2, where he finds that the climax to the historical sequence of VI is the present, in the figure of Gallus.

⁵⁵ Paschalis (2001) 217; Elder (1961) 115-6.

⁵⁶ Coleman (1977) 197.

⁵⁷ For the importance of Orpheus for this song, see Farrell (1991) 303-4; Lieberg (1982) 22-6; Stewart (1959) 186; and Desport (1952) 181-8.

as Gallus (64-73). As Leach and Hardie⁵⁸ have pointed out, the climax of the historical narrative in *Eclogue VI* is present-day (or near-present-day) Rome. The problems of interpreting the sequence of events, as well as the value of the story (whether pessimistic or otherwise), invite the reader to reflect on Roman history in their own experience. Thus history and its difficulties are once again highlighted by the bucolic intertext, as is contemporary relevance.

To summarize, the effect of the allusions to *Eclogues IV* and *VI* is twofold: on the one hand, by recalling poems which are self-consciously exceptional in the collection, Vergil's *Aeneid* text reinforces the theme of genre as problematic. On the other, by alluding to prophetic *Eclogues* that deal with issues of power, violence, and history, the text suggests that Hercules' violent action has a valid place within a historical moment insofar as that moment is part of a grand movement towards eventual peace. These are some of the same themes that a brief look at some relevant Greek bucolic material will reveal.

In spite of a lack of allusions to specific passages, it is possible that the pseudo-Theocritean *Idyll XXV* is an influence on Vergil's design. This poem, commonly known as the *Herakles Leontophonos*, is very long for an *Idyll*, over 280 lines long, and can be seen as anomalous from the point of view of many modern conceptions of bucolic. The only elements that seem pastoral are its setting in the countryside among herds of cattle and their herdsmen, where Herakles will have to clean Augeus's stables. Yet this setting is an excuse for a long description of cattle in lines 85-152, a passage that reaches its climactic moment when Herakles knocks out a bull that attacks him. Thus it is important

⁵⁸ Cf. note 54, above.

as a long hexameter description of Herakles among cattle in a collection identified as belonging to the bucolic genre, which prefigures later pastoral's fixation on the figure of the herdsman and his life.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Herakles goes on to relate his defeat of the Nemean lion, which he has to kill with his bare hands (wrestling with it and choking it) after missile attacks have proven ineffective. Similarly, the Cacus episode occurs in narration, and ends with Hercules killing the monster by asphyxiation after raining missiles down on him. This close correspondence would serve to underscore Vergil's concerns with bucolic and its relation to epic,⁶⁰ and his acknowledgment that the relation was problematic long before he arrived on the poetic scene. Yet clearly Vergil's Hercules story has more conventionally bucolic elements (though it's epic) than this possible bucolic antecedent. Not content to point out the existing contradictions, Vergil may have chosen to emphasize them through this allusion. However, the point must not be pressed too strongly in view of the difficulty in establishing that Vergil knew this poem,⁶¹ and this allusion must remain a mere conjecture until surer grounds are established for the relationship.

For a likelier instance of Vergil's reception of the Greek bucolic corpus, we should explore the description of the killing of the snakes by the infant Herakles in *Idyll*

⁵⁹ See my discussion of pastoral on page 10 above, as well as my citation of Paul Alpers in n. 21.

⁶⁰ For the epic features and allusions of *Idyll* XXV, see Hunter (1998).

⁶¹ Posch (1969) 17, 19, and 21 claims to find allusions to *Idyll* XXV in *Eclogues* I and VI, but as attractive as the notion is for my argument, I do not feel that he makes a convincing case. His reading of "pinguis...ovis" (*Eclogue* VI.5-6) as an allusion to "πίονα μῆλα" (*Idyll* XXV.86) is particularly weak in view of the fact that Callimachus is the likelier referent.

XXIV (the so-called Herakliskos),⁶² which is linguistically similar to that of the killing of Cacus. The *Aeneid* has *hic Cacus...corripit in nodum complexus, et angit inhaerens / elisos oculos et siccum sanguine guttur*, “he grapples with Cacus, pins him, and pushing him down the while / gouges his eyes out and squeezes his throat till the veins on his head stand out,” (VIII. 259-61).⁶³ The Herakliskos also describes the young Herakles’s hold in terms of wrestling, and with special emphasis on the throat: ἄμφω δὲ βαρεῖ ἐνεδήσατο δεσμῶ, / δραζάμενος φάρυγος, “he seized their throats and clamped them down with killing hold” (XXIV. 27-8). Especially noteworthy is the use of the participles *inhaerens* and *δραζάμενος*, as well as the repetition of the two “-os” endings in the second line, which in the Greek are lengthened into long syllables (and thus share a length with the Latin masculine accusative plurals in the *Aeneid*) because of the multiple consonants at the beginning of the next words. Also similar are the descriptions of the monsters, Cacus with his *atros / ore vomens ignis*, “vomiting forth black fires” (VIII. 198-9) and his *terribilis oculos*, “terrible eyes” (VIII. 266), and the snakes, for whom ἄπ’ ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ κακὸν πῦρ / ἐρχομένοις λάμπεσκε, βαρὺν δ’ ἐξέπτουον ἰόν, “a baleful fire blazed from their eyes as they approached, mouths streaming noxious venom” (XXIV. 18-19). In addition, it may not be strictly coincidence that the snakes attack at night, but Zeus intervenes and φάος δ’ ἀνὰ οἶκον ἐτύχθη, “a light appeared throughout the house”

⁶² For evidence that Vergil was familiar with this *Idyll*, see Marincic (2002); Clausen (1994) 123-4; Labate (1987); V. Schmidt (1972) 80-2; Bollack (1967) 313-7; and Kukula (1911) 64-74.

⁶³ As Galinsky (1966) 43 points out, the word *angit*, which occurs only here in the *Aeneid*, is related to *anguis*. Interestingly, although Galinsky develops a long reading (pp.42-8) based on the serpent imagery in this passage, he never once mentions *Idyll* XXIV. See also Knox (1950) 379-90 on serpent imagery in *Aeneid* II. The so-called “hymn to Hercules” in lines 285-305 also includes specific mention of the child Hercules’s killing of the snakes sent by Juno, “ut prima novercae / monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis” (VIII.288-9).

(22), while Cacus seeks to hide from the light in his cave but is *insperata deprensus luce repente*, “stunned by a sudden beam of light” (VIII. 247) when Hercules tears the top off his mountain before killing him. Finally, there is the fact that as soon as the light appears and the babies awaken in the *Herakliskos*, Iphicles lets out a cry ἦτοι ὄγ’ εὐθὺς ἄυσεν, “he straightaway began to howl” (XXIV. 23) which alerts the household, much as the Cacus episode was introduced by the crying out of the heifer in line 217.

One of the most important dimensions of an influence between *Idyll XXIV* and Vergil’s treatment of Hercules in *Aeneid VIII* would be the accepted panegyric function of the former, in which Heracles stands in symbolically for Ptolemy.⁶⁴ This contributes to the association of Hercules in the *Aeneid* with both Aeneas and Augustus. Yet another association exists between the episodes and a prophetic tradition. In the *Herakliskos*, the family goes back to sleep after the serpent scare, but in the morning Alcmena summons Teiresias, who tells what will be for Herakles, not only in his lifetime but afterwards as well. Furthermore, there are two lines, condemned by Dahl and later by Gow, which tie the marriage of Herakles and Hebe to the return of a Golden Age: ἔσται δὴ τοῦτ’ ἄμαρ ὀπηνίκα νεβρὸν ἐν εὐνῇ / καρχαρόδων σίνεσθαι ἰδὼν λύκος οὐκ ἐθελήσει, “that day the jag-toothed wolf will gaze upon the sleeping fawn without a wish to harm it” (XXIV. 86-7).⁶⁵ Whether the reasoning behind the removal of these lines is sound or not, it is conceded even by its critics that they are a very old part of the tradition, appearing in the Papyrus Antinoae as well as later codices. Thus they may very well have been available

⁶⁴ Most recently Payne (2007) 12. For further discussion of mythical episodes and figures as focuses of royal panegyric in Hellenistic poetry, see Koenen (1977); Griffiths (1979); Henrichs (1999) 226, 247-8; Stephens (2003); and Cameron (1995) 63-103.

⁶⁵ See Gow (1952) *ad loc.*

to Vergil.⁶⁶ Even if they were not, there may have been an association between Herakles and the Golden Age insofar as his monster-slaying helps make the world safe for such an event.⁶⁷ Thus the *Herakliskos* is not only important in terms of shaping Vergil's description of the struggle between Hercules and Cacus, but it also introduces themes of prophecy which will help tie book VIII together.⁶⁸

The allusions to Greek bucolic material, then, serve to raise a number of important concerns. First, the allusion to pseudo-Theocritus XXV raises the theme of genre and generic distinctions between epic and bucolic, since both epic and bucolic elements coexist within this single, puzzling work. Second, *Idyll* XXIV raises issues of prophecy specifically relating to deification and the return of the Golden Age, while also introducing the notion of mythology as a vehicle for royal panegyric. To see how these themes common to the *Eclogues* and Greek bucolic corpus apply to the *Aeneid* and its historical and political concerns, we should return to a consideration of the landscape of *Aeneid* VIII and its central character, Hercules.

III. A Type of History

⁶⁶ V. Schmidt (1972) 65.

⁶⁷ Gow (1952) v. 2, 429, though it is unclear how the lines of Pindar which he cites in any way imply a full occurrence of a Golden Age on earth. But see Gatz (1967) 171.

⁶⁸ Duckworth (1961) 2-11 sees a tripartite structure in the individual books of the *Aeneid*, and Otis (1964) 330 develops that for book VIII in particular to include the Hercules episode, the tour of the site of Rome, and the shield. That the shield and the tour of the site of Rome both offer 'prophetic' content (which looks forward to Augustan Rome as well as backwards and forward to a Golden Age) is fairly obvious. Thus any reading which brings the Hercules episode into accord with this prophetic theme strengthens the unity of book VIII, and it is not necessary to accept Duckworth or Otis's strict tripartite structure to see this. For a critique of Otis as too simply schematic and a different attempt at a tripartite arrangement see Galinsky (1966) 21-3.

The grand movements of history from *Eclogues* IV and VI share a point of reference. The common link is that the “prophecies” look forward to a contemporary (or near-contemporary) Roman future, and deal with figures familiar from the contemporary Roman scene. In the *Eclogues* these figures include Gallus, Pollio, and arguably even the *puer*. This should not be surprising in the context of the Hercules story in *Aeneid* VIII, where the landscape will be so explicitly established in contemporary Roman terms. Vergil had already begun taking some steps away from his poetic models for landscape description in the *Eclogues*: “Intimations of the real countryside and its routines occur in Theocritus of course, especially before and after the interludes of song. But they are more numerous and wide-ranging in Vergil,” writes Coleman. In particular, Vergil had begun writing his landscape descriptions in such a way that they evoked not “magical landscapes but...the familiar Italian countryside.” Furthermore, Vergil’s landscapes in the *Eclogues* “are all contextually significant,” that is, they are there not for the sake of mere decoration but to cast the action of the poem into sharper relief.⁶⁹ It would be strange to think that he would do any differently here.

If in the *Eclogues* Vergil had begun incorporating aspects of a generic Italian landscape, such as flora and details of routine and land use, he has certainly taken the next step in book VIII of the *Aeneid* by incorporating the topography of the concrete historical landscape of the area around Rome. The ruined cave on the Aventine was a well-known feature of the landscape of Rome, though previously Cacus had been associated with the Palatine hill.⁷⁰ It acts to situate the audience into a geography drawn from that of contemporary Rome so that they may recognize the landscape as it develops.

⁶⁹ See Coleman (1977) 23 for the discussion from which these quotes are drawn.

⁷⁰ Gransden (1976) 107-8.

This has the further effect of priming the audience to think of the contemporary and the ancient together, as a continuum, much as the references to the Forum Boarium did.

The establishment of typological parallels also evokes the contemporary Roman world. An analysis of the bucolic allusions may contribute something to the existing body of work on typology in the *Aeneid*.⁷¹ The situation which frames the Hercules story, for example, involves Aeneas and the Trojan refugees with him finding Evander's people *forte die sollemnem illo...honorem / Amphitryoniadae*, "by happenstance, high honor to Hercules that day" (*Aeneid* VIII. 102-3), in a grove outside the city. Songs will come later in the evening: *tum Salii ad cantus incensa altaria circum*, "the Salians then to song around the lighted altars," (285); and peace and plenty are apparent from the beginning. This focus on outcasts finding a god-created haven in a hostile land might suggest a parallel with the beginning of *Eclogue* I, in which the herdsman who has been saved by the god (Octavian) is questioned by a recent exile, who wonders at the safety he has achieved.⁷² "*Nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra / formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas*," "We forfeit land our fathers owned; you, Tityrus, lie in shady ease, you teach the woods to sing of Amaryllis" (*Eclogue* I. 4-5). One could almost imagine these words in the mouth of Aeneas and his men as they encounter Evander's group, while the woods literally return the sounds of the praise of Hercules: *consonat*

⁷¹ For Hercules as prototype of Aeneas, see Gransden (1976) 14-20; Buchheit (1963) 116-33; Galinsky (1972) 132-8, 141-6; and Zarker (1972) 34-48. For readings which emphasize development or differences between the two, see Gilmartin (1968) 41-7 and Otis (1964) 220 n. 1, 286 n. 2, 302, 317, 324, 331, 335, 338. For Hercules as prototype of Augustus, see Huttner (1997) 369-76; Galinsky (1972) 138-141; Otis (1964) 220 n. 1, 302, 317, 335; Bellen (1963) 23-30; and Schnepf (1959) 250-68.

⁷² Huttner (1997) 374 mentions *Eclogue* I.42-3 in the context of passages that present Augustus as a god, which he acknowledges is a similarity between Hercules and Augustus, but he takes his analysis no further. For the historical background to *Ecl.* I see Wilkinson (1966).

omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant, “the whole grove rings with noise the hillocks carry back” (*Aeneid* VIII. 305). A direct quote explains the debt owed to the god:

“O Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit.
namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram
saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.”
Eclogue I. 6-8

“O Meliboeus, a god did grant to us this leisure.
For he will be as a god to me always; often enough
Tender young lambs from my fold will spatter his altar.”

A similar device, and similar language, appear in the *Aeneid*: *non haec sollemnia nobis, / has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram / vana superstitio...imposuit*, “vain superstition has not imposed on us these rituals, these decorous feasts, nor yet this altar, site of so much holy power,” (*Aeneid* VIII. 185-8).

A final similarity between the passages is the way that the immediate effects of salvation are conceived in terms of cowherding. Hercules, of course, saves his cattle from the thieving Cacus, but he has also brought the herd as a result of his previous defeat of Geryon: *nam maximus ultor / tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus / Alcides aderat taurosque hac victor agebat*, “for, proud in having slaughtered Geryon and despoiled him, Alcides was here, greatest of redeemers, leading hither bulls in victory,” (*Aeneid* VIII. 201-3). The feast in his honor, too, indicates the symbolic importance of the god’s aid to the well-being of the community’s herds, as it is a feast of bull flesh: *tum lecti iuvenes certatim araeque sacerdos / viscera tosta ferunt taurorum*, “then hand-picked youths and altar’s priest bore zealously the toasted bits of bull’s entrails,” (*Aeneid* VIII.179-80). In the first *Eclogue*, Tityrus describes his freedom thus: *ille meas errare boves...permisit*, “he gave me leave to let my cattle wander,” (I. 9-10), and the direct quote of the god’s speech to the herdsman is as follows: *Pascite ut ante*

boves, pueri; summittite tauros, “feed as before your cattle, boys; make your bulls mount,” (I. 45). The allusion to the first *Eclogue* establishes a typological identity between Hercules and Augustus, one that plays into some characteristic tropes of Hercules-Augustus typology, namely salvation from evils and the deification of the hero.⁷³

Another important dimension to the typology that the Hercules story establishes through its bucolic allusions is the historical scheme presented in *Eclogues* IV and VI. We have already seen that the key tension in those prophecies lay in the establishment of some kind of historical order as represented by the myths of ages; the next step will be to follow the typological implications to explore the meaning of that tension in terms of Augustus and contemporary Roman power. Starting with the *Aeneid* itself, it quickly becomes evident that the ordinary Hesiodic progression of the ages is somewhat problematized: *is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis / composuit legesque dedit*, “he brought together stubborn, scattered mountain-dwellers, gave them laws,” (VIII. 321-2).⁷⁴ That is, it took the intervention of a civilizing force to draw the inhabitants of the site of Rome into the Golden Age. This is very different from the view that things like laws and settlements were outgrowths of later, more decadent periods, a view set forth

⁷³ Heiden (1987) 2. This comparison is made explicit in *Aeneid* VI.791-803. Clausen (1994) 32; and Putnam (1970) 73 see Vergil as more sympathetic to Meliboeus, that is, as against Octavian’s land dispossession. Otis (1964) 131-6; and Klingner (1961) see the poem as endorsing Octavian. Fredricksmayer (1966) sees both viewpoints equally expressed. Thomas (2001) 93-121 surveys ancient opinion.

⁷⁴ This line recalls *Ecl.* VI.40, *rara per ignaros errent animalia montis*. The comparison is apropos, in that this *genus* of *Aen.* VII is characterized in almost inhuman terms; they possess no community, laws, or culture. They do not even form groups or evince social tendencies. In its context in *Ecl.* VI, the *animalia* are shown as part of a naturally advancing teleological order as revealed in a divinely inspired song.

originally in Hesiod.⁷⁵ Yet, although it does not conform to the Hesiodic notion of ages, it is consistent with the Hercules episode, in which Hercules' interference is seen as instrumental to the establishment of peace in the area, and with the plot of the *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas must make war to secure Rome's future. Discipline, whether easily accepted or violently administered, is a precursor to progress.

In *Eclogue IV*, the relationship between the Golden Age and the trappings of more "decadent" periods is problematic. The *puer* is addressed as *at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis / iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus*, "you'll be able to read both the praises of heroes and deeds of your father, and learn therefrom the meaning of virtue" (IV. 26-7). Yet just a couple of lines further, the heroes and their deeds are categorized as among the *pauca...priscae vestigia fraudis* (IV. 31), and this includes particularly *Tiphys et altera quae vehat Argo / delectos heroas* (IV. 34-5), that is, Hercules. It is not only expeditions by sea that are included, but also warfare (the *altera bella* and *magnus Achilles* of lines 35 and 36, respectively), the fortification of cities (*quae cingere muris oppida*, lines 32-3), and even farming (*quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos*, line 33). In this version of the progress of ages the world is improving; yet the Age of Heroes is presented as a momentary setback. This differs from a strict Hesiodic accounting in that there the general tendency of history was to the worse, but agrees with it in the oddly exceptional character given to the heroic period. In the context of *Aeneid VIII* such a reading would mean that the entire Hercules episode must be seen as fundamentally flawed, a step down from the Golden Age into a barbaric time of violence and toil.

⁷⁵ *Op.* 134, 145-6

Eclogue VI's conception of history is difficult to decipher, as evidenced in the following lines: *Hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna, / Caucasiasque refert [Silenus] volucres furtumque Promethei*. "He goes on to the rocks which Pyrrha tossed, the reign of Saturn, the birds of Caucasus, theft of Prometheus" (*Eclogue VI*. 41-2). Coleman writes that "the apparent chronology of 41-2 is very awkward... in the traditional version...the Golden Age precedes the Fall of Man..." Here we have the Golden Age coming after the flood. These lines are immediately followed by the lines on Hylas, which are meant to indicate the Heroic Age.⁷⁶ In this case the rough flow of events is as follows: mankind sprouts from the rocks after the flood, then comes the Golden Age, then there is the theft of fire, and finally the Age of Heroes. This falls perfectly in line with the pattern from the *Aeneid*, in which Italic peoples are present before the arrival of Saturn (*gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata*, "a race of men born of the trees and knotted oak," VIII.315). As Gransden writes, "the *genus durum* of Italian primitivism has much in common with the first postdiluvian race [of *Eclogue VI*]...in Lucretius V, the human race as first created was *durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset*."⁷⁷ The remaining sequence involves the establishment of law and civilization followed by the need for heroes to wipe out the last vestiges of crime. Here the two accounts part ways; though in the *Aeneid* the Golden Age can then take root, we read nothing about what comes later in *Eclogue VI* except that Varus is still fighting wars in the poem.

⁷⁶ Coleman (1977) 187-8. By the traditional version he means Hesiod.

⁷⁷ Gransden (1976) 38-9 has much on this, as well as on Lucretian parallels. The quote is from 39.

It is therefore probable that Vergil's primary model is not the Hesiodic version of the sequence of ages, but rather that of Lucretius. In book V of *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius writes of primitive humans that *nec commune bonum poterant spectare neque ullis / moribus inter se scibant nec legibus uti*, "they could not see the common good, nor did they know the use of laws or of tradition," (V.958-9). Civilization is a prerequisite for advancement, not a symptom of decline. In this sense, the intervention of a figure such as Hercules (or, before him, Saturn) is a necessary and laudable step towards the improvement of the inhabitants – a step into the Golden Age, rather than away from it. In *Aeneid* VIII. 321-5 Evander makes this point clear in regard to Saturn:

is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis
 composuit legesque dedit, Latiumque vocari
 maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris.
 aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere
 saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat.

He brought together stubborn, scattered mountain-dwellers,
 Gave them laws, and had them call him
 Latius, since he lay protected on these shores.
 The centuries known as golden passed in that king's
 Sway: thus he ruled the tribes in restful peace.

By this reading, many of the contradictions of a poem such as *Eclogue* IV dissolve into thin air. When Vergil writes to the child *simul heroum laudes et facta parentis / iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus*, "you'll be able to read both the praises of heroes and deeds of your family, and learn therefrom the meaning of virtue," (*Eclogues* IV. 26-7), he means just the sort of actions in which Hercules engages in the Cacus episode, whether they are violent or not, since they tend towards the establishment and safeguarding of the *commune bonum* (Lucretius *De Rerum Natura* V.958). If this is the case, however, how can one explain the troublesome lines describing the Age of Heroes

as *pauca...priscae vestigia fraudis* (31)? These items in lines 32-6 (travel, wars, etc.) are rightly considered problematic in themselves if the Hesiodic model is upheld as the primary source. However, within Lucretius's and Vergil's model, the actions of heroes may be instrumental in bringing about the Golden Age. What is at stake here is the relationship between the Age of Heroes and the *priscae fraudis*. It should be noted that Vergil does not call these things *fraus* in their own right, but makes *vestigia* the necessary middleman between the two.

The mistake, I maintain, has been in reading the word *vestigia* as indicative of a direct identification rather than a causal relationship. It's not that the deeds of the heroes are instances of *fraus*, but rather that they are the last, necessary responses to this *fraus* before the Golden Age can finally be established. This makes sense even within the historical time frame of the fourth *Eclogue* as, for example, Sextus Pompey's war was still going on, which could easily fall under the propagandistic reading implicit in this poem's take on violence. Perhaps more importantly, it follows other uses of the word *vestigia* in the *Eclogues* and *Aeneid*. In *Eclogue VI*, for example, the *vestigia* are those of the bull wandering through the woods (58), and Pasiphae is looking for them in order to track the bull. Likewise in *Aeneid VI*, the *vestigia* are not traces that remain, but rather the steps that Daedalus takes in order to escape the labyrinth in following the line which he had brought (30). Finally, in *Aeneid VIII*, Hercules is prevented from following the *vestigia* of his cattle to Cacus' cave by the trick (familiar from the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 76-86) of obscuring their steps.

In all of these cases, the *vestigia* are what must be followed in order to achieve something, and in the epic cases, that achievement is the righting of a wrong. It should

be noted that in *Eclogue* IV, which embraces epic themes, the footsteps are explicitly not equated with the actions which follow; rather, they force these actions: *vestigia fraudis, / quae temptare Thetin ratibus, quae cingere muris / oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos*, “the trail remains of crime, which bids men brave the waves with sails and ring their towns with walls, and score the face of earth with scars,” (31-3). Rome’s heroes must trace these steps to root out the misdeeds, much as Apollo, Hercules, and countless other paradigmatic heroes had done in the past.

IV. Heroic Pursuits: Hercules’s Footsteps

Yet the question immediately suggests itself, what heroes? And what past? Surely not those of *magnus Achilles*, though he, too, was a hero. And what about Hercules? Are all his footsteps to be followed? The attitude towards the heroic past ages in both IV and VI is ambiguous, of that there can be little doubt. It is precisely to clear up this ambiguity through a strong contrast that Hercules’s pursuit of the cattle echoes a number of equally heroic (in chronological terms), though shameful (in moral terms), pursuits.

The lowing of the cattle in *Aeneid* VIII, along with the answering call of the cow inside the cave, coming just at the time when Hercules is about to set off, is probably an ironic twist on the story of Hercules and Hylas. In that story, Hercules chases after the voice of Hylas, who is being held underwater by a group of love-struck nymphs, but succeeds only in getting further and further away from his goal and, incidentally, his ship, which is about to sail. Vergil makes reference to this story in his own *Eclogues*,⁷⁸ but

⁷⁸ In *Eclogues* IV.34-5 and VI.43-4, to be dealt with at greater length below.

perhaps some attention should be paid first to the earlier sources. The *Idylls* of Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes's *Argonautica* are the probable antecedents of Vergil's version.⁷⁹ At the end of book I of the latter, when Hylas is kidnapped, he gets the opportunity to scream once, and only Polyphemos son of Elatos hears him. The following simile is significant:

ἤυτε τις θήρ
 ἄγριος, ὃν ῥά τε γῆρυς ἀπόπροθεν ἴκετο μῆλων,
 λιμῶ δ' αἰθόμενος μετανίσσεται, οὐδ' ἐπέκυρσε
 ποιμνησιν, πρὸ γὰρ αὐτοὶ ἐνὶ σταθμοῖσι νομῆες
 ἔλσαν· ὁ δὲ στενάχων βρέμει ἄσπετον, ὄφρα κάμησιν
 (*Argonautica* I.1243-7).

...Just as some savage
 Beast, whom the sound of distant flocks has reached,
 Is fired to pursuit by hunger, but fails to reach
 The sheep, for the shepherds earlier had penned them
 In the fold; it roars its wordless grief unto exhaustion.

There Hylas is likened to a member of the flock crying out, although strangely, since Polyphemos is likened to a ravenous beast and Hylas to a safe sheep, whereas the situation is quite the opposite. Yet the resulting image of a searcher unable to penetrate the enclosure in which the prey is being held is surely appropriate.

Hylas and Herakles also appear in Theocritus *Idyll* XIII. In this version there is

⁷⁹ The difficulty in establishing a chronology for Theocritus, Apollonius, and Callimachus has implications for the interpretation of the literary programmes of these works. For an overview of the debate with extensive footnotes, see Köhnken (2001) 73-6, esp. nn. 1-3; and Gleii (2001) 22-3. For the view that Theocritus was a pro-Callimachean reacting to the *Argonautica*, see Stanzel (1995) 230, 242-7; and Gow (1952) vol. I, xxii-iii and vol. II, 231-2. For the position that Apollonius and Callimachus alluded to Theocritus in their work, see Köhnken (2001) 83-92; Cameron (1995) 426-31; and DeForest (1994) 11-15 and 72. For undecided positions, see Knight (1995) 133; and Clauss (1993) 198 n. 42. In light of these difficulties, it would be unwise to attempt to read a programmatic preference (such as epic vs. 'light' Callimachean verse) into these allusions even if it could be shown that Vergil privileges one source over the other. See Gleii (2001) 4-5 for a good survey of work on Apollonius' Callimachean aesthetics (or lack thereof).

no Polyphemos to act as middleman, and Hylas responds to Herakles crying out, each of them calling three times: τρις μὲν Ὑλαν ἄυσεν, ὅσον βαθὺς ἤρυγε λαιμός· / τρις δ' ἄρ' ὁ παῖς ὑπάκουσεν, ἀραιὰ δ' ἴκετο φωνά, “thrice he howled for Hylas, roared out deep and loud; thrice the child made answer with a strangled cry” (*Idylls* XIII. 58-9). This conforms to what happens in *Aeneid* VIII, since the cows set up a lowing in a rising tricolon (lines 215-6) and the heifer in the cave *reddidit...vocem*, “echoed the voice”, (217), which is to say she ὑπάκουσεν, “made answer” (*Idyll* XIII.59), and this response is also characterized in the form of a rising tricolon in lines 217-8 of Vergil (*reddidit una boum vocem vastoque sub antro / mugit et Caci spem custodita fefellit*). Also relevant is the way Theocritus causes the vowels of Hylas to be echoed chiasmatically in the word ἄυσεν, ua for au.⁸⁰

It is not easy to say which source is predominant for Vergil. In the description of Hercules’s response, Vergil writes that *hic vero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro / felle dolor: rapit arma manu nodisque gravatum / robur, et aeri cursu petit ardua montis*, “then indeed vexation raged in Hercules, his black bile rose in fury, and he seized his weapons, most of all the knotted oak-wood club, before he made his way into the lofty mountain heights” (*Aeneid* VIII.219-21). Apollonius writes of Herakles that *κελαινὸν ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοις ζέεν αἶμα*, “his black blood seethed within his entrails” (*Argonautica* I.1262), and his description of Herakles as infuriated, starting and stopping to rest (ὦς ὄγε μαιμῶων ὅτῃ μὲν θοὰ γούνατ' ἔπαλλεν / συνεχέως, ὅτῃ δ' αὐτε μεταλλήγων καμάτοιο, “raging thus, at times he drove his swift legs on without surcease, at times he left off toiling”, 1270-1) does to some extent resemble Vergil’s Hercules, who is *furens animis*,

⁸⁰ Payne (2007) 87. See also Hunter (1999) *ad loc.* 13.58-60 for later associations between Hylas and Echo in the work of Antoninus Liberalis.

“out of his mind with rage” (VIII. 228) and who has to sit down to rest three times (232). Furthermore, Apollonius’s Herakles tears a tree out of the ground at I. 1263, which is similar to Hercules’s eventual decision to rip the rock from the ground in *Aeneid* VIII. 237-9, as well as the shower of uprooted trees which he inflicts on Cacus in line 250.

The Theocritus poem includes an explicit mention of Herakles arming himself, *Μαιωτιστὶ λαβὸν εὐκαμπέα τόξα / καὶ ῥόπαλον*, “taking his bow, curved Scythian-wise, and cudgel” (*Idylls* XIII.56-7), the adjective *μαινόμενος* in line 71 (close to *furens* in *Aeneid* VIII.228), and the mention of Herakles’s ἦπαρ in the same line, which may be related to the *felle* in *Aeneid* VIII. 220. Most striking, however, is the thrice-repeated call and answer of lines 58-9, already mentioned, which it seems Vergil has both incorporated and extended into a proper tricolon in VIII. 230-2.

Indeed, it seems like the safest thing to say is that Vergil draws on both of these very similar passages (and the temporal relationship between the two is anything but clear; it may well be that one is imitating the other),⁸¹ one considered bucolic and the other not, though its similes and setting make it part of that epic tradition from which Theocritus originally drew the themes which would later be characterized as bucolic.⁸² This use of both bucolic and epic material in a scene which is itself engaged with the question of the relationship between epic and bucolic genres is an important indication of the interaction between narrative and metanarrative concerns in the Hercules passage; the

⁸¹ See note 79 above.

⁸² For the influence of Apollonius’ *Argonautica* on Vergil, see Nelis (2001); Hunter (1993) Ch. 7; Clausen (1987); and Briggs (1981). In particular, Feeney (1986) deals with Hercules in both Vergil and Apollonius. For Theocritus as deriving bucolic from epic, see Halperin (1983).

figure of Hercules *boukolos* echoes the tensions of the text. In other words, Vergil problematizes genre, and specifically bucolic and epic genre, in an overdetermined way. The metaphor of the echo reflects the way in which Vergil tends to repeat a pattern at different levels of the text, thus infusing seemingly unrelated episodes with meaning.⁸³

The image of Hylas as a cow may seem incongruous, even grotesque; yet it, too, serves a purpose. On a straightforward level it may be an example of the *variatio* which Vergil had already conceded was necessary in *Georgics* III.6: *cui non dictus Hylas puer*, “who has not heard of youthful Hylas?”, a figure to which Vergil opposes the new images of Italy and Octavian which he will sing (as he does in the *Aeneid*). If this opposition is characterized as, at least partly, one of genre, then it is also an instance of *aemulatio*, since Vergil alludes to Theocritus (in an *Idyll* characterized as bucolic by an ancient commentator) and Apollonius’ *Argonautica*, with its Hylas episode, but overcomes them by recasting the story in a more appropriate epic format. Rather than a story that leads the hero to shirk his duties for love, it becomes a story of justice and righteous anger, and love is altogether banished from the scene.⁸⁴ It now acts more directly as an *exemplum* for Aeneas’ encounter with Turnus at the end of book XII; there a beautiful boy (Pallas) is restored as the impetus to fury, but once again the erotic dimension is downplayed in favor of more “heroic” considerations, and the story is, once again, about justice and anger.⁸⁵

⁸³ Pöschl (1961) 295. Galinsky (1966) provides a reading of *Aeneid* VIII based on this idea, but does not deal with the bucolic material. For the “episodic” nature of the *Aeneid*, see Bömer (1944) 319-69.

⁸⁴ For a reading of the *Aeneid* which sees love as an obstacle to the hero, and thus to be avoided, see Cairns (1989).

⁸⁵ The idea that Hercules is a prototype of Aeneas is explored in greater depth below.

Although the erotic element in the Hylas-cow is downplayed in *Aeneid* VIII, it should not be completely ignored, as that would mean overlooking the reference to the rich bucolic tradition of human-animal relationships. In many cases, such as *Idyll* I.87-8, the accusation of bestiality is for the sake of comedy, characteristic of woodland figures' unbridled sexuality. Yet another member of the bucolic corpus, Moschus' *Europa*, deals with the theme in a more elevated manner, even while acknowledging some of the humor inherent in such a grotesque display. Not coincidentally, the same *Eclogue* that deals with Hylas also deals with the theme of human-bovine love, and does so with a characteristic degree of *variatio*. It is surely relevant to mention here that in *Eclogue* VI, lines 43-4 (on Hylas) are immediately followed by lines on Pasiphae (45-60) and the daughters of Proetus (48-51). One reason why these lines are grouped together is because of their common connection with unbridled passion; yet the three are as different as they are alike. The Proetides are included specifically as a foil to the Pasiphae story, insofar as they did not lust for bulls; they are a mere aside. Yet their presence also raises themes of punishment and justice; the Proetides were guilty of insulting the gods, and were punished for it, while Pasiphae had the misfortune of being married to a man that refused to properly honor Poseidon.⁸⁶ The main pairing of the Hylas and Pasiphae stories raises the theme of pursuit, with the sailors searching the shore for Hylas and Pasiphae and her nymphs seeking the *errabunda bovis vestigial*, "the wandering bull's trail" (58). All of these themes are relevant for the *Aeneid*, both in VIII (where the issues of justice and control over passion are relevant to the Hercules type, and he engages in a search for the cows, whose *vestigia* Cacus had effaced in 209) and in VI, where the Pasiphae story

⁸⁶ Coleman (1977) *ad loc.* VI.48.

is recounted in lines 24-30. There, in connection with Pasiphae, there is mention of *crudelis amor tauri*, “her fierce bull-desire” (24) and *veneris...nefandae*, “unmentionable lust” (26), and this latter term *nefandus* casts the entire story in terms of the moral law.⁸⁷ Interestingly, Daedalus must then lead *caeca...filo vestigial*, “his blind steps with a line” through the labyrinth, reinforcing the theme of following in footsteps. Thus even the seemingly strange figure of Hylas-as-cow serves a purpose in unifying the themes of the poem.

By recalling Hercules’s un-heroic pursuit of Hylas (un-heroic since it drove him from the action), as well as other heroic-age pursuits of cattle in Pasiphae, the daughters of Proetides, and perhaps those of Europa, Io, and a thieving Hermes, Vergil is able to clarify his point about the Heroic Age as a pattern for contemporary behavior and violence. This transitional state of history includes both *vestigia fraudis* and the heroes who act to wipe them out. Though some figures are “heroic” and larger than life (*magnus Achilles*, the un-heroic Hercules, and, more relevant for contemporary concerns, perhaps that un-heroic Roman Hercules, Antony), they must be defeated by the true heroes in order for the situation to improve.

It is clear, then, that the Lucretian reading of the Golden Age was already at play in the *Eclogues* of Vergil and particularly in *Eclogues* IV and VI. As such, the importation of elements from those *Eclogues* into *Aeneid* VIII prepares the reader to properly interpret the figure of Hercules (and consequently that of Augustus) in the poem’s conception of history. In this connection the hymn to Hercules beginning in line

⁸⁷ A theme prefigured in lines 20-2, where the death of Androgeus leads to a *poenas* of seven children. The disparity in numbers alone highlights the injustice of the penalty.

288 becomes an important piece of the puzzle.⁸⁸ A chorus of youths and elders sings of the deeds of Hercules, starting with the episode of the snakes, *monstra manu geminosque premens eliserit anguis*, “squeezed till he crushed the monstrous pair of snakes with his hands,” (289), recalling both the strangling of Cacus and the language of the *Herakliskos* Idyll, already discussed above. Mention is made of Juno’s role in the attack (the *novercae* of line 288), and she is mentioned again by name in line 292 to reinforce the parallel between Hercules and Aeneas. In lines 290-1 Hercules’s role as heroic figure (which would place him in the Heroic Age if one were considering this passage in light of the Ages of Man myth) is made explicit: they sing *ut bello egregias idem disiecerit urbes, / Troiamque Oechaliamque*, “how he tore apart in war those eminent cities, Troy and Oechalia.” These lines are very interesting from the point of view of the mythology of *Aeneid* VIII. The destructions of Troy and of Oechalia were carried out under almost exactly parallel circumstances: Hercules was refused a promised reward by a king, and enforced contractual law in his own manner.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the situation at Troy arose from an earlier refusal by King Laomedon to honor a promise to the gods Apollo and Neptune. In the destruction of these cities Hercules played the role of avenger of the gods and enforcer of the law. This is all, of course, in the context of the song honoring him as savior of Rome.

⁸⁸ For a discussion of the hymn’s importance for interpretation of the *Aeneid* see Heiden (1987), who also provides a thorough bibliography on 662 n.3. Both Heiden and Zarker (1972) see Hercules as a less than positive reflection on the Augustan regime.

⁸⁹ Heiden (1987) 666-9 brings up other possible interpretations, and concludes that the references to the destruction of these cities show that Hercules “cannot control his violence” (p. 668). Wigodsky (1965) 219 n. 74 also provides a pessimistic reading of the lines. For interpretations closer to mine, see Buchheit (1963) 123 and Galinsky (1972) 143, 145.

The song continues in a similar vein, extolling the violent deeds of a Hercules making the world safe for progress. Notable items include the Nemean lion *sub rupe*, “under the cliff”, not only a description of the lion in terms of place (like Cacus) but also recalling the climactic moment of Pseudo-Theocritus *Idyll 25*, the so-called *Herakles Leontophonos*, in which Hercules kills the beast as it approaches its lair (ἦτοι ὃ μὲν σήραγγα προδείελος ἔστιγεν, “it came to its cave before evening,” XXV. 223). The description of the underworld is notable not only for recalling Aeneas’s own trip there in book VI, but also Cacus’s cave. Finally there is mention of Cacus, which falls into the now-familiar pattern of description through landscape: *super omnia Caci / speluncam adiciunt*, “above all, they place the cave of Cacus,” (VIII. 303-4). In this retelling of the deeds of Hercules, then, special emphasis is placed on the similarities between Aeneas, Augustus, and Hercules, and on their roles as civilizers.⁹⁰ The wars that will occur shortly in the *Aeneid*, the killings *non te rationis egentem*, “you rightfully performed,” (*Aeneid* VIII. 299), are justified as necessary for the good of all. Truly in this sense can Hercules and his successors each be called *communem...deum*” (275).

V. Conclusion

The allusions to bucolic in the Cacus episode of book VIII serve both to problematize the relationship between bucolic and epic genres and to reinforce a political message. This latter function takes place on two levels: first, the allusions to prophetic material in the *Eclogues* bring up concerns over the place of violence in history, and resolve those concerns in favor of civilization while acknowledging the costs associated

⁹⁰ Otis (1964) 335; Galinsky (1972) 131, 138, 149.

with warfare. Secondly, these same allusions, along with those to *Eclogue* I, serve to reinforce the typological parallels that appear repeatedly throughout the *Aeneid*, and tie Hercules to the figure of Augustus. When these two aspects are combined, it becomes clear that the text is supporting Augustus and his methods by claiming that they play a necessary historical role. Yet even as these problems are resolved, the question remains: is the Hercules story with its bucolic intertexts an isolated incident in *Aeneid* VIII, or is it part of a greater engagement with the themes of bucolic prophecy and Roman power? It would seem a sensible claim that if book VIII begins and ends with parallel presentations of these themes, it will be a good indication that they are key ideas for this most Roman of sections. Therefore in the following chapter we shall turn to the end of the book, to an examination of the scene in which Aeneas receives his famous shield.

Chapter III

Lucumque diemque: Time, place, and the shield

The previous chapter showed how the bucolic allusions interwoven throughout the Cacus story served to raise the problem of violence in history, and specifically of the role of violence in Augustus's rise to power. This chapter will show how Vergil uses bucolic allusions near the end of book VIII in order to provide an answer to this problem in the form of a vatic ekphrasis, that of the shield. Much, of course, has been written on the shield, and this dissertation will not attempt to provide a new reading of it, a task that in itself would easily require a dissertation-length study. Instead, the focus will be on the site where the shield is found, the sacred grove of Caere. This grove, sacred to the god Silvanus, provides a locus of allusions to the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, where he forms part of a complex engagement with Lucretius's critique of traditional Roman belief and Gallus's attempt at an escapist poetics. Sections I and II explore this dialogue and find that Vergil makes his grove a site for vatic discourse understood as politically engaged, divinely inspired song. Section III shows how the encounter between Aeneas and Venus there forms a dramatic enactment of the ideal relation between the *vates* and the gods, while also signaling a continuity with the following material by means of allusions to the liminal image of the star of Venus. This leads naturally to section IV, in which the first few, more bucolic images of the shield are closely analyzed, and the program of the

entire shield is briefly surveyed in light of the framework which Vergil has so carefully formed around the shield proper.

I. In the name of the fathers: The sacred grove

The episode of the shield begins with a classic ekphrastic description of place, or *topothesia*⁹¹:

est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem,
religione patrum late sacer; undique colles
inclusere cavi et nigra nemus abiete cingunt.
Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos,
arvorum pecorisque deo, lucumque diemque,
qui primi finis aliquando habuere Latinos.
(*Aeneid* VIII. 597-602).

Near Caere's icy stream there is a grove of broad dimension,
Known far and wide as sacred to our ancestors; on every side
Cave-studded hills surround it, and woods of shady fir.
The story goes that day and grove were consecrated to Silvanus,
God of flocks and fields, of old by the Pelasgians,
Who were the first to hold the Latian borders.

Vergil sets the scene in terms of landscape and religion. The landscape recalls a variety of conventional pastoral settings from the *Eclogues*, such as I.51-2 (...*hic inter flumina nota / et fontis sacros frigus captabis opacum*, “here among well-known streams and sacred springs you’ll find the cooling shade”) and V.25 (*frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina, nulla neque amnem*, “nor bulls to cold streams nor rivers, o Daphnis”) as well as *Idylls* V.47-8 (ἔνθ’ ὕδατος ψυχρῷ κρᾶναι δύο, ταὶ δ’ ἐπὶ δένδρῳ / ὄρνιχες λαλαγεῦντι, “here are two springs of icy water, and on the trees the birds make song”) and VII.136-7 (αἴγειροι πελέαι τε· τὸ δ’ ἐγγύθεν ἱερὸν ὕδωρ / Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἄντροιο κατειβόμενον κελάρυζε, “poplars and elm-trees; nearby the sacred water poured from the grot of the

⁹¹ Gransden (1976) 158.

Nymphs with a murmur”). The mention of woodlands and especially of cold water is typical, as is the notion that some of these places are sacred to woodland deities such as the nymphs.

Yet it is specifically the figure of Silvanus that Vergil chooses to emphasize in line 600. This is significant because, as I will demonstrate, Silvanus forms an important point of contact with Lucretius’s critique of traditional belief, and strongly suggests the idea of the *vates* through intertexts with Vergil’s poetry.⁹² Other than in VIII.600, there are no references to Silvanus anywhere in the *Aeneid*. He does appear however in both the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*. In *Eclogue X*, Silvanus is one of the divinities who visit Gallus as he mourns because of an *indigno amore*, “a love unworthy of him”.⁹³ He is described as *agresti capitis Silvanus honore, / florentes ferulas et grandia lilia quassans* “Silvanus, wreathed with the richest fruits of the fields, waving great lilies and reeds in flower”,⁹⁴ and at first glance that is the extent of his importance in the poem, as he does not speak and is never mentioned again. He is, however, a figure rich in allusive content. Coming as he does between Apollo and Pan, he recalls the sequence of deities in the

⁹² Silvanus also has numerous vatic associations outside of Vergil’s *corpus*: Livy II.7.2; and Valerius Maximus (I.8.5), who make Silvanus announce the defeat of Tarquinius Superbus, are the only sources that attest a prophetic role to Silvanus proper. Yet the fact that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, when recounting the same episode, substitutes Faunus for Silvanus (V.16.2-3), when combined with the tendency of literary sources to conflate woodland deities such as Pan, Faunus, and Silvanus (on which cf. n. 97 below), allow one to bring in the substantial body of material ascribing prophecy to Faunus. Some examples are Nemesianus II.73; Ennius as quoted in Cicero *Orator* 171 and *Brutus* XI.75; Cicero in both *De Nat. Deor.* II.2.6 and *De Div.* I.101; and of course Vergil in *Aen.* VI.775 and VII.81. See Ogilvie (1965) 250 for the case that Livy and Valerius Maximus preserve the more authentic account; but see Dorcey (1992) 35-6 *contra*. Nemesianus and Ennius, in particular, both associate plural *Fauni* specifically with *vates*.

⁹³ *Eclogue X*.10.

⁹⁴ *Eclogue X*.24-5.

Epitaphios Bionos;⁹⁵ at the same time, however, he is an element of Vergilian *variatio*, since he takes the place of the generic woodland deities in the same *sedes* (i.e. between

Apollo and Pan) in the *Epitaphios Bionos*:

σεῖο, Βίων, ἔκλαυσε ταχὺν μόνον αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων,
καὶ Σάτυροι μύροντο μελάγγλαινοὶ τε Πήρηποι·
καὶ Πᾶνες στοναχεῦντο τὸ σὸν μέλος...
(*Epitaphios Bionos*, 26-8.)

Apollo himself mourned your untimely death, o Bion,
And Satyrs and black-garbed Priapoi wept uncontrollably;
Even the Pans loudly lamented your song...

Both the *Epitaphios Bionos* and *Eclogue X* also allude to a similar succession of deities in Theocritus' first *Idyll*,⁹⁶ in which the arrival of Aphrodite leads to the climactic encounter between the human and divine. This generic quality of Silvanus as a stand-in

⁹⁵ Though there are no clear verbal parallels between this poem and Vergil's work, certain *Eclogues* seem to indicate its influence (for example, the lament of Daphnis in *Ecl.* V.20-44; cf. Paschalis (1995) 617 and n. 3, where he acknowledges that Theocritus *Id.* IV.14 may instead be the source). Paschalis attempts to trace the influence of the *Epitaphios Bionos* on Vergil *Eclogue VI*. He concludes that there are significant thematic parallels between the poems, including an emphasis on genre differentiation unparalleled in Theocritus and an Orphic element unattested elsewhere in pre-Vergilian bucolic poetry (Paschalis (1995) 618). These themes would be equally at home in the tenth *Eclogue*. Other valuable points are made by Bernsdorff (2006) 195-7, where he discusses the influence of the *Epitaphios*'s pronounced use of the pathetic fallacy on Vergil (see especially 196 n.125 on the comparison between the *Epitaphios* and its predecessors; 196 n.126 on the use of pathetic fallacy in Vergil's *Eclogues*, including X; and 196 n.129 on how the pathetic fallacy contributes to *Eclogue IV*'s effective depiction of the Golden Age). Fantuzzi (1998) 64 n.9 provides an overview of pre-Theocritean use of pathetic fallacy; see also E.A. Schmidt (1972) 76 and (1987) 116-22. Bernsdorff (2006) 205 reinforces Paschalis's point about the strength of generic differentiation in the *Epitaphios Bionos* through demarcation from other genres, in particular heroic epic, and brings us full circle in 205 n.178 to the influence of this tradition on Vergil, esp. in *Eclogue VI*.

⁹⁶ On *Eclogue X* and *Idyll I* cf. Perkill (1996) 129; Conte (1979) 382; and Clausen (1994) 288.

for other pastoral deities has long been recognized.⁹⁷ Of course, Silvanus was not available to Greek sources as a woodland figure, because he is an Italian deity. Therefore part of this conflation of woodland deities with Silvanus is a product of Latin authors' use of Silvanus where Greek sources mention a different god (that is to say, through the process of cultural translation). Much as Livius Andronicus had done earlier in translating "Muses" as native *Camēnae*,⁹⁸ in *Eclogue X* Vergil grounds a previously Greek tradition in his native Italy.

The description of Silvanus in *Eclogue X* serves to reinforce his generic quality while tying him to a very different text, Lucretius IV.586-7: *cum Pan / pinea semiferi*

⁹⁷ The most extensive work on Silvanus is Dorsey (1992); Chapter 3 in particular (33-48) addresses the issue of Silvanus's similarity to other woodland deities. Röscher (1965) s.v. "Silvanus" also gathers a great deal of material on Silvanus and mentions the disagreement between Livy and Dionysus Halicarnassus on whether to attribute a voice to Silvanus or Faunus, and notes literary links between Silvanus and Pan (section XX). Plautus *Aul.* 674, Accius 405, and Calpurnius Siculus II.28ff. are some examples cited there for this latter association. Cf. also Wissowa (1912) 212, who sees the phrase "silvicola Faunus" in *Aeneid* X.551 as evidence of conflation between those deities. This brings up another potential allusion to Vergil's poetry with clear vatic overtones: *Aeneid* VII.81-106, the description of Latinus' *incubatio* and the prophetic dream sent by his ancestor Faunus (see *Aen.* VII.45-9 for the genealogy of Latinus). For the conflation of Faunus with other rustic deities, see Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* 47ff; Latte (1960) 83-4; and Dorsey (1992) 33-40. Aside from the vatic aspect of the *incubatio*, it also uses Lucretian language in line 89, *multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris*, which alludes to Lucretius I.123, *quaedam simulacra modis pallentia miris*. Vergil also uses the expression at *Geo.* I.477, IV.309, *Aen.* I.354, and X.822. See Austin (1971) *ad loc.* I.354 for the notion that the phrase connotes mystery.

⁹⁸ Livius Andronicus fr. 1. Conte (1994) 42 has a full bibliography. Morel (1927) is a good study of Livius Andronicus' epic writings. Hinds (1998) 52-63 discusses the translation of "Muses" as either *Musae* or *Camēnae* in the context of Roman authors' attempts to create relationships to their predecessors; Reed (2007) Ch. 4 deals with Vergil's use of earlier Latin poets such as Livius Andronicus; 109-10 are particularly relevant. It is also noteworthy for our discussion that Ennius in his *Annales* (Skutsch (1985) 206-10) wrote disparagingly of his predecessors (esp. Naevius; see Cicero *Brut.* 75-6) for writing in Saturnian meter (cf. Varro *L.L.* VII.36) in terms of woodland deities: *scripsere alii rem / vorsibus quos olim Fauni vatesque canebant*. Naevius may have used the term *Camēnae* for Muses; see Hinds (1998) 58 n.9, 60 n.14.

capitis velamina quassans, “when Pan rattled the piny headgear covering the animalistic half of his head”. In the passage from which this line is drawn, Lucretius attempts to prove the foolishness of belief in woodland deities.⁹⁹ He mentions satyrs and nymphs (IV.580) as well as Pan, but innovates by adding the Italian *fauni* in line 581. Within the world of *Eclogue X* these references make perfect sense. On the one hand, the lament for a poetic predecessor is germane to the subject matter of X, and so allusions to the *Epitaphios Bionos* and Theocritus *Idyll I* are not out of place. Yet in a poem which questions the efficacy of pastoral song as a *pharmakon* for love’s ills,¹⁰⁰ the nod towards Lucretius’s anti-superstition, anti-pastoral work serves to reinforce the important themes of skepticism and disappointment.¹⁰¹ There may also be a wry acknowledgement of the fact that, in spite of his raillery against the subject matter, Lucretius’s work can be mined for pastoral imagery. In other words, Lucretius must briefly become a pastoral poet in order to reveal the truth about pastoral.¹⁰²

Silvanus is thus made an ambiguous figure through the intertexts, as he simultaneously partakes of the pastoral tradition and of protests against the tradition. In *Eclogue X* he is ambiguous as well, coming as he does between Apollo and the

⁹⁹ This is a recurrent concern in Lucretius; see Gale (1994) 180-1 for another example of Lucretius’ rationalization of woodland gods.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Lee (1984) 99; Van Sickle (1980) 596-7 and (1978) 35; Boyle (1975) 33; Ross (1975) 106; Otis (1964) 130; and Damon (1961) 288. For contrasting opinions, see Perkell (1996); and Veyne (1988) 103.

¹⁰¹ These themes will be explored in greater depth later in the chapter. For a general account of late Republican and Augustan rejection of Lucretius’ Epicurean philosophy in favor of traditional religion, see Hardie (2007). Cf. also West (1995) 163 on Horace’s rejection of Lucretius in *Odes* I.34; on Cicero’s engagement with Lucretius in his rejection of Epicureanism, see Pucci (1966); Novara (1983) 386-443; Schiesaro (1987) and (2007) 46, 48-9, and 51-2; and Zetzel (1998).

¹⁰² On the links between pastoral and Epicureanism, see Rosenmeyer (1969) 42-4; Coleman (1977) 6-7; on the *Eclogues* and Epicureanism, see Hardie (2006); and now Welch (2008) 54-60, 63.

animalistic Pan. Whereas Apollo introduces the first martial notes into the poem (*perque horrida castra secuta est*, “she followed him through rude wilderness camps,” *Eclogue X.23*), and Pan speaks gnominally of Amor in conventional pastoral terms (28-30), the lone native Italian god of the trio remains silent, mutely presenting his herbage as consolation. The fact that his flowers are completely out of season (he carries summer flowers in the winter)¹⁰³ further underscores Silvanus’ exceptional status.

Silvanus also appears in a famous passage of the *Georgics*:

felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
 atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
 subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari:
 fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis
 Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.
 (*Georgics* II.490-4).

Happy the man who managed to learn the causes of things
 And thus cast down all fear at his feet, the fear of death
 Which comes to all, and the murmur of gluttonous Acheron after:
 Yet he is fortunate too who accepted the gods of the fields as real –
 Pan and his sister nymphs, and aged Silvanus.

Here again Silvanus is the middle figure in a collection of three types of divinities with pastoral associations, the *deos agrestis* of line 493.¹⁰⁴ Scholars have long debated the

¹⁰³ Coleman (1977) 283. A clear model for this theme is Theocritus *Id.* XI.56-9, where Polyphemus sings:

“ἔφερον δέ τοι ἠ κρίνα λευκά
 ἠ μάκων’ ἀπαλὰν ἐρυθρὰ πλαταγῶνι’ ἔχουσιν·
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θέρος, τὰ δὲ γίνεται ἐν χειμῶνι,
 ὥστ’ οὐ κά τοι ταῦτα φέρειν ἅμα πάντ’ ἐδυνάθην.”

“I would have brought you white lilies
 Or tender poppies with broad red petals;
 But these are the summer’s, and those bloom in winter,
 So I couldn’t have brought you all these together.”

This allusion serves to underscore his pastoral value.

¹⁰⁴ Gale (2000) 30 and Thomas (1988) *ad loc.* agree that these are gods of pastoral poetry.

meaning of these lines and indeed of the whole passage whence they are drawn.¹⁰⁵

Hardie argues that the *makarismos* is both a religious form and one used to praise a philosopher¹⁰⁶; and that Vergil is following Lucretius in “using the vocabulary of religion to express an anti-religious point of view” in lines 490-3. In fact, lines 490-2 are full of Lucretian echoes.¹⁰⁷ Clearly there is a tension between the philosophical teachings of Epicurus and Lucretius on the one hand and religious tradition on the other. Buchheit believes that Vergil is rejecting the former in favor of the latter;¹⁰⁸ yet Hardie’s position that Vergil is rather presenting a “truly unresolved dichotomy” has some merit.¹⁰⁹ After all, the double *makarismos* seems to place philosophy and religion on an equal footing and to acknowledge that both have their advantages. In fact, however, though Vergil recognizes some merit in his opponent’s position, he makes a clear-cut choice.

According to Hardie, “Virgil is confronted with an irreconcilable clash between Faith and Reason; he opts for Faith, but with a full awareness that this involves an abnegation of the (Lucretian) certainties of Reason.”¹¹⁰ The choice is implicit in the following lines. *Georgics* II.495-512 criticizes the alternative to Faith and Reason: it is a catalogue of evils, including greed, irreligiosity, kingship, and rampant democracy. But

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, Gale (2000) 42-3; Thomas (1988) *ad* 483-4; Hardie (1986) 40; and Ross (1975) 29-31.

¹⁰⁶ Hardie (1986) 39-40; for the religious associations of *makarismos*, see Dodds (1977) on Eur. *Bacch.* 72-5; for the praise function, see Gladigow (1967) 404-33.

¹⁰⁷ Hardie (1986) 40 n.20 lists all these “reminiscences.” Thomas (1988) *ad loc.* 490 admits that the language of the lines evokes Lucretius, but points out that they contain no specific reference. This position stems from his belief that Lucretius possesses only formal importance for the *Georgics* (cf. Thomas (1988) 3-4). For the influence of Lucretius on the *Georgics*, see also Sellar (1883) Ch. 6; Paratore (1939) 177-202; Buchheit (1972); Nethercut (1973) 41-52; and Gale (2000).

¹⁰⁸ Buchheit (1972) 76.

¹⁰⁹ Hardie (1986) 43.

¹¹⁰ Hardie (1986) 44.

lines 513-40 return to the themes of the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, the life of the farmer and the pleasures of rural life, rather than the philosophical consolations of lines 490-3.

Whether there is any irony behind the presentation of alternatives inherent in the *makarismos* of *Georgics* II.490-4, then, it seems that the first, or Lucretian, alternative falls prey to the following criticism: someone may be able to understand the causes of things and therefore maintain their equanimity before the prospect of death, but that person is not the narrator (or presumably Vergil).¹¹¹ The question of irony largely hinges upon the universality of the rejection of the Lucretian position. If Vergil believed that no one could attain to such powers of concentration, then surely it would follow that the first alternative was being presented with some irony. At the very least, it is apparent that in Vergil's view true Epicurean equanimity is not available to the majority of people.¹¹²

The choice between Faith and Reason, as Hardie puts it, is not resolved arbitrarily but pragmatically. To this end Vergil presents hard evidence that the traditional *mores* of the Romans were effective, since it was through them and not through philosophy that *fortis Etruria crevit / scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma*, "I am convinced, Etruria grew strong, and Rome became the best of cities" (*Georgics* II.533-4). Vergil recognizes the limitations of tradition (*nec requies*, "no time for rest," (line 516)¹¹³), but at least the

¹¹¹ But see Thomas (1988) *ad loc.* II.490 and pages 4 and 249-50, where he denies any specific reference to Lucretius, who is only one among all of those who are "blessed." He does concede, however, that he is at odds with the traditional view. See Farrell (1991) 175 on how "Vergil's theism stands in marked contrast to Lucretius' essentially atheistic outlook," with specific reference to this passage in note 15. See also 33 n.15, which asserts that here Vergil does refer to Lucretius specifically.

¹¹² Here even Richard Thomas agrees. Cf. his discussion (1988) *ad loc.* 491-2 of the theme of overcoming *metus*, which fails at the end of *Georgics* book III. See also Thomas (1982) 79-80.

¹¹³ This language closely echoes that of Lucretius VI.1177, which begins with *nec requies*.

labor serves a purpose: *hinc patriam parvosque nepotes / sustinet*, “thus he supports his country and his children”, (514-5).

These lines, and especially *Georgics* II.532-4, are notable in relation to *Aeneid* VIII:

hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria crevit
scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma...

The ancient Sabines carefully kept this kind of life,
And so did Remus and his brother; thus, I am convinced, Etruria
Grew strong, and Rome became the best of cities...

The praise of the lifestyle of the ancient (*veteres*) inhabitants of Italy, the mention of *Etruria*, and the juxtaposition of these ancient *mores* with the founders of Rome (like the *patrum* of *Aeneid* VIII.598) is no coincidence.¹¹⁴ Neither is the religious dimension absent from this passage; *Georgics* II.527 specifically says *ipse* [the *agricola*] *dies agitat festos*, “he celebrates the holy days” just as the Pelasgians did for Silvanus in *Aeneid* VIII.601.

At this point let us take a brief detour back to Caere and the *patres* of *Aeneid* VIII. Caere, the modern Cerveteri, was an important Etruscan settlement about 30 miles north of Rome.¹¹⁵ It is also mentioned in line 479 as *urbis Agyllinae*, and there Vergil writes that it was founded by people from Lydia. This seems at odds with what Vergil writes in line 600, that the founders of the cult were Pelasgians, or early Greeks. These two conflicting positions (that the Etruscans were Lydians or that they were Pelasgians) were

¹¹⁴ This becomes even more certain if those scholars are correct who see Dido, Carthage, and Mezentius as Epicurean foils to Aeneas and Rome. Cf. on Dido Pease (1935) 36-8; Dyson (1996); and Adler (2003). On Mezentius, see Kronenberg (2005).

¹¹⁵ For more information on Vergil’s use of Caere in *Aeneid* VIII, see McKay (1971) 81-6. See also Gransden (1976) 147.

presented by Herodotus (I.90) and Dionysus of Halicarnassus (I.28-30), respectively, in their writings on the origins of the Etruscans.¹¹⁶

The *fama est* of line 600 is the so-called Alexandrian footnote, namely the “signaling of specific allusion by a poet through seemingly general appeals to tradition and report.”¹¹⁷ This style of allusion acts to highlight the research that Vergil has done into the history of the region. By his seeming inconsistency in lines 479 and 600 Vergil is surely indicating his familiarity with both Herodotus’ and Dionysus of Halicarnassus’ accounts. This serves to bolster, rather than detract from, the credibility of the most important claim in these lines, that, whoever they were, the people who instituted the religious rituals in honor of Silvanus were the first inhabitants of Latium.

Who exactly the *patres* of line 598 are is somewhat open to question; it is not likely to be the Etruscans, who were thought by the Romans to be a different people. It could mean the Latins at that time, who later mixed with the Trojan newcomers, or it could simply mean that at some later point the ancestors of the Romans came to consider that site sacred. What is important is that the line of descent of the cult is traced to the very earliest source possible, the first inhabitants as well as the ancestors of the Romans. The notion of ancestors is a politically loaded one in the time of the principate. Galinsky asserts that “although the much discussed Augustan ‘program’ was a product of many minds, it was single-mindedly intent on reviving the old *mores*.”¹¹⁸ The *Res Gestae* make the claim that *legibus novis me auctore latis multa exempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex*

¹¹⁶ Gransden (1976) 158.

¹¹⁷ Hinds (1998) 1-2. Cf. also Hinds (1998) 1-5. For the Alexandrian footnote as polemical, see Thomas (1982) 146; Horsfall (1990b) sees it as a distancing device. The term was first used in Ross (1975) 78.

¹¹⁸ Galinsky (1996) 63.

nostro saeculo reduxi, “through the new laws which I wrote and propagated I brought back into currency many exemplary stories of our ancestors, which were falling out of contemporary use”.¹¹⁹ Scholars generally agree that “it was one of his [Augustus’s] aims to revive respect for the old religious practices,”¹²⁰ and the ancient sources amply attest this fact.¹²¹ In addition to landscape and religion, then, time and politics have become factors. On the one hand, the grove’s description looks back from the time of the action to that of the earliest settlers; through the word *patrum*, it looks forward to the Romans. Yet in another sense, both of these are implicated in the contemporary revival and validation of ancient religion in the Augustan period.

This religious revival and respect for the past had implications for Augustan poetry. Hardie writes that “the more reverential brand of poetic primitivism finds echoes in the image that the Augustan poets, in particular Virgil and Horace, constructed of themselves, and to which they attached the label *vates*.”¹²² There are religious dimensions to being a *vates*, such as “the belief that, through some form of inspiration, the poet has privileged access to eternal truths...” and “the notion that the *vates* is qualified to sing of the secrets of the universe, of cosmology.”¹²³ The sacred grove in Greco-Roman tradition is in itself evocative of the notions of divine inspiration and access to eternal truths. One need only think of Plato’s *Phaedrus*, in which Socrates

¹¹⁹ *RG* 8.5.

¹²⁰ Brunt and Moore (1967) 50. See now also Wallace (2000).

¹²¹ E.g. Suet. *Aug.* 31, Dio, L, 4,4. See also *CAH* X, 820-37.

¹²² Hardie (1986) p. 16. Cf. especially Newman (1967) on the concept of the *vates* and Heinze (1957) 473 for Vergil’s attitude towards the concept. For the history of the word, see Dahlmann (1948) and Bickel (1951). Dahlmann (1953) and (1962) speculates on Varro’s role in theorizing the *vates*. Strabo (IV.4.4) draws an account of Gallic *vates* from Posidonius, on which see Reinhardt (1954) 792 ff.

¹²³ Hardie (1986) p. 16. Newman (1967) 16, 23 also writes about the religious function of the *vates*. Cf. also Latte (1960) 268 n.3 on the religious sense of *vates* in early Latin.

claims that the sacred grove in which he and Phaedrus are conversing is responsible for the strangeness of his words and actions:¹²⁴ τῷ ὄντι γὰρ θεῖος ἔοικεν ὁ τόπος εἶναι, ὥστε ἐὰν ἄρα πολλακίς νυμφόληπτος προϊόντος τοῦ λόγου γένωμαι, μὴ θαυμάσης· τὰ νῦν γὰρ οὐκέτι πόρρω διθυράμβων φθέγγομαι,¹²⁵ “for indeed the place seems to belong to the gods, so that you shouldn’t be at all surprised if I often become inspired by the nymphs as I make my speech; for already I’m not far from speaking in dithyrambs”, says Socrates, and

Οὐκ ἦσθου, ὦ μακάριε, ὅτι ἤδη ἔπη φθέγγομαι ἀλλ’
οὐκέτι διθυράμβους, καὶ ταῦτα ψέγων; ἐὰν δ’ ἐπαινεῖν τὸν
ἕτερον ἄρξωμαι, τί με οἶει ποιήσῃν; ἄρ’ οἶσθ’ ὅτι ὑπὸ
τῶν Νυμφῶν, αἷς με σὺ προύβαλες ἐκ προνοίας, σαφῶς
ἐνθουσιάσω;¹²⁶

“Can’t you see, dear boy, that I’m already speaking in hexameters rather than dithyrambs, even though I’m only critiquing the argument? Now, what do you think I’ll do if I actually start praising the other guy? Don’t you think that I’ll become openly possessed by the nymphs, to whom you’ve knowingly exposed me?”

Particularly noteworthy here is the association of divine inspiration with epic verse.

What Vergil has done in his description of the sacred grove at Caere, then, is to evoke themes of divine inspiration and ancient religion, and subsequently to support these in favor of Lucretius’s rational philosophy. In doing so, he has aligned himself squarely with the prophetic figure of the *vates* as represented by Silvanus. One additional aspect of this sustained allusion to Silvanus is foreshadowed by a final intertext, *Georgics* I.20: *teneram ab radice ferens Silvane cupressum*, “Silvanus, you who bear the cypress

¹²⁴ Nehamas and Woodruff (1995) xi. Dodds (1951) 80-2 traces the idea of divine poetic inspiration back to Democritus. Plato (*Rep.* X.607b) describes the discussion of poetic inspiration as “παλαιά.”

¹²⁵ *Phaedrus* 238d.

¹²⁶ *Phaedrus* 241e. See also 235c-d, 241e-242a, and 262c-d.

sapling by its roots”. This line forms part of a catalogue of twelve gods and goddesses *studium quibus arva tueri*, “who watch over the fields” (21). Though the role of Silvanus in the proem is fairly straightforward, there are two particularly interesting twists. One is that the figures of Pan, the Fauns, and the Dryads are also mentioned, recalling the same anti-pastoral passage of Lucretius (IV.580-94) as *Eclogue X* and *Georgics* II.494 and prompting Gale to write that “here and throughout the invocation Virgil reinstates the gods dethroned by Lucretius.”¹²⁷ The other is that there is a thirteenth figure associated with these deities: *et te maximus orbis / auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem / accipiat cingens materna tempora myrto*, “and may the great globe welcome you, who’ll make its fruits to grow and manage rains and seasons, and crown you with a wreath of myrtle, sacred to your mother” (26-8). That figure is Octavian, not yet deified, but whose eventual domain is envisioned as including the functions of an agricultural deity, and whose family connection to Venus (by way of Julius Caesar and, of course, Aeneas) appears prominently here.¹²⁸ The poem also refers to him as “Caesar” in line 25. This political message may also be anti-Lucretian, since Lucretius takes the Epicurean position that happiness is best achieved by avoiding political involvement.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Gale (2000) 30. Hardie (1986) 91 and 178 suggests the term “remythologization” for the process by which Vergil reverses Lucretius’s revisionism while maintaining his style; Gale (1994) writes of Lucretius’s demythologization, which would be the complementary term. Cf. also Lyne (1989) 110. Vergil also remythologizes in *Aeneid* VI, where Anchises presents a traditional world view in a Lucretian manner; see Austin (1977) 221; and Hardie (1986) 75-83; and perhaps also in IV.208-10 in Iarbas’s speech, for which see Hardie (2007) 116; and Mellinshoff-Bourgerie (1990); in the *Eclogues*, for which see Hardie (2006); and Clausen (1994) 74 on *Eclogue* II; and in the *Georgics*, as will be discussed further below.

¹²⁸ See Thomas (1988) *ad loc.* 32-5. For broader overviews of Octavian in the *Georgics*, see Boyle (1979); and Tarrant (1997).

¹²⁹ See Gale (2000) 27 n. 25 for a list of relevant passages; see also Ch. 7. Other sources include Minyard (1985) 36-42; and Fowler (1989).

The first, and most obvious, effect of introducing the figure of Silvanus into the *Aeneid* is to blur the usual generic boundaries.¹³⁰ The text emphasizes the key importance of this aspect by using the phrase *arvorum pecorisque deo* in line 601. As god of the cultivated fields, and as character from the *Georgics*, Silvanus connotes the genre of (specifically agricultural) didactic poetry.¹³¹ As god of the flocks, and character in the *Eclogues*, he suggests the genre of bucolic. Yet there is another, less obvious dimension to the god; Cato in his *De Agricultura* refers to a *Marti Silvano*, “Mars Silvanus” (83). It has long been thought that the name “Silvanus” was originally an epithet for a different god, quite likely Mars.¹³² If this is so, or if (as seems likely) Vergil was acquainted with the tradition through Cato’s treatise on farming, it could be that Silvanus was intended as a figure that united his three genres of hexameter poetry in one. Furthermore, the description of the area serves to reinforce this theme:

haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant
castra locis, celsoque omnis de colle videri
iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in arvis.

(*Aeneid* VIII.603-5).

¹³⁰ The second immediate effect is likely to be confusion at the following lines: *Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos...lucumque diemque* (600-1). As noted above, *Pelasgos* is part of a learned allusion to the debate over Etruscan origins, specifically to the position that they were Greeks. Yet Silvanus is a specifically Italian deity, a fact which surely plays into his presence at this juncture in the epic.

¹³¹ On the multifarious associations of Silvanus, see Dorcey (1992) 14-32. Dorcey (1992) 20-21 discusses his character as an agricultural deity: “Silvanus’ original jurisdiction over forests, farmland and pastures is not inherently contradictory. Since the *silvae* (woods) surrounded the archetypical *fundus* (farm) – and herding took place in both – naturally Silvanus would be concerned with both environments.” Dumézil (1970) 234-5, 346 suggests that Silvanus was a forest god whose lands were eventually turned into fields. Cato *De Agr. Cult.* 83 records a rite for Silvanus encompassing both woods and fields.

¹³² Cf. Palmer (1978) 242; Rose (1958) 7; Wissowa (1912) 132; Warde Fowler (1922) 142. For contrary viewpoints see Dorcey (1992) 9; Goujard (1985) 252; Dumézil (1970) 234-5; and Keil (1894) 110. More information on the iconographic aspects of these deities can be found in Röscher (1965) *s.v.* Silvanus, especially sections I and XI.

Not far from here Tarcho and the Tyrrhenians kept their camp,
Which safeguarded the region; from the heights the entire legion
Could be seen stretching across the widespread fields.

Sacred grove, fields, and military encampments all mingle together in the reader's imagination, as directed by the focalizing passive *poterat videri*. They all seem to be available at a single glance, as long as one takes a suitably elevated vantage (*celso de colle*).¹³³

It appears that Vergil acknowledges the importance of this part of the text by bringing to bear all the resources of his previous poetic output. In *Aeneid* VIII the *topothesia* is often a critical locus for the establishment of tone and the suggestion of the interpretive framework for what is about to follow. The reader must therefore pay special attention to this particular *topothesia*, as it will introduce the climactic episode of the book, the ekphrasis of the Shield of Aeneas.

Although Vergil alludes to all the branches of his *oeuvre* in order to establish the cosmogonic significance of the shield, the effect is one of harmony rather than chaos. The key items on which this order is founded are the predominance of a common set of generic conventions and the unity underlying the disparate intertexts. The predominant genre is clearly the pastoral. Although the military epic is present in lines 604-7 (*videri / iam poterat legio et latis tendebat in arvis. / huc pater Aeneas et bello lecta iuventus / succedunt*, “the legion could be seen stretching across the widespread fields. Father Aeneas marched his army of youths, hand-picked for war, to this place”), and the

¹³³ Reed (2007) 175-9 includes a number of views from a height in the *Aeneid* (among which are I.180 and VI. 752-5 for Aeneas, and I.223-6 for Jupiter). He particularly emphasizes the power relationship implicit in a viewpoint from a height (for which cf. also Courtney (1993) 33; and West (1983) 215 on literature, and Fredrick (1995) 269; Bergmann (1991); and Newlands (2002) 172-4 on visual art and architecture).

educated reader would be aware that Silvanus is prominent among some key passages in the *Georgics*, the bulk of the description in lines 597-602 is cast in terms familiar from the *Eclogues* and *Idylls*, as discussed above on p. 1. In addition, the circumstances in which Aeneas finds himself when Venus gives him the arms are emphatically associated with the wilderness description and not those of the military encampment: *natumque in valle reducta / ut procul egelido secretum flumine vidit*, “she saw her son in a lonely vale, where he could not be seen from the distant freezing river” (*Aeneid* VIII.609-10) and *arma sub adversa posuit radiantia quercu*, “she placed the gleaming armaments beneath the facing oak” (616). Though he includes the other genres for purposes of universality, it is the pastoral mode that will set the scene for the interpretation of the shield.

The intertexts surrounding Silvanus reinforce the predominance of the pastoral while acknowledging epic and didactic hexameter traditions. The allusion to *Eclogue X* suggests the pastoral world of Apollo and Pan familiar from bucolic texts such as *Idyll I* and the *Epitaphios Bionos*, but unlike those texts it is a world on which a reality based on warfare impinges closely. As Apollo tells Gallus immediately before the appearance of Silvanus, his beloved Lycoris *per... horrida castra secuta est* (*Eclogue X.23*).¹³⁴ The Silvanus of *Georgics* I.20 bears the cypress and appears with gods such as Pan, the Fauns, and Dryads, leading Gale to speculate that their role is to “evoke the world of pastoral poetry.”¹³⁵ Yet on the other hand it is the figure of Octavian, whose panegyric

¹³⁴ This line is closely based on Theocritus I.82-3, κῆφα ‘Δάφνι τάλαν, τί τὸ τάκειαι; ἄ δέ τῳ κόρα / πάσας ἀνὰ κράνας, πάντ’ ἄλσεα ποσσὶ φορεῖται—, “And he said ‘Daphnis, you wretch, your girl’s walking / along all the streams, and each grove’”; the *variatio* consists in Vergil’s substitution of a military camp for the wilderness scene of the *Idyll*, thus adding the epic element while most strongly evoking the pastoral tradition. This is typical of what Vergil does in *Aeneid* VIII.

¹³⁵ Gale (2000) 30.

begins in line 24, who dominates the passage rather than the sylvan deities. Lastly, it is not only Pan and the Nymphs who accompany Silvanus in *Georgics* II.494; lines 495-6 bring the figures of civil unrest in Rome close on his heels. *Illum [deos qui novit agrestis] non populi fasces, non purpura regum / flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres*, “neither popular fasces nor kingly scarlet persuaded him, nor discord rousing brothers to treachery”. The list continues through line 512.

The intertexts also share an interest in the themes of consolation, religion, and human choice. *Georgics* II.490-4 deals with the choice between religion and philosophy, specifically with the philosophy of Lucretius. That it contains specific allusions to Lucretius, as do *Georgics* I.20 and *Eclogue* X.23, has already been mentioned (pages 56-60 and 64-5).¹³⁶ These references to Lucretius are to those passages in which the religious superstitions of country bumpkins are debunked, and so that thread of doubt runs through every Vergilian passage associated with the figure of Silvanus.

II. Gelidi fontes: Eclogue X, the Georgics, and the philosophy of Lucretius

In *Eclogue* X, the choice seems slightly different. Gallus toys with the concept of abandoning the real world of unfaithful lovers, warfare, and Roman expansionism in favor of the idealized pastoral fantasies of poetry. Yet later in the poem he is forced to recognize that these fantasies are not efficacious means of combating his misery: *non illum [Amorem] nostri possunt mutare labores*, “our drudgery cannot change him”

¹³⁶ But see also Sellar (1897) 201; Ross (1975) 29-31; Boyance (1980); and Novara (1982), who all deny a specific Lucretian reference.

(*Eclogue* X.64).¹³⁷ He must finally yield to divine power (*et nos cedamus Amori*, “let us, too, yield to Love,” *Eclogue* X.69) because the reality of his misery intrudes on his fictional attempts to console himself.¹³⁸ One is left with the impression that lines 31-60, when Gallus’ imaginative flow is actively creating pastoral scenes, do result in a temporary alleviation of his pain. But in a masterstroke of psychological realism, Vergil causes Gallus’ suffering to interrupt his creative output in line 61. One implication is that if Gallus had sufficient powers of concentration he could sustain the fantasy in spite of outside stimuli. Yet the poem simultaneously concedes that probably no one is capable of such a feat of intellectual endurance. What, then, is being rejected in *Eclogue* X? One might be tempted to answer that it is poetry and the pastoral, but Vergil’s text problematizes that option. As Coleman points out, when Gallus comes to his senses in lines 60-1 and says ‘*tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris / aut deus ille malis hominum mitescere discat*’, “as if this were the remedy for our madness, or that god might be taught to pity mankind’s suffering” he merely repeats what Pan had said in lines 28-30,¹³⁹ namely that ‘*Amor non talia curat / nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina rivis...saturantur*’, “Love puts no stock in such trifles...Love in his cruelty drinks down tears like grasses drink streams, and finds no surfeit”. The intertext upholds, then, the wisdom of the actual pastoral gods; it is only the fantasy that Gallus willfully attempts to create which fails before the power of reality.

¹³⁷ Breed (2006) 134-5 discusses the use of the word *labor* in these lines, as well as in line 1, to represent both suffering and writing. On *labores* in line 64, see Putnam (1970) 379-80; Ross (1975) 92; and Rumpf (1996) 167.

¹³⁸ Perkell (2001) and (1996) has a completely different, ‘optimistic’ reading of this choice. Putnam (1970) 378; Pohlenz (1965) 104; and Leach (1974) 168 all present tragic but heroizing readings. But by far the greatest number of commentators is agreed on this point. Cf. n. 100 above.

¹³⁹ Coleman (1977) 291.

I would suggest that the failed consolation of lines 31-60 is meant to represent two things. One is the power of purely human will and imagination in the face of adversity and the power of the gods. The other is the attempt at retirement which the poem vividly represent in lines such as *certum est in silvis inter spelaea ferarum / malle pati*, “my choice is made, I prefer to suffer among the dens of beasts in the wilderness” (*Eclogue X.51-20*), and which the figure of Gallus recants in lines 63-8 with statements such as *‘rursum concedite silvae’*, “retire once more, you woods” (63) and a list of conventionally remote places which are acknowledged as ineffective retreats from Amor. Whereas in the previous section we showed how Vergil rejects Lucretius’s philosophical consolation, here it is a matter of rejecting the consolation of poetic escapism. That is, once Vergil has established the *vates* as religious poet, he goes one step further, and makes engagement with reality a characteristic of the *vates* as well. It is through the antitype of Gallus, whose poetry could be considered Orphic or mythico-scientific, but who turns away from reality and the will of the gods, that Vergil establishes this claim.

The engagement with Lucretius served to introduce a tension between traditions grounded in religion and philosophy. But the engagement with Gallus hinges on distinctions between different traditions within poetry. Ross has seen a divide between what he calls “scientific-mythological” and “pastoral” poetry as inherent in Vergil’s work. For example, he writes that for Vergil “intellectual understanding may be beyond capability, a region where the blood stands frozen” and cites *Georgics II.475-84* (e.g. *sin has ne possim naturae accedere partis / frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis*, “if, however, the frozen blood around my heart should stop me reaching these parts of

nature,” 483-4).¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, “the pastoral imagination, with its ability to transform reality, is a ready alternative to the scientific intellect...”¹⁴¹ For Ross, however, these poles and their resulting tensions are grounded in the (now missing) work of the Roman elegist Gallus. *Eclogue* X does not only deal with Gallus as poetic character; it contains echoes and quotes of Gallus’ poetry.¹⁴² Furthermore, it is “concerned with the poet Gallus and would have been understood by those who knew his poetry.”¹⁴³

One intriguing notion to be derived from Ross’s reading is that the Hebrus of *Eclogue* X.65 is a suggestion of Orpheus and that Orpheus is the representative of scientific poetry. In this context, the words denoting cold in 57 and 65-6 (esp. *frigoribus mediis Hebrumque bibamus*, “mid winter frosts we should drink the Hebrus”), as well as

¹⁴⁰ This imagery is probably drawn from Empedocles fr. 105 Diel-Kranz. See also Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* I.19.

¹⁴¹ Ross (1975) 104-5. Thomas (1988) is also resolute in seeing the alternative as pastoral (250 and *ad loc.* 493-4, where he equates it particularly with the world of the *Eclogues*).

¹⁴² Servius on X.46 writes *hi autem omnes versus Galli sunt, de ipsius translati carminibus*. Ross deals at length with this issue in (1975) 85-106. See also Clausen (1994) *ad loc.* X.50; Yardley (1980); Conte (1979) 400 and n. 34; Kelly (1977); Klingner (1967) 169-71; and Skutsch (1901) 2-27 and (1906) 155-92. More cautious are Van Sickle (1978) 221; and Leach (1974) 161.

¹⁴³ Ross (1975) 87. For a good critique of Ross, see Zetzel’s 1977 review in *CP*. Although he finds fault with some of Ross’s arguments, he concedes that “*Backgrounds* seems to me to be one of those rare books whose arguments are dubious, but whose conclusions are not” (256). Of course, Zetzel’s review dates from before the finding of nine lines of Gallus in Egypt in the late 70’s, for which see Anderson, Nisbet, and Parsons (1979) 125-55. Fantham (1996) offers a good evaluation of Gallus in light of these lines: on the one hand, she persists in regarding Ross (1975) as “brilliant” (Fantham (1996) 59 n.12; on the other, she acknowledges that these early attempts at reconstructing Gallus as a key figure in Augustan poetry now seem somewhat misguided, as “the poetry is a disappointment” (Fantham (1996) 56-62). Other assessments of the new lines and Gallus include Putnam (1980) 49-56; and Whittaker (1983) 55-60. However disappointed in Gallus’s verse modern critics may be, the fact is that Ross’s attempt is primarily to reconstruct the content of the lost work of Gallus, and this reconstruction is not materially affected by the quality of the new fragment. It is also not necessarily true that because the new lines do not seem good, the importance of Gallus as an influence has been misjudged.

the cold of *Georgics* II.483-6 which prevents the poet from partaking in philosophy, all portray the way in which “cosmic understanding, pure and scientific, fails too because of the unhuman cold involved.”¹⁴⁴ If it is true that the language of these lines is largely drawn from the work of Gallus, then it is important to note that Gallus is just as important an intertext to the Silvanus passages as Lucretius was, since he is behind the *Georgics* II allusion as well as that of *Eclogue* X.

I must disagree, however, with some nuances of Ross’s reading, in particular as they relate to what he calls pastoral poetry. For instance, he claims that “Apollo, Silvanus, and Pan ask Gallus, in effect, to cure his insanity by accepting and forgetting Love’s domination.”¹⁴⁵ There is no hint that they do anything of the kind. Apollo and Pan rather seem to ask Gallus to moderate his histrionics in light of well-reasoned facts.¹⁴⁶ Silvanus, of course, says nothing at all. Ross goes on to say that “the power of the Arcadians’ song is such as to make this possible” and that through pastoral “what is real can be transformed.” Ross does not believe that Gallus is successful in consoling himself with pastoral poetry; rather he concedes that “a pastoral paradise is uninhabitable because of the very reality it attempts to transform.” A fuller formulation of the contradictory idea follows: “The poet’s powers to understand and to give form and meaning to his life are as glorious as their failure is inevitable and tragic; divine song is

¹⁴⁴ Ross (1975) 93-5. See also Thomas (1988) ad 477-82 and 491-2; and Coleman (1962) 58 on Orpheus and scientific poetry. Van Sickle (1980) 596 has also noticed the importance of temperature in the mood of *Eclogue* X, writing of the poem’s ending on a “somber note, defeat and death through love, then threatening shadows, cold.”

¹⁴⁵ Ross (1975) 104.

¹⁴⁶ Apollo asks “*Galle, quid insanis?*” (X.22) while Pan asks “*ecquis erit modus?*” (X.28).

subject to human weakness, to which all things must yield.”¹⁴⁷ The Arcadians’ song is clearly not enough to cause Gallus to forget his miseries either in Vergil, Theocritus, or, presumably, Gallus. It is not truly enough to cause a meaningful transformation in reality. It is unclear why Ross would claim that they do even *in potentia* when the evidence is so strongly indicative of the opposite, unless he is confusing certain terms. I believe that this must be the case, and that the quote “divine song is subject to human weakness, to which all things must yield,” holds the key to understanding his confusion.

In fact, the text of *Eclogue X* says that it is Love to which all things must yield, *omnia vincit Amor et nos cedamus Amori*, “Love overcomes all things, so let us, too, yield to Love” (X.69). Is Love then to be interpreted as human weakness? I think the text refutes such an interpretation by making Love something impersonal, almost a force of nature, rather than anything essentially human or subjective. *Omnia* in line 69, a plural neuter accusative emphatically placed in the starting position, highlights the universal power of Love. Pan’s words, of which line 69 is the echo, show how little Love has to do with human strength or weakness: *Amor non talia curat / nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina rivis / nec cutiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae*, “Love puts no stock in such trifles; Love in his cruelty drinks down tears like grasses drink streams, and finds no surfeit more than bees in clover or goats mid shoots” (X.28-30). Not only is love unconcerned, above human considerations, he is equated to the impersonal forces of nature. The grass soaks up water, bees and goats feed without considering the sources of their nourishment. Furthermore, as Coleman points out, the trinity of gods who come to

¹⁴⁷ Ross (1975) 104-5.

Gallus in the passage are “familiar with the sorrows of love,”¹⁴⁸ a fact also known to Servius: *notandum sane quod ea numina plerumque quae amaverunt dicit ad amatorem venire*, “plainly it must be noted that the very deities that he says came to the lover, are those who themselves often loved”.¹⁴⁹ This fact emphasizes that the agency of Love is not limited to the human, let alone human weakness, for even the divine is subject to it. So much for the “human weakness” portion of Ross’s formulation.

The other terminological confusion stems from the phrase “divine song.” Although he does not explain this term, the context in which Ross uses it makes it clear that he is using it to stand in for both what he calls “scientific” and “pastoral” poetry. He attributes a divine character to the song because he sees the pastoral deities as asking Gallus to deal with his love through song, a position that I refuted above. Once again, the text helps in the refutation. After Pan speaks, Gallus responds in lines 31-3: *Tristis at ille ‘tamen cantabitis, Arcades,’ inquit / ‘montibus haec vestris, soli cantare periti / Arcades*, “but sadly he said ‘Nonetheless shall you keep singing this, Arcadians, mid your mountains, Arcadians who alone sing skillfully’”. The first line could hardly mark its adversative nature more strongly, including as it does the adversative *at* in the frame and *tamen* in the quote. Furthermore, the *Arcades* whom Gallus addresses are not the pastoral gods, but rather human beings, as becomes clear in lines 35-6: *Atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrique fuisset / aut custos gregis aut maturaе vinitor uvae!*, “and would that I had been one among you, a keeper of your flock or trimmer of your ripening vines”. The text suggests a break between what the gods recommend and what Gallus responds; he is not taking their advice. He is not even engaging with them. The *tamen* of line 31 is his

¹⁴⁸ Coleman (1977) 282.

¹⁴⁹ Servius *ad loc.*

only acknowledgment of their having spoken. Therefore it seems as if the story is one of Gallus' initial refusal to follow the divine inspiration available to him, and the bulk of his pastoral song cannot be considered a "divine song."

If there is a divine song, then, it is the song of the divinities of lines 21-30 and Gallus' echo of it in lines 60-69. If there is something human and weak represented it is surely the poetry of Gallus that comes between these two in lines 31-59, poetry that cannot console or sustain itself. Perhaps a better reformulation of Ross's dictum would be that human weakness is subject to divine song, to which all things must yield, especially the poet. The Callimachean qualities of this statement about poetry become evident when compared to *Aetia* fr. 1.21-9:

καὶ γὰρ ὅτε πρώτιστον ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ δέλτον ἔθηκα
γούνασιν, Ἀ[πό]λλων εἶπεν ὁ μοι Λύκιος·
'.....]... ἀοιδέ, τὸ μὲν θύος ὅττι πάχιστον
θρέψαι, τῆ]ν Μοῦσαν δ' ὠγαθὲ λεπταλέην·
πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι
τὰ στείβε]ιν, ἐτέρων ἵχνια μὴ καθ' ὀμά
δίφρον ἐλ]ᾶν μηδ' οἴμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἀλλὰ κελεύθους
ἀτρίπτο]υς, εἰ καὶ στενωτέρην ἐλάσεις·
τῶ πιθόμη]ν·

For just when I first laid a tablet on my knees,
Apollo, Lycian, said to me:
"...Singer, the beast of sacrifice you'll feed
As fat as possible, the Muse, my dear, make thin;
And furthermore I bid you tramp the path no cart
Has flattened, nor drive your wagon down another's
Track or on the outspread highway, but down untrodden
Roads, if you would drive a narrower gap."
And I obey him.

As lines 52-4 of *Eclogue X* may refer to Gallus' version of Callimachus' Acontius and Cydippe,¹⁵⁰ this would not be totally out of place.

What emerges then is not a simple binary conception of poetry in which the alternatives are pastoral and scientific. Whether imaginative or intellectual, poetry is unable to deal with the greatest stresses of reality as long as it is an artificial product. Only those positions of which the individual is truly convinced will bring solace, and it is not a matter of choice since one cannot choose to hold convictions. For Vergil, the language of religious inspiration is a vehicle for connoting the arbitrary nature of aptitude; though Gallus attempts scientific (Orphic) and pastoral poetry, he must yield to Amor, i.e. write love elegy, because that is where his aptitude lies.¹⁵¹

This is similar to the statement that Vergil makes at the end of *Georgics II*. The poetic narrator confesses himself unable to truly feel conviction in the frigid consolations of atheistic philosophy, and accepts his calling towards traditional religion as represented by the pastoral mode. This skepticism is echoed in the language of the text so as to call into question the viability of the philosophical position. For example, the poet prays to the Muses *me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae /...accipiant caelique vias et sidera monstrent, / defectus solis varios lunaeque labores*, "sweetest of all, in truth, are the Muses; my first choice is, that they find me worthy to learn at their hands the routes of the heavens and stars, the various types of solar eclipses and lunar phases" (*Georgics*

¹⁵⁰ See Callimachus *Aetia* fr. 73 Pf., where Acontius carves Cydippe's name on trees. Ross (1975) 88-9 cites Propertius I.18 as a possible second reference to Gallus' Callimachean Acontius and Cydippe. See also Rosen and Farrell (1986); and Barchiesi (1993) 360-3. For an opposing view, see Zetzel (1977) 253-4.

¹⁵¹ Conte (2001) 59-63 unites these strands in a reading of the end of *Geo. IV* that identifies Orpheus with elegy and juxtaposes him with Aristaeus as the exponent of rustic poetry. Orpheus fails because he can not force himself to obey divine commandments.

II.475, 476-7). It is somewhat ironic to pray to the Muses for Lucretian enlightenment, as it acknowledges the fact that for all its vaunted rationality, the strength of the rational position always depends on irrational considerations of personality and aptitude (here characterized as inspiration). Furthermore, it is strongly implied that the philosophical position is less relevant, as less representative of and less available to the majority of people.

This Vergil-persona of the *Georgics* affirms a religious point of view, but the implications extend beyond the religious in the narrow sense in which a modern critic might be tempted to interpret it. As lines 532-40 of Book II indicate, the traditionalist perspective carries with it a doctrine of historical development in which the values of the ancestors were the cause of the rise of Rome and other Italian civilizations. There was a Golden Age and a consequent decline, but the dependence of the Golden Age on moral considerations and religious practices implies that it is an ideal that can be reached again.¹⁵² Therefore we have the proem to book I, with its catalogue of deities associated with the fertility of the land (including, of course, Silvanus), among whom the most prominent is young Octavian. It is he who has the power to bring about a Golden Age, and this power springs from his adherence to those traditional ways which some might regard as superstitious nonsense.

Whatever the real Vergil might have thought about the matter, it is clear that here he is creating a persona, striking a poetic pose, and that pose has the name of *vates*. At least since Ennius wrote his disparaging line about the *vates* (*versibus quos olim Fauni*

¹⁵² See Ross (1975) 164-5 for some similar views.

vatesque canebant, “in the meter which once the *vates* sang, and the Fauns,”¹⁵³) they had been associated both with early Italy¹⁵⁴ and with rustic settings and deities like the Fauns. Later on Lucretius would similarly accuse the *vates* of being merely purveyors of religious superstition.¹⁵⁵ But it was probably Varro who first made the word available to Augustan poets as simply an old Roman word meaning ‘poet.’¹⁵⁶ Inspiration was a key element in the definition of the *vates*. This divine influence gave the poet a unique status close to that of a prophet, for they could see secret truths, especially those relating to the nature of the universe.¹⁵⁷ Varro had already etymologized the word along these lines: *vates dicuntur...a vi mentis id est ab instinctu mentis*, “they are called *vates* because of the power of their minds, that is, from their minds’ inspiration”.¹⁵⁸ And Cicero wrote that *ne haec [vates] quidem...carere vi divina videntur, ut...poetam...carmen sine caelesti aliquo mentis instinctu putem fundere*, “nor yet do these men seem to lack divine power, so that I might think it likely that a poet could pour forth his verse without some celestial

¹⁵³ Ennius, *Ann.* 214V.2 = 207 Sk. See Skutsch (1985) *ad loc.* But Grilli (1996) disputes that *vates* was meant disparagingly by Ennius either there or at *Sc.* 321 V.2, which describes *superstitiosi vates impudentesque harioli*. For the view that *vates* is disparaging in Ennius’ usage, see Newman (1967) 47; and Skutsch (1985) *ad loc.* 374.

¹⁵⁴ Ross describes them as “rude deities of ancient Latium, who spoke in Saturnians,” (1975) 41. See Skutsch (1985) 372 on the primitive associations of *vates*. See also Varro, *LL* VII.36.

¹⁵⁵ *De Rerum Natura*, I.102-9. Hardie (1986) 17-22 deals with Lucretius and the concept of *vates*, emphasizing his clever use of Ennius’ disparaging word *vates* against him, as well as his development of an Empedoclean persona that was close to later poets’ concept of a *vates*. On this point, see also Paratore (1939) 197.

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Dahlmann (1948) 337-53; Bickel (1951) 257-314; and especially Newman (1967).

¹⁵⁷ Pasco-Pranger (2000) 276; Hardie (1986) 16, 20. Both are indebted to Newman (1967). For some critiques of the latter, see Otis (1968) 62; Knecht (1968) 301-4; and Juhnker (1968) 465-70. Hardie (1986) 16-22 develops the idea of the *vates* as poet of cosmology. Ross (1975) 131-62 also develops the concept for his own purposes.

¹⁵⁸ Schol. Bern. app. ii ad Verg. *Ecl.* IX.34.

inspiration of his mind”.¹⁵⁹ Cicero seems very close to Platonic discussions of poetry here, and we have already traced the idea of divine inspiration in association with rural retreats and the haunts of nymphs and nature deities to Plato in his *Phaedrus*, which example has the advantage of demonstrating the sort of access to eternal truths which would later be envisioned as characteristic of the Roman *vates*. These are the associations that the passage on the grove of Silvanus conveys to the educated reader. Yet the question as to why the shield is bestowed in Silvanus’ sacred grove at *Aeneid* VIII remains to be answered, as does that of the precise value of the nuances introduced into the present text by the allusions to Vergil’s previous work in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

III. Caelesti aliquo: Time, inspiration, and the vates

This is a rich complex of ideas, which the text of *Aeneid* VIII.597-602 supports at every turn. Silvanus (*Aeneid* VIII.600) is the central allusive figure, of course, but he is immediately specified as *arvorum pecorisque deo* in line 601, thus reinforcing the allusions to the *Georgics* and *Eclogues*, respectively.¹⁶⁰ The passage is rife with the language of religion (*religione*, *sacer* in line 598, *sacrasse* in line 600, *deo* in line 601) and tradition (*patrum* line 598, the *veteres Pelasgos* of 600, who *primi finis...habuere*

¹⁵⁹ Cic. *Tusc.* 1.26.64. Other ancient sources include Cic. *Div.* I.6.12; Seneca *Dial.* X.9.2; and Quint. *Inst.* XII.10.24.

¹⁶⁰ Although many literary sources associate Silvanus with the woods, his iconography includes the *falx*, and thus agricultural as well as woodland and pastoral aspects. See Dorsey (1992) 18-32 for an in-depth examination of Silvanus’ multifarious character. In 18 n.19 there is a list of ancient literary sources describing Silvanus as a deity of the woods, and 20 n.27 has a similar list emphasizing his agricultural aspects. Hild (1877) 1345; and Klotz (1927) 118 describe Silvanus primarily as agricultural. Thomas (1988) *ad loc.* I.20 and II.493-4 repeatedly emphasizes that Silvanus belongs in the *Eclogues*, wrongly asserting that “Silvanus, after all, is the god of *untilled* land” (254).

Latinos, 602),¹⁶¹ which evokes both Lucretius' criticism of traditional religion and Vergil's rejection of his position at the end of *Georgics* II. The mention of the *gelidum...Caeritis amnem* of line 597 and at 610 as *egelido...flumine* takes on special significance in light of Ross's reading of words denoting cold in *Eclogue* X (and elsewhere in Vergil) as indicative of the "unhuman cold" of "pure intellect."¹⁶²

All these allusions set up a framework for interpretation of the Shield of Aeneas with the following features. First, much as the shield in the poem is a divine product, so is the poetic description of the shield a result of divine inspiration insofar as Vergil has embraced the anti-Lucretian role of *vates*.¹⁶³ The shield is true prophecy. Secondly, and following logically from the first point, the shield is not merely a fictional creation of the poet's fancy, i.e. the product of radical creativity, which was rejected in *Eclogue* X in the person of Gallus.¹⁶⁴ Thirdly, the shield is not Lucretian. That is, it is not a depiction of cosmology along the lines of philosophical rationalism. This is explicitly in opposition to Hardie's reading, which paradoxically makes Lucretius the exemplar of the "serious *vates*" and claims that "Lucretius' direction of a high poetic seriousness to cosmological subject-matter was decisive for Virgil."¹⁶⁵

Georgics II.490-6 made the choices explicit, either Lucretius or Silvanus. It is clear which one has been chosen as the guiding force in *Aeneid* VIII. *Eclogue* X rejected the inhuman cold of intellectual cosmogony in favor of the gods (Silvanus, for one;

¹⁶¹ It is also noteworthy that in line 606 Aeneas is named with his epithet of *pater*.

¹⁶² Ross (1975) 95; but see also 93-95 and notes.

¹⁶³ This sets up an interesting tension or circularity with the description of the shield at VIII.625-6 as crafted by *haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi...ignipotens*.

¹⁶⁴ Much as it was again in the *Georgics* in the person of Orpheus. See Farrell (1991) 320-4.

¹⁶⁵ Hardie (1986) 22.

Amor, for another, through the persona of Gallus). And finally, in case the reader has not caught on to the point of lines 597-602, *Aeneid* VIII.608-11 restates the description concisely:

At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos
dona ferens aderat; natumque in valle reducta
ut procul e gelido secretum flumine vidit,
talibus adfata est dictis seque obtulit ultro...

But the shining goddess Venus had come through the airy clouds
Bearing her gifts; she saw her son in a lonely vale,
Where he could not be seen from the distant freezing river,
And spoke to him these words as she came nearer...

Venus comes down from the heavens bearing gifts and addresses Aeneas. The setting is clearly still the sacred grove, which was described as *undique colles / inclusere cavi* in lines 598-9 and *gelidum...prope Caeritis amnem* in line 597. The *valle reducta* is the area between the hills, thus the *lucus*.

Reducta is an unexpected adjective, since the description of the territory expressly indicates that everything is happening within a fairly circumscribed area. Lines 603-5 state of the grove that *haud procul hinc Tarcho et Tyrrheni tuta tenebant / castra locis, celsoque omnis de colle videri / iam poterat legio*, “the Tyrrhenians and Tarcho held the nearby camp in safety. Already they had spotted all the legion from the jutting hill”. Furthermore, Aeneas and his party *huc...succedunt* (lines 606-7). One function of the phrase *reducta valle* is to echo *Aeneid* VI.703, the description of the Elysian Fields.¹⁶⁶ More important is the effect it has on Aeneas’ position; he, too, can be conceived as being at a remove, however at odds that might be with the landscape. Thus it is Aeneas who is isolated, and/or his being in an isolated setting is significant.

¹⁶⁶ Gransden (1976) 159.

The other interesting location-word is *procul* in line 610. Gransden wishes to take it with *vidit* in the simple adverbial sense of “in the distance.” Furthermore, he wants *egelido flumine* to be a local ablative.¹⁶⁷ This would make the suggested translation something along the lines of “as soon as she saw him in the distance alone at the ice-cold river, she addressed him in these words and thrust herself forward.” I find this to be a wholly unconvincing reading, since it demands that the reader ignore (in a most unnatural way) the placement of the quasi-preposition *procul* (which pairs with the ablative) immediately before an ablative adjective/noun pair denoting a place. Instead, I would suggest that *egelido flumine* is an ablative of separation modifying the adverb *procul* (although, as I mentioned earlier, it can be understood equally well as a preposition-object relationship). This has the advantage of allowing Venus to address Aeneas “when/as soon as she saw him,” presumably from a closer distance than *procul*. It also believably places Aeneas, who is isolated or in an isolated locale, away from the water source at which the troops, who are described as *fessi* and as *et equos et corpora curant* in line 607, are likely to be.

Aeneas, wandering through the sacred grove, away from the trappings of warfare, is approached by Venus, and he accepts her help. As against *Eclogue X*, this emerges clearly as the acceptance of Amor there enjoined by Apollo, Pan, and (tacitly) Silvanus; it also neatly reverses the paradigmatic situation for *Eclogue X*, namely the rejection by Daphnis of Eros and his harsh words to Aphrodite in Theocritus *Idyll I*. It should be recalled that at the end of that episode, Daphnis is described as dying by drowning: $\chi\omega\ \Delta\acute{\alpha}\phi\nu\iota\varsigma\ \xi\beta\alpha\ \rho\acute{o}\omicron\nu\nu\ .\ \xi\kappa\lambda\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\ \delta\iota\nu\alpha\ / \tau\omicron\nu\nu\ \text{Μοίσαις}\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\nu\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha$, “and Daphnis went

¹⁶⁷ Gransden (1976) 159.

downstream. Eddies washed over the man loved by the Muses” (*Idylls* I.140-1). Here, Aeneas remains *procul e gelido flumine*. This reinforces Venus’s assurance that he will remain safe (*ne...dubites in proelia poscere Turnum*, “nor fear to seek battle with Turnus,” VIII.613-4), but it also restates the metapoetic context: the cold stream of philosophy is rejected in favor of tradition and religion. The union of divine inspiration (*Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos / dona ferens aderat*) and craftsmanship language (*en perfecta mei promissa coniugis arte / munera*, “behold the gifts which my husband fashioned perfect by his art, as he had promised,” VIII.612-3) result in a combination strongly characteristic of vatic or prophetic discourse, one which occurs precisely at the point when the description of the prophetic shield is about to begin.

Another aspect of the Venus-Aeneas encounter informs our interpretation of the shield’s description. Lines 608-9 present Venus in strikingly astronomical terms: *At Venus aetherios inter dea candida nimbos / dona ferens aderat*, “she is shining among the clouds in the heavens as she brings Aeneas’ gifts.” Vergil had included a simile on her planet just twenty lines earlier: *qualis ubi Oceani perfusus Lucifer unda, / quem Venus ante alios astrorum diligit ignis, / extulit os sacrum caelo tenebrasque resolvit*, “just as when Lucifer, beloved of Venus among the fires of stars, pours forth his light on the ocean’s wave, revealing his face in the sky and dispelling the darkness” (*Aeneid* VIII.589-91).¹⁶⁸ That was a description of Pallas rather than the heavens or the time, but it nicely primes the reader to make the requisite identification here. Venus loves Lucifer because the morning/evening star and Venus are one and the same.¹⁶⁹ This was generally

¹⁶⁸ On these lines see Senfter (1979) and Reed (2004) 36.

¹⁶⁹ It was the planet assigned to Venus by the Greeks in accordance with earlier Mesopotamian practice, where Venus was the “star” of Ishtar (see Cumont (1935) 7-13).

known in antiquity,¹⁷⁰ but Vergil makes quite sure that the reader gets the point. Based on the flow of the action, it is almost certainly true that insofar as Venus is a meteorological phenomenon she is the evening star; the men have been riding since the morning, and Book IX will feature a brief attack followed by the night-time raid of Nisus and Euryalus. In view of the pastoral content of the site description, as well as the engagement with the figure of Gallus and especially with *Eclogue X*, it is likely that the theme of the time of day at this liminal juncture between the *topothesia* of the grove and the ekphrasis of the Shield is a significant reference to the end of the Gallus *Eclogues*. Both *Eclogues VI* and *X*, in fact, end with the descent of the evening star.¹⁷¹

The endings of these two *Eclogues* share a strong resemblance, as the following juxtaposition will show. *X* closes thus:

Haec sat erit, divae, vestrum cecinisse poetam,
dum sedet et gracili fiscellam texit hibisco,
Pierides. vos haec facietis maxima Gallo,
Gallo, quous amor tantum mihi crescit in horas
quantum vere novo viridis se subicit alnus.
surgamus; solet esse gravis cantantibus umbra,
iuniperi gravis umbra; nocent et frugibus umbrae.
ite domum saturae, venit Hesperos, ite capellae.
Eclogue X.70-7.

This will be enough, Pierian goddesses, to praise your poet,
As he sits and weaves a basket of slender marsh-mallow.
You will make this magnificent for the sake of Gallus,
Gallus, for whom my love grows by the hour
As the green alder heaves itself up at the onset of spring.
Let us rise; to singers, a shadow's a heavy thing,

See, for example, [Plato] *Epin.* 987B; Aristotle *Met.* 1073B31; and Bion fr. 11.1 with the note in Reed (1997) *ad loc.*

¹⁷⁰ Servius quotes Varro on the star of Venus in his note *ad loc.* *Aeneid* II.801.

¹⁷¹ Van Sickle (1984) deals precisely with such phenomena, and precisely within the context of epic and bucolic.

The shadow lies heavy on the juniper; and fruits, too, are damaged by shadows.

Go home, now you've eaten enough, for Lucifer comes; go, she-goats.

The parallel lines of *Eclogue* VI are as follows:

Omnia quae Phoebus quondam meditante beatus
audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros
ille canit, pulsae referunt ad sidera valles,
cogere donec ovis stabulis numerumque referre
iussit et invito processit Vesper Olympo.

Eclogue VI.82-6.

Everything that the blessed Eurotas once heard
Phoebus singing, and ordered the laurels to learn,
That man sang, and the valleys echoed it up to the stars
'Til the evening-star made them gather the sheep in the fold
And count them, as it trod to unwilling Olympus.

Though other *Eclogues* (I and II) end with the fall of night, none of those mention the evening star at all, let alone in the last line as these two do. The further parallels are striking; as was already mentioned, both of these *Eclogues* dealt in some way with the figure of Gallus. They are both concerned with themes of poetics, and as the quoted lines reveal, in both of them the descent of the evening star is the occasion for the end of song. More specifically, divine agency in song is addressed: in X, the Muses must act upon the song the poet has created in order to make it great, while in VI Phoebus sings a song and the personification of a river hears it and in turn transmits it to the (also personified) trees.

Human agency is not, however, ignored in favor of the divine. Much as the personified Venus must have recourse to *ars* in *Aeneid* VIII.612, so the Muses need "Vergil's" song as raw material in *Eclogue* X. The conventional vocabulary of poetic *labor* is present throughout as well: in VI Apollo is described as *meditante*, while

numerum referre in I.85 may have a double sense regarding poetry. *Eclogue X* has even more such imagery, with the poet described as sitting and weaving a small basket of marsh-mallow¹⁷² in line 71 and the negative effect of shade on poetic composition specifically called *gravis* in line 75.

The poetic figures in both codas are all lovers: Gallus in *X* is, of course, but the poet who sings of him also admits to his love for Gallus in lines 73-4. Servius writes of the Eurotas in *Eclogue VI* that *hunc fluvium Hyacinthi causa Apollo dicitur amasse*, “Apollo is said to have loved this river on account of Hyacinthus,” which Coleman suggests is reason to believe that Apollo was singing in that spot in order to console himself for his lost love.¹⁷³ This brings up the further parallel that night brings all the singers out of their poetic fantasies into the real world, and thus undermines pure imagination.

I would suggest that the value of these allusions in the text of *Aeneid VIII* is to signal an important transition in the poetry. On the one hand, Aeneas, who though not a lover is always under the aegis of Venus, is about to be transported from the realm of poetic fancy which is the ancient grove of Silvanus into the realm of the real, i.e. what is real for the contemporary reader of Vergil. On the metapoetic level, the end of a bucolic song is indicated by the star of Venus after the description of the grove; but unlike the stars of the *Eclogues*, the *Aeneid* passage continues on into the ekphrasis of the shield. The ambiguity of the planet Venus is exploited. Just as that planet can indicate morning

¹⁷² Servius’ note is apropos: *significat se composuisse hunc libellum tenuissimo stilo*.

¹⁷³ Coleman (1977) 202.

or evening,¹⁷⁴ these lines can indicate both a beginning and an end. And though it is clear from reflection on the context that for the purposes of the plot the time is actually evening, the lines are vague enough that analysis is required before a conclusion can be reached. The strictly bucolic aspect of the grove is ended, but by indicating a transition, something is carried over to the ekphrasis; the interpretive framework is retained.

As that interpretive framework has been discussed above, particularly in relation to Silvanus, the transition should come as no surprise. In the *Georgics*, Silvanus was a transitional figure in both his *sedes*.¹⁷⁵ In I.20, Silvanus is the last god invoked before Vergil turns to his praise of Caesar *qua* nature divinity. In II.494, Pan, Silvanus, and the Nymphs are all mentioned immediately before the politicized description of the *fortunatus* who knows the rural gods, a description which includes an explicitly historical dimension starting at line 530.¹⁷⁶ The main difference is that in the *Aeneid* the transition

¹⁷⁴ A fact Reed (2004) 36 notes: “The use of the Morning Star [at *Aen.* VIII.589-81] of a precursor’s words on the Evening Star [Bion fr. 11.1-3] incidentally advertises awareness that they are the same star.” This trope also appears at Callimachus fr. 291, Meleager’s *Anth. Pal.* XII.114, Cinna fr. 6, Catullus LXII.34, and Horace *Carmina* II.9.10-12.

¹⁷⁵ It is a strong possibility that Silvanus was a god of boundaries, thus explaining his associations with agriculture, woods, and shepherding (he stands in the place where these activities encroach on each other). See Palmer (1978) 222; Piccalunga (1974) 146-7, 251; Dilke (1971) 98-9; Jensen (1962) 22; Roos (1961) 170-3; Peter (1909) 846; von Domaszewski (1902) 7; Preller (1858) 349. Horace *Epod.* II.22 names Silvanus as *tutor finium*. The Gromatici Veteres (see Lachmann (1848) 302, 13-19) are even more detailed: *Omnis possessio quare Silvanum colit? quia primus in terram lapidem finalem posuit. Nam omnis possessio tres Silvanos habet. Unus dicitur domesticus, possessioni consecratus. Alter dicitur agrestis, pastoribus consecratus. Tertius dicitur orientalis, cui est in confinio lucus positus, a quo inter duo pluresve fines oriuntur. Ideoque inter duo pluresve est et lucus finis.* On this text see Dorcey (1992) 22-3; and Roos (1961) 170-3 and 23 n. 47.

¹⁷⁶ This brings up another interesting association for Silvanus: he was sometimes conceived to be tripartite (See Augustine *Civ. Dei* VI.9, which preserves an apotropaic ritual recorded by Varro). There, three divinities ward off the triply-aspected threat of Silvanus to a new-born infant. See Briquel (1983) 265-76; and Dorcey (1992) 23, who assigns each Silvanus aspect to one of the aspects described by the Gromatici Veteres.

is smoother, less abrupt. Its very naturalness threatens to obscure the similarities, hence the importance of re-establishing the connections made in the grove's *topothesia*.

Vergil has perhaps changed in having learned to make the language of transition less abrupt since writing the *Georgics*, but the logic behind the transitions dates back at least that far. If that logic is to hold true here in *Aeneid* VIII, we can expect to be led in directions similar to those of *Georgics* I and II, into the praise of Augustus as a divine figure and a reading of Roman history from its earliest beginnings which traces the *mores* of the people from their early roots to the fulfillment of their promise under Augustus. This is evidently a just estimation of the content of the shield ekphrasis. What is striking is the underlying assertion of identity between bucolic material (Pan, Silvanus, Nymphs) and the political values, god-sanctioned, of Augustus, values which spring from the earliest history of primitive Italy.¹⁷⁷ This is not to be misunderstood as a sweeping generic claim; clearly all bucolic is not concerned with exploring the continuities between these ideas. The claim, rather, is that for Vergil the trappings of bucolic have become a tool for presenting and exploring this specific complex of ideas. Furthermore, I believe that this is neither an arbitrary choice, nor one founded on a merely artistic affinity. Instead it is based on a meditation on art, religion, and ethics, and specifically on how a

One of the protective deities, Pilumnus, appears in the *Aeneid* at IX.3-4, and is connected with infants by Servius ad *Aen.* X.76.

¹⁷⁷ As in *Georgics* II.493-540, which begins with *fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis / Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores. / illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum / flexit* and goes on to catalogue the praises of rustic life. As Thomas (1988) 254 points out, "V. hereby chooses as his rustic representative a figure who is more pastoral than georgic (493-4n.), a choice consonant with the fact that the existence of the rustic in these praises has little in common with that of the real farmer of the poem..." Strangely, though, he denies that it follows on II.493-4, arguing rather that it resumes the praises begun in 458-74.

real human being with human limitations could be expected to judge problems on such a daunting scale. This meditation extends throughout Vergil's entire extant body of work.

Insofar as this is the case, these political meditations are an important dimension to the ekphrasis of the Shield of Aeneas that follows. Now finally we may turn our attention to that episode of *Aeneid* VIII, to see whether these ideas are borne out by the text, and whether they lead to fruitful reinterpretations.

IV. The Shield as Sacred History

We have spent most of the preceding two sections talking about the allusions in the lines leading up to the description of the Shield of Aeneas, as well as to the complex of philosophical concerns symbolized by those allusions. As signified by the ambiguous figure of the morning and evening star of Venus, however, we are in a transitional state. On the one hand, the text signals a change of material and register for the shield's *ekphrasis*; on the other hand, the philosophical concerns just introduced remain to inform interpretation, and the first striking instance of this comes in line 627, where Vulcan is glossed as *haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi*, "scarcely ignorant of the prophets or unfamiliar with the future." Already in lines 608-17 Aeneas has been juxtaposed with Venus, her gifts specifically described as *dae donis* in line 617. The final touch will come later, in lines 729-30, where all these elements are present: *Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis, / miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*, "he admired these things on the shield of Vulcan, the gift of his mother, and ignorant of their import, rejoiced in the empty forms". The dichotomies that bracket the ekphrasis (divine vs. mortal, knowledge vs. ignorance) can be expected to play a major role in the poetry. Not

to be missed is the odd reference to the *vates* in 627: it is not that Vulcan is himself a *vates*, rather that he is conversant with their prophecies. This introduction of the *vates* theme resonates with some of the points made earlier in the discussion of Silenus and the grove. For one thing, the very valorization of the *vates* is a knock against Lucretian cosmology. It is also an optimistic sign. Though some have read tragedy into Aeneas' ignorance of the meaning of the scenes on the shield, it is nevertheless true that the vatic art is available to human beings, and Aeneas himself has had recourse to it many times in the course of the *Aeneid*.

A second major theme is revealed in lines 628-9: *illic genus omne futurae / stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella*, "there the whole race of the future lineage, Ascanius onward, and there the wars fought, in their actual order". This is not totally unrelated to the first theme, of course: gods are prominent among the ancestors of the *gens Iulia*. However, what is very striking here is the concern with succession from the earliest historical period, and in order. The mention of *bella* makes it clear that it is not only the descendants of Aeneas that will be dealt with, but by extension the entire Roman state and its conquests.

This brings us back to the concerns Vergil evinced in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and to which he alluded in the framing passage. In light of those texts, so critical of Lucretian rationalism, the term *vates* is not simply conventional. *Vates* in this case expresses the position that the text is going to present the reader with a truth. It is a sign of the philosophical choice expressed at greatest length in *Georgics* II that the truth of the universe follows the human pattern of history first and foremost, and history in turn reveals a story that can be understood in relation to traditional values, including religion

and piety. The exact nature of the agency of gods and fate is obscure, but the focus is on the success or failure of human beings to interact with those forces in such a way as to bring about concrete, visible signs of their favor. As Hardie and Buchheit have seen in the *Georgics*, the movement from the “cosmological” concerns we have explored at the end of book II to the “national epic” of book III are “conceived as two halves of a grand structure.”¹⁷⁸ One need only think of the other passage of the *Georgics* alluded to in the *topothesia*, in which a catalogue of nature deities (including Silvanus) is followed by the praises of Octavian, to see the pattern play out again. Just as in those texts, the introductory *topothesia* with its cosmological concerns formed the first part of a grand structure with the praises of Augustus and the history of the Roman state. As Hardie explains it (paraphrasing Buchheit), “the praises of Octavian at the beginning of the third book... may be understood as complementing the picture of the ideal country life at the end of the previous book.”¹⁷⁹ We can therefore expect (by analogy) the shield account to provide the historical structure necessary for a valorization of the ruler (Octavian again, but now become Augustus), with an appeal to the status of the *vates* as divine spokesman as the ultimate underpinning and guarantee.

As I have gone out of my way to show in the previous sections, I differ from Hardie (and agree with Buchheit) on the interpretation of the relationship between the cosmological and national epic portions: Hardie sees them as unresolved dichotomies, presented as equally valid alternatives, whereas Buchheit (and I) see “the definitive rejection of the Lucretian/Epicurean way to salvation in favour of an alternative of

¹⁷⁸ Hardie (1986) 33; Buchheit (1972) 45ff. See also Wimmel (1960) for a different interpretation of the same idea.

¹⁷⁹ Hardie (1986) 33.

religious gnosis in the service of traditional Roman values.”¹⁸⁰ That rejection is already implicit in the choice of bucolic material for the *topothesia* in *Aeneid* VIII. The continuity and development of this idea is significant as a sincere attempt on the part of Vergil to come to intellectual grips with the claims of philosophy and the complexity of the political situation in Rome. The use of similar language and imagery, as well as the similarity in structure, makes it clear that this text develops ideas first touched on in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.

Turning to the scenes depicted on the shield, the themes and flow of the *topothesia* seem to be echoed. We may recall the allusions in *Aeneid* VIII.598, 600, and 602, which addressed the difficulty of attempting to disentangle the many conflicting accounts of Roman origins. Lines 626 and 628-9 reiterate those difficulties: the connection or disjunction between the *res Italas* and the *Romanorum triumphos* leaves their relationship ambiguous, while the *genus omne futurae / stirpis ab Ascanio* makes a claim for Romulus’ descent from Ascanius that is at issue throughout the *Aeneid*. Anchises’ prophecy in VI.760ff. traces Romulus back to Aeneas and Lavinia through their son Silvius, while this version, bolstered by the similar claim in Jupiter’s prophecy in I.267ff., makes Ascanius the conduit of the succession.¹⁸¹ It might seem strange that such uncertainty is shown, particularly in passages which should convey the absolute truth: Jupiter, Vulcan, and the chthonic powers are directly involved in explicitly

¹⁸⁰ Hardie (1986) 43; Bucheit (1972) 76. An example of Hardie’s reasoning in this regard appears in note 28, where he writes that there is no demonstration of Lucretius’ unsuitability as teacher “in Lucretius’ own intellectualist terms” in the *Georgics*, as if that negated the idea. Why we would expect such a negation in a piece of poetry such as the *Georgics*, or why Vergil would engage Lucretius on his own terms if he claimed that his methodology was unsound, rather than in terms he found more congenial, is entirely unclear to me.

¹⁸¹ Gransden (1976) 163; also Norden (1901).

prophetic communications at all the points just cited. Yet it could be that the uncertainty acts to express the immense antiquity of the historical events in question, which have become so shrouded in the mists of time that even true prophecy can scarcely recall them with any degree of accuracy. We are at the limit of what can be remembered and retold, the very beginnings of Italian history. In this sense the uncertainty paradoxically acts to reinforce the completeness of the account, assuring the reader that it is being told from beginning to end, and thus also reinforces the structural parallel to the cosmological alternative which would, presumably, begin with the first elements or causes of the universe.

This structural similarity is underscored, as at the beginning of the *topothesia* by the brief return to primitive, bucolic imagery in lines 630-4:

fecerat et viridi fetam Mavortis in antro
procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera circum
ludere pendentis pueros et lambere matrem
impavidos, illam tereti cervice reflexa
mulcere alternos et corpora fingere lingua.

He had also made the pregnant she-wolf to lie
In the verdant cave of Mavors, the twin boys dangling
From her udders and playing. They were unafraid as their mother
Licked them; her neck turned round,
She stroked them in turn and with her tongue shaped their bodies.

The juxtaposition of the small but important babies with the normally savage she-wolf, all cohabitating in peace, and the additional notes of plenty and fruitfulness (the *viridi antro* and the adjective *fetam* agreeing with she-wolf in line 630, the mention of *ubera* in line 631) which describe the setting and the wolf recall *Eclogue* IV.18-22, with its fateful child causing plants to grow spontaneously, the she-goats' udders to swell with milk, and the lions to coexist with the flocks, and V.60-1, in which *nec lupus insidias*

pecori...meditantur, “nor does the wolf lay ambushes up for the flock” upon the accession of Daphnis (perhaps a Caesar figure)¹⁸² to Olympus. All of this is, of course, Golden Age imagery used for purposes of political endorsement, and it plays with the concept of the flow of history.¹⁸³ The Golden Age naturally belongs in the distant past, but it is also dependent on the virtue of certain important figures, and therefore it can be brought back in a cyclical return if only the right person is in charge.

The other important juxtaposition is between the setting of the *antrum*, or cave, and the figure of Mars in line 630. The appellation *Mavors* is an archaizing touch that is appropriate to the antique setting and trappings of the scene. Yet, although he is an integral part of the story, and therefore his appearance might be passed over without comment, it is surely true that as soon as the scene is set in terms of the Golden Age he becomes an incongruous figure. He imports an unsettling note to the text, one that highlights the tensions inherent to any application of the Golden Age myth to Rome’s historical foundation. In the ekphrasis, *Mavors* is associated with the she-wolf, who is said to *corpora fingere lingua* in line 634. It is part of the Greco-Roman poetic tradition that the experiences of early childhood leave their stamp on the character, such as when Love’s cruelty is ascribed to his being raised by lions among the crags. The she-wolf thus molds the young children to be brave and warlike (*impavidos* in line 633), especially as she is the wolf of Mars. At the same time, however, the reader must be aware that these two children, who now *geminos huic ubera circum / ludere pendentis* (631-2), will

¹⁸² There is a summary in Salvatore (1983) 215 ff. The original source is Servius *ad loc.* *Ecl.* V.20: *alii dicunt significari per allegoriam C. Iulium Caesarem, qui in senatu a Cassio et Bruto viginti tribus vulneribus interemptus est: unde et ‘crudeli funere’ volunt dictum.*

¹⁸³ The Golden Age and its relation to Augustan power in the work of Vergil is addressed at length in the following chapter.

one day be at odds, and one will be the cause of the other's death. The children's playing, the idyllic setting, and the she-wolf's tender care are carefully balanced against the influence of Mars, the savage nature of the wolf, and the boys' future.

The references in the text carry some of these same associations. The line *tereti cervice reflexa* (633) is an echo of Lucretius I.35, *tereti cervice reposta*. In Lucretius, the description applies to Mars as he rests on Venus's lap, and appears in the context of an extended address to Venus (who is named *Aeneadum genetrix* in line 1) that opens the *De Rerum Natura*. More specifically, the scene alluded to in *Aeneid* VIII.633 involves Venus distracting Mars with her charms so as to give the Roman people peace. It is furthermore notable, in making the claim for a specific reference, that the two phrases appear in the same *sedes* near the end of the line, in both passages Mars is referred to as *Mavors* (32 in *De Rerum Natura*), and that there is a further likeness in the use of *ubera circum...pendentis pueros* in *Aeneid* VIII.631-2 and *pascit amore avidos inhians in te, dea, visus, / eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore*, "he feeds on love and wonderingly casts eager glances, goddess, upon you; the breath from your nostrils lingers about him lying in your lap" in Lucretius I.36-7. The she-wolf here has been influenced by Mars to nourish the young boys in a neat inversion of the images of Lucretius I. This is precisely the sort of inversion we discussed above as characteristic of the Golden Age, in which formerly troublesome or violent creatures become peaceable. But in this reference the inversion undermines itself, because it highlights the power of the first cause. Venus as embodiment of cosmic force can even work upon her opposite, *Mavors*, and thus produce peace. When *Mavors*, instead, works through the generative principle, one cannot expect the secondary force to remain in the ascendant.

Another allusion in *Aeneid* VIII.631-2 is to *Georgics* II.523: *interea dulces pendent circum oscula nati*. Though we have not mentioned this line before, it falls within the section on the ideal life of the farmer which was discussed above at some length, a life which is summed up less than ten lines later as *hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini, / hanc Remus et frater* (*Georgics* II.532-3) and then again in line 538 as *aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat*, “golden Saturn led this life on earth.” These lines are entirely apposite to the description of Romulus and Remus as well as to the complex of ideas introduced by the earlier lines on the grove of Silvanus. They also contain the idea of future violence, since they specifically indicate their temporality in terms such as *necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum / impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis*, “nor yet had they heard war-horns blow, nor swords screeching upon harsh whetting-stones,” *Georgics* II.539-40. It is important to know that these lines may have been on Vergil’s mind as he moves through history towards his praise of Augustus in the Shield ekphrasis, since these are almost the last lines before his praise of Augustus early in book III of the *Georgics*.

But first occurs the violence which has been foreshadowed up until this point, the Rape of the Sabines beginning in line 635, *nec procul hinc Romam et raptas sine more Sabinas*, “nearby was Rome with its Sabine women, seized without concern for protocol.” The actual foundation of Rome, along with the death of Remus, is completely passed over, but unlikely to be forgotten by the alert reader. That Vergil is not attempting entirely to whitewash Rome’s early history is evident from the phrase *sine more*, which is striking because of its present application to the founders of the city. Most usually it is the *patres* who are associated with the best *mores*. Yet in this case the failure to observe

proper morality carries consequences, and war breaks out: *subitoque novum consurgere bellum / Romulidis Tatioque seni Curibusque severis*, “and suddenly new war rears up for Romulus’ folk and aged Tattius, and the austere Cures”, lines 637-8. In the catalogue of wars that follows (the shield ekphrasis, as advertised, is replete with *pugnata in ordine bella*), sometimes the Romans are oppressors, as here; more often they are the oppressed. Yet in either case, war is presented as a response to being wronged, and therefore defensible (as at line 648, for example, where the besieged Aeneadae must fight *pro libertate*). One clue to the need for all this fighting comes in lines 640-1, where a peace is agreed to by Sabines and Romans: *armati Iovis ante aram paterasque tenentes / stabant et caesa iungebant foedera porca*, “standing armed before Jove’s altar, holding sacrificial dishes, they killed a sow and made a treaty.” In spite of the Golden Age imagery of lines 630-4, and regardless of the historical claims made in the oft-referenced end of *Georgics* II, this is not the Golden Age any more, but an age of heroes in which violence is necessary as a means to safeguard oneself and one’s property.

It is not my purpose here to give a full-scale interpretation of the Shield *ekphrasis*. I merely wish to show that there is continuity between the *topothesia* of Silvanus’s grove, with all its bucolic and prophetic associations, and the program underlying the depiction of Roman history on the shield. These continuities suggest on the one hand a pro-Augustan political stance, which is based on an understanding of history established by *vates* on divine authority. On the other hand, they suggest that this stance was the organic result of a long-standing engagement in Vergil’s works with some basic issues of philosophy, religion, and Roman power.

In the next chapter, we will address one very important point of contact between these ideas in Vergil's work, the concept of the Golden Age, and see precisely how it is used in *Aeneid* VIII both to support Roman power and as a reflection on the earlier Golden Ages of Vergil's previous poetry.

Chapter IV

Saturn and the Golden Age

In the previous two chapters, we saw how bucolic allusions, centered on descriptions of places, form an interpretive framework for the action that follows. We now turn to a third instance of bucolic framing, Evander's account of the Golden Age. Place is once again the *locus* for a bucolic association as Aeneas, Pallas, and Evander walk through the hills of the future Rome towards Evander's city. Aeneas is amazed by what he sees around him in the wilderness:

miratur facilisque oculos fert omnia circum
Aeneas, capiturque locis et singula laetus
exquirisque auditque virum monimenta priorum.

Aeneas wonders, his eyes quickly roam over all of the things
Around him, for he is taken by the place; happily he asks
After each, and hears the stories of earlier men.

Aeneid VIII.310-12.

This curiosity springs from the places, *locis*, which literally capture him, and his questions lead to Evander's story, also framed in terms of the wild surroundings: '*haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant / gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata,*' "these woods were inhabited by native Fauns and Nymphs, and a race of men born from the hard trunks of oak," (VIII.314-5). Even the autochthonous inhabitants are inextricably intertwined with the landscape, as it forms an essential part of them.

In describing a bucolic landscape and then retelling the story of the Golden Age, Vergil evokes his own earlier work on the Golden Age stories in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, as well as earlier sources such as Hesiod and Lucretius. Yet it will become apparent on closer inspection that, rather than developing a single vision of the Golden Age, Vergil has developed different versions to serve his rhetorical ends in each work. Armed with a rhetorical model drawn from current classical scholarship, the remainder of the chapter will show how the *Aeneid* unites logically incongruous elements of those earlier versions of the Golden Age myth (with their visions of permanently lost or imminent paradise) into a pro-Augustan bucolic address to a contemporary Roman audience.

I. Bucolic People: Fauns, Nymphs, and Men of Wood

*Tum rex Evandrus Romanae conditor arcis:
'haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant
gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata...*

Then king Evander, founder of the Roman citadel, said:
'These woods were inhabited by native Fauns and Nymphs,
And a race of men born from the hard trunks of oak,'
Aeneid VIII.313-5.

Thus begins the story, introducing from the first the now-familiar theme of Roman power bound to an element of place.¹⁸⁴ As Gransden rightly points out, the word *conditor*,

¹⁸⁴ As Ando (2002) 138-40 points out, this and other references in *Aen.* VIII to a continuity between ancient Italian practices and those of Augustan Rome have important political implications. In addition to the present passage, he cites *Aen.* VIII.271-2 (the Ara Maxima); 825 on the Salii; 337-9 on the *Ara Carmentalis*; and 541-5 on Evander's *penates*. He situates all these references in relation to Juno's prayer in *Aen.* XII.819-28, as well as the *laudes Italiae* and end of book II in the *Georgics*, all of which imaginatively unite Roman and Italian *virtus*. Ando finds the reason for this discourse in Octavian's political rhetoric of Italian unity during the build-up to Actium. For a similar

though it only appears here in the *Aeneid*, serves to tie Evander to the line of foundational figures of whom the verbal forms of *condere* are used: Aeneas (I.5 and XII.950), Romulus (I.276), Augustus (VI.792), and Saturn (VIII.357).¹⁸⁵ The associations with contemporary power are clear, and the tale of Saturn will necessarily invite comparison with the actions of the Augustan regime. As mentioned above, the reference to the unity of Italian and Roman *mores* is politically significant as well, particularly in such close proximity to the description of the indigenes as a *gens duro robore nata*. This idea of primitive hardness is mentioned elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, in Numanus' boast at IX.603-20.¹⁸⁶ Servius *ad* IX.600 writes that Cato (in the *Origines*) and Varro (on the *gens* of the Roman people) had similarly praised the disciplined Italian lifestyle; Vergil, of course, had done so in *Georgics* II. This ties into contemporary Augustan attempts to reform the *mores* of the Roman people¹⁸⁷ as well as to recent rhetoric on Italian unity.

In the prophetic realm, the text gives pride of place at the end of the speech to Evander's mother, Carmentis, and the god Apollo:

'me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem
Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.'

reading of the *laudes Italiae*, see esp. Thomas (1982). Cf. also Ross (1987) 42-3 and 115-28; and Thomas (1988) 7-9, 107-12, and 179-80. The particular relevance of these ideas to my argument will become clear in the following pages.

¹⁸⁵ Gransden (1976) 124. Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* 313 is more explicit: he sees a proleptic reference to the Palatine of Romulus and Augustus.

¹⁸⁶ It also appears in *Geo.* I.62-3: *vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem / unde homines nati, durum genus*. Fordyce (1977) appropriately mentions *Lucr.* V.925-6, *genus humanum multo fuit illud in arvis / durius, ut decuit, tellus quod dura creasset*.

¹⁸⁷ On the moral reforms of the Augustan principate, see Galinsky (1996) 65; and Wallace-Hadrill (1997). Dufallo (2007) 4, 11, and 99-121 provides an interesting reading of Vergil's attempt to cast Augustan values as tied to the mythic past in order to lend them legitimacy, although he concentrates on figures of the dead and *Aen.* I-VI.

“When I was expelled from my homeland and sailed to the sea’s
Furthest limit, almighty Fortune and inescapable fate
Set me here in this place, and the fearsome words of my mother,
The nymph Carmentis, as well as the god Apollo, my ancestor.”
Aeneid VIII.333-6.

Carmentis, or Carmenta, will be treated at greater length in the following chapter, as she plays an important role in the tour of Rome. For now, it is enough to say that she is described as *vatis fatidicae* in line 340, “a fate-telling prophet,” and that she was the first to sing of the future members of Aeneas’ family and Pallanteum. Yet even in the first line (314) she is prefigured in the significant pair of *Fauni Nymphaeque*, for, as the text carefully reiterates, Evander’s mother was a nymph. Nor is this pairing merely fortuitous; the same epithet that is applied to Carmentis in 340 is used of Faunus in *Aeneid* VII.81-106, where he is glossed as *fatidici* (82) and it is said that the Italians and inhabitants of Oenotria consulted his oracle in case of doubt (85).¹⁸⁸ Also relevant here is the genealogy earlier in book VII, in which Faunus is traced back through Picus to Saturn, who is named *sanguinis ultimus auctor* (VII.49).¹⁸⁹ These prophetic and familial associations help reinforce the truth-value of the account to follow, since they form a direct link to Saturn, whose story Evander is about to relate.

The grouping of nymphs and fauns in *Aeneid* VIII.313-5 is rich in associations. Among these is a pair of lines of Lucretius that will remain important throughout this study for their bucolic character, namely *De Rerum Natura* IV.580-1: *Haec loca*

¹⁸⁸ Servius ad *Aen.* VI.775 and VIII.314 mentions that Faunus was known as *Fatuus* or *Fatuclus*, with the meaning “speaker.” Varro *Gram.* 162 derives his name from *fari*, because he spoke oracles. It seems probable that this etymologizing is alluded to in Vergil’s use of *fatidicus* as an adjective for Faunus.

¹⁸⁹ But in Dionysius of Halicarnassus I.31 he is the son of Mars. Dorcey (1992) 33 makes the ingenious suggestion that common ground for these traditions may be found in the *picus*, or woodpecker, which is sacred to Mars and may represent him.

capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere / finitimi fingunt et faunos esse loquuntur, “locals claim that these places are inhabited by goat-footed satyrs and nymphs, and they say that fauns exist.” The lines are so close to *Aeneid* VIII.314, which begins with *haec nemora*, ends with *nymphaeque tenebant*, and substitutes the fauns for the satyrs while retaining a four-syllable adjective in the same *sedes* as *capripedes*, that it seems very likely that Vergil used them as a model for this description. The value of this allusion at this point in Evander’s story is twofold: first, it prefigures the large-scale use of Lucretius as a source for the non-traditional reading of the Golden Age myth which follows; and secondly, it introduces an element of doubt into the narrative by engaging with an explicitly dissenting voice. Lucretius’s purpose in the relevant passage in book IV is to provide a scientific explanation for echoes and other noises that rustics ascribe to woodland deities.¹⁹⁰ After the mythological stories about Hercules, Vulcan, Cacus, and other such figures that Evander has told Aeneas, the reader might expect similar material here. The tension is thus created between the revisionist philosophical viewpoint of Lucretius and the claims for prophetic truth advanced on behalf of the narrative.

This tension goes far back in Vergil’s work, and it is probable that Vergil alludes to that earlier engagement here as well. It was just mentioned that the *De Rerum Natura* mocked belief in creatures like fauns to explain echoes in the woods. It is probably not a coincidence that in *Eclogue* VI, the only *Eclogue* in which Vergil mentions fauns, the notion of echoes is playfully alluded to on multiple occasions: lines 11, 44, and 83-4.¹⁹¹ Additionally, the cosmogonic sequence of *Eclogue* VI was heavily inspired by that of

¹⁹⁰ Bailey (1949) v.III 1247-8 emphasizes Lucretius’ attempt to rationalize popular belief in this passage.

¹⁹¹ Perhaps also line 85, if *cogere donec ovis stabulis numerumque referre* is a pun, which seems possible after the association of poetry and sheep in lines 4-5.

Lucretius.¹⁹² It is ironic in view of Lucretius's well-known dislike of *vates*, fauns (who themselves have vatic associations¹⁹³), and prophets that this (pseudo-?) Epicurean cosmogony is subordinated to the pronouncements of a vatic Silenus. The total effect is that of an engagement with the philosophy of Lucretius, but it is an engagement filled with ambiguity. I think that it would be a mistake to attempt to read a rejection of Lucretius's philosophy into *Eclogue* VI, mostly because the imaginative world of the bucolic in that text takes precedence over philosophical exactitude. I think that such a rejection does come about in *Georgics* II, where Vergil could have adopted a Lucretian position without fear of ruining the effects of his poetry, and this was discussed at length in the previous chapter. But although that conclusion cannot certainly be drawn from the *Eclogues*, the fact that he returns to the same figures, allusions, and ideas in all three of his major texts is a clear indication that Vergil is doing more than simply spicing up his texts with disposable references; he is developing responses to a set of real life-long concerns. Furthermore, it needs to be understood that bucolic is one of the vehicles with which he consistently grapples with these ideas, and thus Vergil's bucolic is anything but a lighthearted, apolitical, and aphilosophical poetic mode. When Vergil uses it, we as readers should start paying very close attention.

We can begin by turning to *Eclogue* VI and its fauns, unique in that poem. *Tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres / ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina*

¹⁹² See, for example, Coleman (1977) 183-6 for multiple specific allusions, although Coleman doubts that Vergil is adopting Lucretius's epicurean account in its entirety.

¹⁹³ See Ennius, *Annales* 214; Nemesianus II.73. Cf. also Var. *L.* VII.36; Cic. *Div.* I.101 and *De Natura Deorum* II.2.6; Dionysius of Halicarnassus V.16.2; and Vergil *Aen.* VI.775, VII.81 and 254. Cf. also Dorsey (1992) 35-6; and Otto, "Faunus," *RE* VI.2 (1909) 2059. For a full bibliography on Faunus up until 1967, see Eisenhut, "Faunus," in the *Kleine Pauly* 2 (1967) 521-2; this can be supplemented by the summaries in Johns and Potter (1983) 49-52; and Johns (1986) 93-102.

quercus, “then truly you might have seen Fauns and beasts cavort in time to the music, while rigid oaks bobbed their heads” (*Eclogues* VI.27-8).¹⁹⁴ The context is the beginning of Silenus’s song about the creation of the world.¹⁹⁵ Worthy of notice is the presence of the fauns in that *Eclogue* as a way of setting the scene before the prophetic story, very closely analogous to their use in *Aeneid* VIII. Furthermore, they are here paired with oak trees, whose hardness is emphasized on the one hand while on the other they are humanized, since they dance and sway their heads. This is parallel to the description of early indigenes as *gensque virum truncis et duro robore nata* in *Aeneid* VIII.315. One other touch that may be worth noting is the interplay between the use of a generic name for woodland deities to denote a class of beings on some occasions and to refer to an individual on others.¹⁹⁶ In *Aeneid* VIII.314 we have *Fauni* used to mean fauns, but this also recalls the use of *Faunus* in book VII to refer to the god Faunus, ancestor of the kings of Latium. *Eclogues* VI plays the same game, taking the generic name of Silenus,

¹⁹⁴ The prophetic relevance of Fauns has already been explained. However, it should also be noted that Fauns had musical associations: both Nemesianus (I.14) and Calpurnius Siculus (IV.60) write that Faunus invented the *fistula*. This is probably due to conflation between Faunus and Pan, which adds yet another layer of significance to the appearance of Fauns in this context.

¹⁹⁵ Clausen (1994) 175-8 notes the allusion to Apollonius’ song of Orpheus in Ap. Rhod. I.496-504, the status of Silenus as a “seer,” and the importance of Gallus everywhere in this poem. F. Skutsch (1901) 38-49 takes the Gallus influence to an extreme, claiming that the song catalogues Gallus’ poetry, and that Vergil bases his Silenus on Gallus’s.

¹⁹⁶ On the pluralization of Faunus, see Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* VII.77ff and VIII.314, where he notes the inconsistency between the singular individual Faunus in *Aen.* VII and the generic plural deities of VIII, *Ecl.* VI.27, and *Geo.* I.10, as well as Ennius. He posits three possible explanations: the assimilation to the Panes of Greek poetry (for which view see also Mynors (1990) *ad Geo.* I.10; and Skutsch (1956) *ad Ennius Ann.* 207), an “original conception of undifferentiated spirits of the woods and the countryside from which the figure of a single Faunus came to emerge” (see Latte (1960) 83-4), and the allusion to Lucretius. See Dorsey (1992) 33-48 on the interchangeable character of such deities as Pan, Faunus, Silvanus, and the Silvanae. He does not, however, argue for complete syncretization (41).

which refers to a type of satyr, and using it of an individual Silenus, who sings the song which the Eclogue purports to recount. Of course at the time of the writing of the *Aeneid* and *Eclogues*, a process of mutual identification had begun which was conflating the features of fauns and satyrs, making the interplay of names perhaps another allusive game between these texts.¹⁹⁷

The description of the primitive indigenous race in *Eclogue VI* is also very close to the version in *Aeneid VIII* (315-8).¹⁹⁸ This *gens* is described as inhabiting the woods (*nemora*) and the mountains (*dispersum montibus altis*, scattered throughout the mountain heights, VIII.321), and as being ignorant of the use of domesticated animals. In *Eclogue VI*, the cosmological sequence of lines 31-40 ends with the spontaneous appearance of *silvae* (woods, line 40), *animalia* (animals), and *montis* (mountains, 39-40). Immediately after this, the narrator tells of a creation of human beings (surely not the original creation, for Pyrrha is presupposed) from stones, *hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos...refert*, “from this he goes on to tell of the stones thrown by Pyrrha,” (*Eclogue VI*.41-2). This seems to be the same sequence of events as in Evander’s account, and it also shares the characterization of certain humans as being born of hard material.¹⁹⁹ It would therefore seem as if a common conception of the sequence of early history

¹⁹⁷ Faunus is described as goat-like in the literary sources. See Ovid *Fasti* II.359, V.93 and 99, and *Her.* IV.49; Statius *Theb.* IV.696; Calpurnius Siculus I.16; and Pliny *NH* XII.2. The *Origo Gentis Romanae* IV.6 states *hunc Faunum plerique eundem Silvanum a silvis, Inuum deum; quidam etiam Pana, vel Pan esse dixerunt.*

¹⁹⁸ Lovejoy and Boas (1965) is an extended treatment of the idea of primitivism in antiquity, including a collection of relevant texts and a (now slightly dated) bibliography.

¹⁹⁹ *Geo.* I. 62-3 shares this theme, but I do not include it in the main discussion because it is an isolated reference rather than a developed account.

underlies both passages.²⁰⁰ The similarities between *Aeneid* VIII and *Eclogue* VI are such that this common history would not pass unperceived, especially as *Eclogue* VI also addresses the reign of Saturn, and thus they bolster the prophetic quality of Evander's history of the site of Pallanteum.

The other important mention of fauns appears in Vergil's *Georgics*: *et vos, agrestum praesentia numina, Fauni / (ferte simul Fauniquae pedem Dryadesque puellae: / munera vestra cano)*, "and you, oh deities who dwell among country folk, you fauns (stomp your feet in time, oh fauns and dryad girls; for it's your gifts I sing)", I.10-12. This is significant both because of the mention of nymphs along with the fauns, as in *Aeneid* VIII, and the theme of dancing to song from *Eclogue* VI. In addition, the character of dryads as specifically tree-nymphs serves as an interesting mediation between the faun passages of the *Eclogues* and the *Aeneid*.²⁰¹ Once again, the fauns and nymphs are part of a proem, used to set the scene and audience expectations, and now it becomes clear that part of that expectation is for an instructional song. One key difference, one might say development, in the use of the fauns as introductory device, is that beginning with the *Georgics* the context becomes explicitly pro-Augustan. Following the catalogue of nature deities in the proem to *Georgics* I, Vergil has added another figure: *tuque adeo... Caesar*, "indeed, you, too...Caesar," (I.24-5). In that context Caesar is a future god and a conqueror. The first name in the proem, in line 2, is that of Maecenas, an important supporter of Octavian/Augustus. This trend is carried on

²⁰⁰ Although Servius *ad loc. Ecl.* VI.41-4 claims that *quod autem dicit 'Saturnia regna,' fabularum ordinem vertit*. See contra Clausen (1994) *ad loc.*, who sees an actual history in these lines, though brief.

²⁰¹ But see Mynors (1990) *ad loc. Geo.* I.11, who believes they have no perceptible connection with the trees of *Geo.* II. He nevertheless sees the style of this passage as "characteristic of the bucolic style."

into the *Aeneid*, as has been mentioned above; the figures of Evander and Saturn, so integral to this short history lesson, invite comparison to Augustus.

Thus from the first line of Evander's speech Vergil has put the reader in mind of certain bucolic passages from the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, even before he introduces the story of the Golden Age. The stage is set for vatic utterance (and this is capped at the end of the speech with a return to Apollo and Carmentis), reflections on historical development on both the cosmic and local scale, and an awareness of the earlier literary tradition. Yet this heightened awareness of poetic predecessors, which a theme as famous as the Golden Age is also likely to produce, will only serve to emphasize the discontinuities between the Golden Age story of *Aeneid* VIII and those of earlier poets, including Vergil himself.

II. Vergil's Golden Ages

The narrative on which Evander embarks can be divided into four sections. The first (314-8) describes Italy before the Golden Age. Lines 318-25 tell of the coming of Saturn as an exile from Olympus and his establishment of the Golden Age in Italy. 326-32 recounts the collapse of the Golden Age and the coming of new people to Italy, and this is capped by a description of Evander's own arrival as an exile under the aegis of Carmentis and Apollo in lines 333-6. Thus in addition to the details of the Golden Age proper, emphasis is laid on its place in history, and a strong typological relationship is established between Saturn and Evander and, by implication, Aeneas, who also came to Italy as an exiled founder-figure. A closer look at some of the themes of Evander's

version of the Golden Age will lay the groundwork for a comparison with versions in other parts of Vergil's poetry.

The first aspect we will examine is the temporal frame. In Evander's story, the Golden Age is set in the past, coming after the (spontaneous?) generation of people from plants, but before the slide into a worse age. Furthermore, it occurs after Saturn's exile, and is explicitly set in Italy: *primus ab aethereo venit Saturnus Olympo / arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis*, "first Saturn came from heavenly Olympus fleeing the arms of Jupiter, an exile without a kingdom," (*Aeneid* VIII.320-1); and *his...latuisset tutus in oris*, "he'd lain safely concealed on these shores," (*Aeneid* VIII.324).²⁰² No clue is given in the text as to the reason for this sharply localized Golden Age beyond the coming of Saturn, and the description of the succeeding age is vague enough that one can't tell cause from effect, since the Golden Age lasted *deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas / et belli rabies et amor successit habendi*, "until a faded and worn age, and madness for war, and love of mere ownership slowly succeeded it" (VIII.326-7). Perhaps a mystical shift brought about this behavior, perhaps the behavior itself was the cause, or maybe they form an insoluble nexus. The changes are characterized in terms of time: *aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere / saecula*, "the centuries known as Golden took place in his kingship," (VIII.324-5); and then the *deterior ac decolor aetas*.

The second notable characteristic is the text's conception of government. This is explicitly a monarchy: *illo sub rege* (324) and *sic placida populos in pace regebat*, "he thus ruled those people in restful peace," (325). Saturn, a displaced monarch, brings his

²⁰² This seems to be Vergil's innovation. Cf. Schiebe (1986) 44 and also n.4 on the same page. Earlier versions of the myth of Saturn envision him being exiled to Tartarus. Hesiod explicitly places the Golden Age during Saturn's (Cronus's) reign in heaven: "οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ Κρόνου ἦσαν, ὅτ' οὐρανῷ ἐμβασίλευεν," *Op.* 111.

rule to Latium, but in doing so he also brings culture and law: *is genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis / composuit legesque dedit*, “he brought that stiff-necked race together, once scattered across the high mountains, and gave them laws,” (321-2). Thus this is explicitly a benign kingship on the part of a being recognizably superior to whom authority is ceded willingly by the people, and backed in part by a set of laws. More than that, Saturn brings *mos*, which the tree-people did not have before, since they are called *quis neque mos neque cultus erat*, “who had neither *mos* nor culture” (316). *Mos* is a difficult word to translate, but at the risk of sounding excessively anthropological, I’d like to take it as folk-ways, the culturally-based prescriptions analogous to laws proper. For the Romans, of course, *mos* played a role as important as *leges*, and the point is that by teaching the tree-men *mos*, Saturn managed to have a government based on ancestral practice even in the first generation, an important ingredient for legitimate Roman rule.

A third characteristic of this Golden Age is the economy or lifestyle. This is not the Golden Age of spontaneously productive nature; instead it is conventionally agricultural. The indigenous race was one of primitive hunter-gatherers: *nec iungere tauros / aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto, / sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat*, “they had not learned to yoke bulls or store up their means, nor refrain from using what they had acquired, but branches and rugged hunts gave them nourishment” (316-8). Under the reign of Saturn, a kind of culture-hero, the tree-men engaged in agriculture, seemingly without greed, hardship, or the need for war. This simple agricultural lifestyle itself, along with the fair laws and rule, were enough to constitute what is surely a rather modest vision of the Golden Age.

Table IV.1, below, shows that Evander's Golden Age from *Aeneid* VIII is, in fact, very different from all of Vergil's other Golden Ages in the categories of time,

Table IV.1

| Text | Time/Chronology | Government | Economy | Miscellaneous |
|--------------------|-----------------|--|----------------|--|
| <i>Eclogue</i> IV | Future | Puerocracy | Spontaneous | Traditional Roman political forms; need to atone for former crimes |
| <i>Eclogue</i> VI | Past | King Saturn (still on Olympus?) | N/A | Primitive people born from rocks; before Prometheus' theft |
| <i>Georgics</i> I | Past | Communism | Spontaneous | No farming |
| <i>Georgics</i> II | Past | King Saturn (on earth) | Agricultural | Traditional Roman cultural forms; no warfare; lifestyle same as in all other ages |
| <i>Aeneid</i> VI | Future | Augustan principate; military rule over other peoples | Roman imperial | Traditional Roman political and cultural forms; explicit warfare; broad rule; obscure links to Saturnian Golden Age |
| <i>Aeneid</i> VIII | Past | King Saturn (in Latium); system of laws and cultural forms | Agricultural | Peaceful reign; rise of laws and culture; <i>sunoikism</i> of primitive people born from trees; language of time (<i>saecula, aetas</i>) |

government, and economy, as well as in various other details. Although no one that I know of has pointed out precisely the differences between Golden Ages that I have in the form that I have, scholars have previously noticed a variety of contradictions²⁰³ in Vergil's various Golden Age accounts. The general trends fall into three categories: attempts to reconcile the seeming contradictions,²⁰⁴ the detection of pessimistic undercurrents,²⁰⁵ and lately the attempt to deal with the contradictions as expressive of a relativistic perspective.²⁰⁶ I would like to spend the majority of my time in this chapter developing my own approach, but I do feel that I should first deal with these approaches briefly, and explain why I have found them insufficiently enlightening.

First of all, as mentioned in my introductory chapter, I think that there are good theoretical grounds for being skeptical of readings that take contradiction to imply opposition. More specifically, Richard Thomas attributes "severe reservations about empire and the Roman achievement"²⁰⁷ to Vergil based on close readings of Vergil's texts.²⁰⁸ However, as Alan Sinfield has written, "The reason why textual analysis can so readily demonstrate dissidence being incorporated is that dissidence operates, necessarily, with reference to dominant structures. It has to invoke those structures to oppose them, and therefore can always, *ipso facto*, be discovered reinscribing that which it proposes to critique." The opposite is perforce also true, namely, that a non-dissident text will always

²⁰³ Perkell (2002) 3 has a good overview of the many inconsistencies that have been noticed by scholars.

²⁰⁴ See, for example, Ryberg (1958); Johnston (1980); Galinsky (1996) 90-121; and Pavan (1985).

²⁰⁵ Most notably in Thomas's work. See especially Thomas (1982).

²⁰⁶ See O'Hara (1994) 207 and Zetzel (1997) 192.

²⁰⁷ Thomas (1982) 49.

²⁰⁸ Farrel (2001) 14-21 summarizes Vergilian scholarship in the past century, especially its New Critical and pessimistic aspects.

include dissidence. It is in the nature of texts that in attempting to express an opinion, they include traces that can be exploited by readers who wish to construct the opposing position. Thus “it follows that formal textual analysis cannot determine whether a text is subversive or contained.”²⁰⁹ As long as scholars look only at the text and its possible nuances, good grounds will be found for both “optimistic” and “pessimistic” readings of Vergil’s Golden Age poetry. In order to better resolve the epistemological conundrum, however, recourse must be had to other sources of evidence. It almost goes without saying that approaches that find both “optimistic” and “pessimistic” elements and make a case for a relativistic or ambiguous perspective based on those observations are open to the same objections as those which find only one or the other. This would be true even if it were granted that Vergil’s Golden Age narratives form a continuous whole, and that thus their discontinuities are significant; once one recognizes them as separate stories, each with their own purpose and internal logic, their differences become far less significant.

It would be equally unsatisfactory, however, to say that because textual meaning can be unstable and inherently self-contradictory, all such contradictions should be dismissed as par for the course. An approach that simply assumes coherence is as guilty of allowing formalist considerations to monopolize interpretation as the one previously criticized. If texts give evidence of contradiction, they will always also provide evidence of coherence. I do not wish to take an excessively dogmatic position on such issues: appeal to outside evidence is necessary primarily in those cases where the status of a text as contradictory or coherent is seriously in question. In most instances, which kind of

²⁰⁹ Sinfield (1992) 818-20.

text one is dealing with will be readily apparent, and the burden of proof will fall most heavily on critics who attempt to convince us that our first impressions are mistaken. But whenever the point is seriously in question, formalist analysis alone will not suffice. In the case of Vergil's Golden Age poems, I think it is quite clear that the texts are "contradictory," and I have found that in spite of the valiant efforts of critics who have attempted to read coherence into them²¹⁰ the differences between (and within) the texts are probably insurmountable. I attribute this difference to the fact that each of Vergil's Golden Ages is tailored to its poetic context; they do not constitute an attempt to paint a coherent picture of the Golden Age any more than Vergil's *Eclogues* attempt to convey one coherent and particular locale.

Thus we shall briefly examine the Golden Ages of Vergil's poetry as valuable comparative material, concentrating on the differences between them and Evander's account in *Aeneid* VIII. This will reveal some areas of particular emphasis unique to the *Aeneid* version. Close attention will be paid to the role the Golden Age myth plays in each poem, and how its unique features further that agenda.

III. The Vergilian Comparative Material

We shall begin with the *Eclogues*. *Eclogue* IV is Vergil's fullest description of a Golden Age, but as one can see from table IV.1, it is very different from subsequent Vergilian versions of the Golden Age. It is also different from Hesiod's version in one key way. This uniquely Vergilian innovation (one that will not appear again until *Aeneid*

²¹⁰ I'd like to single out in particular Galinsky (1996) 90-121 for attempting to utilize historical and material evidence to make his case.

VI) is the setting of the Golden Age in the future.²¹¹ Previously the Golden Age was imagined as a lost state, past and inaccessible. In fact, it was an inhuman state, not so much an age in Hesiod as a race.²¹² He writes of the Χρύσειον...γένος, “golden race,” describes them as ὥστε θεοὶ δ’ ἔζωον ἀκηδέα θυμὸν ἔχοντες, “they lived as gods, their hearts untouched by grief,” and writes how οὐδέ τι δειλὸν / γῆρας ἐπῆν, “nor did grievous old age assail them.”²¹³ In this racial aspect the Golden Age story is closer to its Hesiodic roots, to the extent that there is no “Golden Age” properly speaking. In lines 4-6 there is certainly a temporal aspect:

Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas;
 magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo.
 iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna

The last age of the Cumaean prophecy is at hand;
 The great order of centuries is born anew.
 Already the Virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns.

Yet nowhere is it called a Golden Age.²¹⁴ Although we have the features of the time of the golden race transposed to the present and future of Rome (with this temporal shift comprising Vergil’s central innovation of the concept), we also still have golden, iron and heroic races present, as in Hesiod: *modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum / desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo*, “the newborn boy, for whose sake first the iron race departs, then the golden arises throughout the world,” (*Eclogue* IV.8-9); and *heroas* are

²¹¹ Gatz (1967) 87-103.

²¹² Clausen (1994) 119 n.3, “Greek writers refer to a golden race, Latin poets sometimes to a golden age.” Cf. Baldry (1952) 88-90; and West (1978) 173 and 177.

²¹³ Hesiod *Op.* 109, 112, and 113-4.

²¹⁴ Line 4 reads *Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas*, but the only other appearance of *aetas* is in line 37, where it almost certainly refers to the boy’s adulthood: *ubi iam firmata virum te fecerit aetas*. Instead, *aevus* (line 11) and especially *saeculum* (lines 5, 46) are used interchangeably. If anything, the notion of the *saeculum* is the privileged one here, as being most relevant to the Sybilline flavor; on this last aspect see Coleman (1977) 131.

mentioned in lines 16, 26, and 35. Chronologically, the sequence is iron (current people) – heroic – golden, a variation on Hesiod’s original scheme (perhaps its reverse, with the bronze race excised).

In terms of government, the signals are mixed. On the one hand, the poem says that Saturn’s reign will return. On the other, it seems that this merely refers to the characteristics of the age, but with the boy in Saturn’s place: *ille [sc. puer] pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem*, “and he [the boy] will rule o’er the world once it’s pacified by his father’s virtues,” (*Eclogue* IV.17). There is also an emphasis on Roman political forms throughout the poem, including (perhaps) during the Golden Age. The process will begin during Pollio’s consulship, *teque adeo decus hoc aevi, te consule, inibit, / Pollio*, “during your consulship this glory of the age will commence, o Pollio” (11-12), and he will have military *imperium* as the final traces of crime are extinguished, *te duce, si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri, / inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras*, “with you as *dux*, if traces remain by chance of our crimes, they’ll be wiped out, and the world thus freed from perpetual fear” (13-14). These vestiges of crime (they reappear in lines 31-5) add an interesting dimension to the story – Roman leaders must paradoxically work and fight to bring about the Golden Age:

pauca tamen suberunt priscae vestigia fraudis,
quae temptare Thetim ratibus, quae cingere muris
oppida, quae iubeant telluri infindere sulcos.

However, some traces of earlier crime will remain,
Such as, to assail Thetis with ships, to gird towns round
With walls, to desire to carve furrows into the earth.

Eclogues IV.31-3.

I say paradoxically, because work itself, as well as war and any kind of enterprise, are indissolubly linked in this description with prior crimes. Especially in view of the strong emphasis on the role of fate and racial regeneration in bringing about the new Golden Age, the causal links between morality/moral action and the new age remain weak and undeveloped, although present.²¹⁵ This prompts consideration of the economic system in the Golden Age, and in *Eclogue IV* it is a simple case of the earth yielding every need and luxury unasked: *omnis feret omnia tellus*, “the whole earth will bear every kind of thing,” (*Eclogue IV.39*).

The poem and its purposes have long been recognized as mysterious.²¹⁶ Surely the consul Pollio is not being endorsed as a political choice, since the people’s agency in his career is already at an end by the time he has reached the consulship.²¹⁷ Also unlikely is the notion that the child, whoever it may be, is being endorsed. The very vagueness of the child’s identity and associations in the popular mind are testament to the fact that, if this was an address on behalf of the child or what the child represented (some have posited that the Treaty of Brundisium is the central concern, though uncertainty

²¹⁵ And this presence leaves them available for Vergil to emphasize and reinterpret in later allusions, as I claim Vergil does in the context of his Hercules narrative in Chapter II.

²¹⁶ Clausen (1994) 126 points out that much time (about five years) passed between the publication of the *Eclogues* and the events of 40 BCE, and that the child had become a sufficiently obscure figure that Asinius Gallus was later able to claim that he was the prophesied child. Cf. D.Servius ad *E. IV.11*. Tarn (1932) 156 n.4 made the suggestion, credited to Nock, that changes were made to the poem between 40 BCE and its publication, which may have made the poem even more mysterious and impenetrable.

²¹⁷ The time of the poem’s action and writing is often taken to be 40 BCE, during Pollio’s consulship and his role as Antony’s lieutenant during the negotiation of the Pact of Brindisium in September of that year. See Syme (1939) 205-13 for the historical background.

abounds),²¹⁸ it singularly failed to convey its message. However, it is almost certain that one person other than Vergil would have understood the references to the child, if indeed they did refer to a particular individual, and that person is Pollio, the explicit addressee (along with the child, of course). If Pollio and other people in the know were the intended recipients of the political message, it would scarcely be credible that we are dealing with a piece of political persuasion, as one assumes that the architects of the treaty were already persuaded.²¹⁹ Praise seems a more likely function, but this hardly explains the choice of the Golden Age myth, let alone its particular form.

Instead, I think that the vital clue lies in the allusion couched in lines 53-4: *O mihi tum longae maneat pars ultima vitae, / spiritus et quantum sat erit tua dicere facta*, “may the final part of a lengthy life be mine then, and enough breath to retell your deeds.” These are almost a precise reversal of Hesiod’s wish in *Opera et Dies* 174-5, Μηκέτ’ ἔπειτ’ ὄφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι / ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ’ ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι. / νῦν γὰρ δὴ γένος ἐστὶ σιδήρεον, “would that I were not part of this fifth race, but I had died before or not been born till after them. For now indeed mankind is made of iron.”²²⁰ The lines in Vergil are followed by a catalogue of great singers whom he’d defeat in singing contests if he lived to sing the songs of the new Golden Race: Orpheus,

²¹⁸ Alpers (1979) 177. Coleman (1977) 150-1 has a list of possible interpretations of the poem, although it is sorely lacking in bibliographic references. For some different takes, see Arnold (1995) and Hubbard (1998), who interpret this as a poem primarily about poetry.

²¹⁹ Some have even suggested that the poem was originally an epithalamion for the marriage of Antony and Octavia, and only later converted into a bucolic poem. See, for instance, Clausen (1994) 126. On the later addition of lines 1-3 as a “brief pastoral apology,” see Jacoby (1910) 77 n.1; Jachmann (1952) 49. See Welby (1931) XII.5-6 for Walter Savage Landor’s observation that bucolic diaeresis is not used in *Ecl.* IV. If it were true that this poem was conceived as an epithalamion, it would be even more certain that it was intended for a small, elite audience ‘in the know.’

²²⁰ Coleman (1977) *ad* IV.53.

Linus, and Pan. As has been discussed before, these figures are associated with Hesiod in *Eclogue VI*,²²¹ when Silenus sings about Gallus:

Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum
utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis;
ut Linus haec illi divino carmine pastor
floribus atque apio crinis ornatus amaro
dixerit: ‘hos tibi dant calamos – en accipe – Musae,
Ascraeo quos ante seni, quibus ille solebat
cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos.’

Eclogues VI. 65-71.

How one of the sisters led him into the Aonian mountains,
And the entire chorus of Phoebus rose up before a mortal;
How Linus the shepherd of godly song
His head bedecked with flowers and bitter celery
Said to him: “These reeds the Muses give you – take them –
They once belonged to the old man of Ascrea. With these
He would play songs that led the rigid ashes down the mountains.”

One should note that the *Ascraeus senex*, Hesiod, is here envisioned as possessed of attributes associated with Orpheus, a common conflation in ancient times.²²² So, for that matter, is the Pan-like Silenus who sings this very song, to the rhythm of which *Faunos ferasque videres / ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus*, “you might have seen the Fauns and wild beasts play, the rigid oak-trees sway their heads in time,” (*Eclogues VI.27-8*).²²³ The motif of the god yielding to the mortal in a musical contest of line 66 is also that employed in *Eclogue IV.58-9: Pan etiam, Arcadia mecum si iudice certet, / Pan*

²²¹ Cf. Hesiod *Theog.* 22-34 for the parallel scene of poetic investiture.

²²² See *Ar. Ra.* 1032-3 as an early instance of Hesiod being coupled with Orpheus; and Hellanic. fr. 5J as claiming an Orphic descent for Hesiod (cf. also *RE VIII.1169-70*). On Orpheus’ power to charm nature with song, see Coleman (1977) *ad III.46*. For another instance in Vergil’s work, see *G. IV.510*. Heyne (1830) attributes to Vergil the innovation of transferring to Hesiod the Orphic trait of leading woods by means of song; cf. also Ziegler in *RE XVIII.1249 n.1* for the suggestion that the innovation may be Hellenistic, though preserved in Vergil.

²²³ Furthermore, Silenus is compared to both Apollo and Orpheus in lines 29-30.

etiam Arcadia dicat se iudice victum, “why, Pan himself, if he should vie with me, and Arcadia judge the contest, why, even Pan, Arcadia judging, would say he had been beaten.” A final indication of the associations between these two *Eclogues* is the emphasis on the divine parentage of Orpheus (Calliope) and Linus (Apollo) in IV.57, which reappears in VI with the association of Linus with Apollo in lines 66 and 72-3, and is perhaps also alluded to by the description *divino carmine pastor* in line 67.²²⁴ The Muses are present in VI.65, and it is quite possible that the choice to make Gallus’s guide *una sororum* (VI.65) is specifically intended to evoke Calliope, the mother of Orpheus.²²⁵

What emerges is a desire on Vergil’s part to use the Golden Age in *Eclogue* IV as an intermediary between himself and Hesiod, who is clearly the major inspiration for the imagery and content of the poem.²²⁶ The relationship is one of reversal, temporal (back to the Golden Age) and in terms of attitude (optimism instead of resignation), but it is the reversal of a mirror image rather than of an overturning. This in part explains the “conventional” nature of Vergil’s Golden Age (Golden Race!) narrative, as it is meant primarily to be recognizably Hesiodic. The important claims are of a poetic nature, and they have to do with poetic precedence and pedigree: the Orphic/Hesiodic tradition of prophetic verse, associated with the *vates*, is brought to bear as the context for judgment. The claims for superiority of lines 55-9 are squarely aimed at Hesiod along with (and more so than) Orpheus, and establish Vergil not only as an eminent poet but an eminent

²²⁴ Ross (1975) 21-3 further notes how the unexpected epithet *pastor*, when applied to Linus, makes him a vatic poet-shepherd like Gallus (and, of course, Hesiod). I follow Page (1898) in taking *divino carmine* with *pastor*; but it is also possible to take it with *dixerit*, as did Heyne (1830).

²²⁵ See Propertius III.3.37-8, *e quarum numero me contigit una dearum / (ut reor a facie, Calliopea fuit.)* Cf. also Hes. *Theog.* 79, where Calliope is said to be the eldest of the Muses, and Longus III.27.2, where the eldest Nymph speaks for all.

²²⁶ Aratus is also important, but less so; cf. Clausen (1994) 119-21.

prophet. Indeed, for those embracing the recently revived tradition of the *vates*, the two claims are in a sense indissoluble. I say in a sense, because ultimately the dominant aspect is the poetic and not the prophetic: the truth of the prophecy will be accepted, or denied, largely on faith, as is true of any vague set of prophecies. If one wants to be accepted as a poet-prophet, one must sound like a poet-prophet first and foremost; the content of the prophecy is almost superfluous, a mere framework on which the poetry hangs. At the core of Vergil's sustained allusion in *Eclogue IV* lies the equation of Vergil and Hesiod; the equation of child/Brundisium/Pollio to some vague good is blatantly a screen, because the first element is so vague as to make the identification impossible. I think we can also know it from the form of the Golden Age story, which fails to strongly link the changing age to human morality and thus to make it a compelling equivalent for 'goodness.' Instead, it is the Age of Heroes which is mined for the attributes of the good: *at simul heroum laudes et facta parentis / iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere virtus*, "but now you are able to read both the praises of heroes and deeds of your father, and thereby learn what virtue is" (*Eclogue IV.26-7*), an unsurprising choice given Vergil's decision to stay close to the source material.²²⁷ The playfully moralizing injunction to the child with which Vergil ends the poem is also cast in terms of the Age of Heroes²²⁸: *incipere, parve puer. Qui non risere parenti, / nec deus hunc mensa dea nec dignata cubili est*, "come now, my lad. For the child who won't smile at his mummy no god asks to dinner, no goddess to bed," (*Eclogue IV.62-3*), both in the

²²⁷ Hesiod *Op.* 158 refers to this race as *δικαιότερον καὶ ἄρειον*, specifically in relation to the bronze race, but one gets the feeling that these positive value judgments are only relevant here for the first time; after all, what would justice (or its opposite) look like in the perfect conditions of the Golden Race?

²²⁸ This may be an allusion to Hercules; cf. Hom. *Od.* XI.602-4; Hor. *Carm.* IV.8.29-30; and Clausen (1994) 122.

language of this poem (*ille deum vitam accipiet divisque videbit / permixtos heroas et ipse videbitur illis / pacatumque reget patriis virtutibus orbem*, “he will take up the life of a god, and see the heroes mingling with the divine, and he himself will be seen by them and rule the world pacified by his father’s virtue,” *Eclogue IV.15-7*)²²⁹ and that of Hesiod’s *Works and Days*: ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἱ καλέονται / ἡμίθεοι, “the godly race of hero-men, who are called demigods,” (*Opera et Dies* 159-60) where only in the Heroic Age do mortals breed with gods.²³⁰

Let us now turn to *Eclogue VI*. Here the order of the ages seems to be: creation(s), destruction(s), and genesis of new people from stones (the Pyrrha story); then Saturn’s reign; next is the theft of Prometheus; and finally there is an age of heroes, as represented by the story of the Argonauts:

hinc lapides Pyrrhae iactos, Saturnia regna,
Caucasiasque refert volucris furtumque Promethei.
his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum
clamassent, ut litus ‘Hyla, Hyla’ omne sonaret”

Then he recounts the rocks thrown by Pyrrha, Saturnian reign,
And birds of the Caucasus along with the theft of Prometheus.
To these he adds in what fount was left Hylas, whom sailors
Had called, so the whole shore resounded “hail, Hylas!”

Eclogues VI.41-4.

Assuming that the list is in chronological order, then we can trace a rough sequence in which a rough people were created from natural materials to replace a previously existing race; these primitives existed in a Golden Age, and then came culture and technology.²³¹

²²⁹ Cf. Catull. LXIV.384-6; and Hom. *Od.* VII.201-3.

²³⁰ Cf. West (1978) *ad loc.* 160, where he claims that it is ἡμίθεοι, and not ἡρώες, that “is the word used in speaking collectively of the men of the heroic age.” This highlights the importance of the concept of divine parentage for the depiction of the Heroic Age.

²³¹ Clausen (1994) *ad loc.* reconstructs the same sequence of events.

I base this reading on the notion that Prometheus is representative of technological and cultural advances, and this would then be different from the *Aeneid* account in which Saturn is the bringer of culture and technology, thus usurping Prometheus' role. The Golden Age is back in the past, as in Hesiod, and there is no hint of a potential return to the Golden Age in the future.

Because it is mentioned so briefly, there are not many details. The language of the description makes it clear that Saturn is king during the Golden Age, but it's impossible to tell if this was a kingship on earth or a universal kingship. Furthermore, nothing can be known of the characteristics, economic or otherwise, of this Golden Age except that it seems to precede technology as embodied in Prometheus' theft, and thus it is likely that it is pre-agricultural. Thus the earth would bear freely, as in *Eclogues IV* and Hesiod. It is probable that this brief reference is merely Hesiodic color for Silenus' allusive history (it draws from Lucretius, Hesiod, and Callimachus, as well as others). The poetic investiture near the end of the song in lines 64-73, mentioned above, reinforces the Hesiodic and vatic qualities of the poem. This is very much in line with Vergil's use of the Golden Age in *Eclogues IV*.

As to the Golden Age of the *Georgics*, I shall restrict myself only to those passages which I see as directly engaged with the Golden Age proper: *Georgics I.125-8* and *II.532-40*.²³² The first passage runs thus:

ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni:
ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum
fas erat; in medium quaerebant, ipsaque tellus
omnia liberius nullo poscente ferebat.

Georgics I.125-8.

²³² Perkell (2002) 18-27, who provides a good overview of the scholarship on the Golden Age in the *Georgics*, also includes passages on bees in *G. IV.1-115* and *149-280*.

Before Jupiter farmers did not plough fields:
Nor was it permitted that any should mark or divide up
The plain with a boundary stone; they labored in common, and Earth herself
Freely bore everything, no need for striving.

Lines 125 and 127-8 from *ipsaque* onward sound like straightforward importations from Hesiod,²³³ familiar also from *Eclogue IV*. The time frame is the same, the legitimate rule of Saturn on Olympus before Jupiter's ascendance to power. Unlike *Eclogue IV*, however, but like the Hesiod, the Golden Age is set in the past with no mention of a possible return.

Although the Golden Age is set in Saturn's reign, humans do not seem to be ruled by anyone, but rather by shared cultural conceptions of right behavior, *fas*. A likely innovation is the idea of common property and enterprise in the Golden Age, but it has been argued that this predates Vergil.²³⁴ *In medium quaerebant* could be akin to Hesiod's ἤσυχοι ἔργ' ἐνέμοντο σὺν ἐσθλοῖσιν πολέεσσιν, "peacefully they did their work with many other good men," (*Opera et Dies* 119), and could apply to all decisions, not merely the details of labor. In fact, the language of the passage (*nullo poscente*) seems to indicate that their common work was not such labor, since the earth yielded freely. Thus the economy is spontaneous, as in the *Eclogues*, but emphasis is placed on the distribution of that plenty. It is striking that in a poem about farming, Vergil makes it a point to say that there were no farmers in the Golden Age, especially in view of the characterization of the Golden Age in *Georgics II* as a time of farming:

hanc olim veteres vitam coluere Sabini,
hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria crevit

²³³ Cf. *Op.* 117-8, which is very close to *G.* 127-8, with the same verb and subjects in the same position.

²³⁴ Gatz (1967) 229, conspectus 4c, lists relevant sources, the earliest of which are Germanicus *Aratea* 112-9 and Justin *Epitome of Pompeius Trogus* xliii.i.3.

scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma,
septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces.
ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis et ante
impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuencis,
aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat;
necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis.

Georgics II.532-40

Once on a time the ancient Sabines lived such a life,
And Remus and his brother; in this way Etruria waxed in might,
I am sure, and Rome became the finest of cities,
Which, being but one, has girded seven hills within its wall.
Even before the Dictaeon king took up his scepter and before
The impious race made feast on slaughtered heifers,
Golden Saturnus led this life on earth;
Not yet had they so much as heard the martial trumpet's blast, nor yet
The ringing sound of whetting blades on stones.

This passage comes after a description of the virtuous rural life of a farmer, and this is the life to which the repeated *hanc vitam* refers. And what is the character of this life? It is the life of the citizen-farmer, defined both negatively and positively, but always in Roman terms.²³⁵ On the negative side, we have the following: *illum non populi fasces, non purpura regum / flexit et infidos agitans discordia fratres*, “the people’s fasces, the purple of kings do not sway that man, nor discord which rouses brothers to treachery,” (*Georgics* II.495-6). Among the many generic positive qualities is included libation to Linaeus (II.529). Although Vergil never gives a specific place, we almost can’t help but imagine Saturn as an Italian farmer.

²³⁵ On these lines, see especially Wilkinson (1969) 294, 296-8; and Klingner (1931) and (1963) 119-35.

On the surface, this is an irrevocably past Golden Age. It is also clear that Saturn's reign comes before Jupiter has assumed the kingship.²³⁶ This makes it somewhat strange that, without the pretext of exile, Saturn's reign is placed *in terris*, on earth. Furthermore, the comparanda and Roman cultural details suggest that it includes Italy without necessarily being restricted to it.²³⁷ Economically, the *hanc vitam* and the emphasis on peaceful life leave no doubt that it was an age of agriculture; this also suggests that the earth's plenty was not entirely spontaneous.

Some critics have found a tension between the description of the farmer's life as peaceful on the one hand, and the mention of Romulus, Remus, and the walls of Rome.²³⁸ However, it seems clear that Vergil is juxtaposing two "Ages" here: from 532-5 he is drawing on the imagery of the Heroic Age, a set of images which now also includes his own work in the *Eclogues*, and from 536-40 he is describing Saturn's Golden Reign. If this passage is divided in this manner, it becomes clear that lines 539-40 apply only to the Golden Reign, and are not to be taken with 532-5. This eliminates any problems in understanding why Rome is said to have had walls when no war yet existed, a point which some commentators raise in part because of these two lines.²³⁹ It would be exceedingly bizarre if Romulus and Remus were placed in the Golden Age, coming as

²³⁶ *Geor.* I.125 reinforces this chronology: *ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva coloni.*

²³⁷ Cf. Mynors (1990) *ad loc.* on the identification of the Greek Kronos with Saturn, king of Latium, on which see also Dion. Hal. I.34; for the identification of Italy as Saturnian, see *Geo.* II.173, where it is referred to as *Saturnia tellus*; and Ennius *Ann.* 21 Sk. *Saturnia terra.*

²³⁸ Cf. Thomas (1982) *ad loc.* 533 and 535, where he finds mention of Romulus and Remus "somewhat surprising" and that "mention of Rome's walls sits rather uneasily with the approximation to the golden age that follows."

²³⁹ Perkell (2002) 25 claims that "it is explicitly stated that Golden Saturn...lived this idyllic life on earth among the early Italians" and goes on to quote 532-40 as describing one single age. Galinsky (1996) 95 claims that "it is a Golden Age which ...is based on agriculture and includes the fortification of cities (2.535)."

they do after the Trojan War; surely the *ante etiam*, repeated twice, is meant to indicate a shift in the time about which the poet is writing, explicitly to a time before the overthrow of Saturn and before the theft of Prometheus. One need only think back to *Eclogues* VI.41-4: *Saturnia regna, / Caucasiasque refert volucres furtumque Promethei. / His adiungit Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum / clamassent*, or the order of events in *Eclogue* IV (Iron Race - Age of Heroes – Golden Race) to notice that this was already Vergil's conception of mythical world history.

Once this major distinction is established, the real tensions of the passage may be addressed. It is strange, after all, to draw such a strong comparison between the Heroic and the Golden "Age," and to say that the same life was lived in both of them. The trap that many commentators have fallen into is to conceive of the praises of the farmer's life as the conditions of the Golden Age, while understanding the Golden Age to include the material we have set aside as descriptive of the Heroic Age. It is not only *Georgics* II.539-40 that makes claims of the peaceful nature of *hanc vitam*, but also such lines as 458-60:

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
agricolas! quibus ipsa procul discordibus armis
fundit humo facilem victum iustissima tellus.

Most fortunate farmers, if only they knew their advantages!
The earth herself in her justice bears an easy fruit
From the soil for them, without need for discordant arms.

This generalizing statement goes even further in complicating the web of comparanda, for it clearly includes contemporary Rome as well as the Heroic and Golden Ages. The effect of this is to emphasize the common link between all these periods, namely the life of the farmer, and to throw into sharp relief that the difference between these ages is a

difference of degrees. The farmer's life, *qua* farmer's life, is one of peace (*procul discordibus armis*) in any age; for as soon as one engages in war, one can no longer be engaged in farming. But the praises of the farmer's life do not describe the actual conditions of the Iron or Heroic Ages, just one manner of life available in both. It is only in the Golden Age that the idyllic farming life and human existence are completely coextensive, a similarity highlighted by the repeated motif of peace in lines 459 and then in 539-40. The Heroic Age, though fraught with outbreaks of warfare (the mention of Sabines, Romulus and Remus, Etruscans, and the walls of Rome make this tension clear), is happy in that the lifestyle and virtues of rural life were still the default – though now they (somewhat ironically) were employed to advantage in less peaceful contexts. In the Iron Age this is no longer the case, although a few are fortunate enough to still live that way.

In the context of our discussion of the characteristics of the Golden Age, this is a huge leap. There is still no mention of a Golden Age – rather, as in earlier versions of the myth, the characteristics of the “Age” are associated with a group of people. A key difference is that now the people are human, an occupational group in fact, and that the Golden Age has bled into the other ages, which are defined in their relationship to that Golden Age, not merely temporally, or qualitatively, but almost in a quantitative sense, where the key quantity is the number of farmers. By drawing attention away from a different race or *genos* whose unique qualities are instrumental to the happiness of the Golden Age, Vergil makes the ages permeable and holds out hope that man can achieve a Golden Age. Furthermore, by tying that permeability to a set of virtues, he makes

everybody accountable for the success or failure of the Golden Age, and gives the myth its most powerful form for moralizing purposes.

One final note: I can think of no way to reconcile this depiction of the farmer as a type of the Golden Age life with the description from *Georgics* I. If there is a place where a critic would be justified in pointing out a contradiction as potentially subversive, this would certainly be it; but as that would take things too far outside the purview of this discussion of the Golden Age, I'll leave it to other scholars to examine what it is precisely that Vergil might be interested in subverting in *Georgics* I and II.

We turn now to the *Aeneid*'s first Golden Age passage in book VI:

hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium...

Aeneid VI.791-5.

This is the man you so often heard would be sent you,
Augustus Caesar, born of a god, who will reestablish those Golden
Centuries over which Latian Saturn once ruled
In the fields, and will bring the tribes of Garamantes and Indians
Under the sway of his might of arms...

Here the time period of the Golden Age lies in the future as well as the past, for it is the same centuries over which Saturn once ruled that Augustus will re-establish. This description is consistent with the version in *Aeneid* VIII in that it takes place in Latium, in the time of Saturn's exile, and even alludes to the etymology of Latium as the place of Saturn's concealment. Yet the emphasis is clearly on the future Golden Age and its ruler, Augustus.

Clearly then the system of government of this new Golden Age is the very system of government under which its Roman readers lived, the principate, but writ larger, to the very ends of the world. A tension is introduced between the sharply localized reign of Saturn, where *Latio regnata per arva / Saturno* is prominently included,²⁴⁰ and the expansive empire of Augustus, bound only by the proverbially distant Indians and Garamantes.²⁴¹ A Roman and militaristic note is struck by the phrase *proferet imperium*.

Finally, economic details are not addressed, largely because no details are given as to what is golden about this coming Golden Age. In fact, it is quite difficult to tell what it is about the future Golden Age of Augustus that is the same as the Golden Age of Saturn, especially when *Aeneid* VIII is introduced for additional details on Saturn's reign. For example, *Aeneid* VI contains a strikingly militaristic conception of the Golden Age, and one clearly at odds with that of *Aeneid* VIII.325-7: *sic placida populos in pace regebat, / deterior donec paulatim ac decolor aetas / et belli rabies et amor successit habendi*, "thus did he rule the tribes in unbroken peace, until a feebler and baser age slowly succeeded, with a ravenous thirst for war and a lust for ownership." It's true that the natives of the latter passage were a rough, uncivilized people, but it seems that they were not warlike or unduly acquisitive. In addition, the two passages are at odds in their conception of the extent of the Golden Age. *Aeneid* VI implies that it will be a worldwide or at least widespread phenomenon, while VIII reinforces the local quality of Saturn's kingdom (already present in VI) not only with its language of place (the *haec*

²⁴⁰ Austin (1977) *ad loc.* 792ff. sees this specificity as of "special local significance; the Golden Age of Saturn symbolized the purity and simplicity of early Italian life, the ways that had made Rome great." He further sees this as an allusion to Augustus' moral reforms.

²⁴¹ See, for example, *Ecl.* VIII.44, where they are *extremi Garamantes*, and *Geo.* II.122-3, *quos Oceano propior gerit India lucos, / extremi sinus orbis*.

nemora of line 314, the *his oris* of line 323) and its conception of the kingdom of Saturn as a small, isolated hiding place under threat from the new universal reign of Jupiter, but also by its unicultural interpretation of that reign. Only the rough people born of oaks were included, and the arrival of bands of Ausonians and Sicilians (328) was an epiphenomenon of the end of the Age. This is very different from the multicultural conception of the future Golden Age of Augustus in *Aeneid* VI.794-805, packed as it is with conventional designations for faraway peoples and places. Finally, the Golden Age of Saturn is seen as inherently fragile, almost doomed to failure from the beginning, whereas the Golden Age of Augustus is conceived without a hint of decay or possibility of failure, an Age to end all Ages.

To briefly summarize: the Golden Age story in each poem has its own characteristics, chosen to support that text's purpose. In the *Eclogues*, Vergil sticks closely to his Hesiodic model, retaining the full conception of the Ages of Man and the various races, in large part because he is making a claim for his own vatic status *vis-à-vis* Hesiod. He does introduce an innovation, namely the future Golden Age (which reinforces the poetic stance of the vatic poet-prophet), but does not employ it again until the *Aeneid*. In the *Georgics*, Vergil moves further from the Golden Age's framework within the myth of Ages, and instead uses the Golden Age as a means of discussing traditional Roman *labor* and *virtus*. Most strikingly, in *Georgics* II he re-frames the Golden Age in terms of agrarian virtues and lifestyles, and makes it available across ages to anyone fortunate enough to live such a life.

III. The Golden Age of *Aeneid* VIII

What Vergil does in the *Aeneid* is to draw elements of the Golden Age from both his earlier works in such a way as to support his rhetorical purpose. The real *coup* is the combination of the teleological vision of the Golden Age as divinely ordained future, which exalts that with which it is linked, with the human and visible (i.e., subject to pragmatic judgments) Golden Age, which appeals in a more immediate and concrete sense, to form a flexible and rhetorically powerful combination. In *Aeneid* VI, we have a Golden Age vision inspired by that of *Eclogue* IV, with the emphasis on the future and on Roman political forms. Yet unlike that version, *Aeneid* VI does not go into detail about what the Golden Age means, and is very explicit about who will be responsible for that age. Finally, it moves completely away from the notion of races, bringing the Golden Age to the contemporary Roman reader. In *Aeneid* VIII, the description is closer to that of *Georgics* II, with its emphasis on central Italy and the peaceful lifestyle of farming communities. One final move that Vergil makes is that, unlike his earlier poems and the *Georgics* in particular, he takes great care to coordinate his different versions of the Golden Age. *Aeneid* VI refers to the Golden Age of *Aeneid* VIII, and even though there are inevitably tensions between the Augustan imperialistic Golden Age and the monarchical and agricultural primitive Golden Age of Saturn, Vergil nevertheless tells us that they are the same, rather than leaving the tensions unreconciled as in the *Georgics*.

Of course, even such a reconciled tension raises the specter of pessimism in the minds of many critics, one of whom writes that “the contradictions in the representation of the Golden Age function to keep alive the continuing moral question: what *is* the

Good? what makes a Golden Age ‘Golden’?’²⁴² Yet it is quite likely that as a *topos*, the term “Golden Age” *ipso facto* implies the answer to these questions: it is the good. As long as it is depicted in blandly idyllic imagery, no challenge is mounted to morality, rather the reverse. In its function of *telos* it sets up the interpretive framework for the events that precede it, thus sweeping their problematic elements under the carpet.²⁴³ It could thus be read as a rhetorical move in a complex negotiation, not about any kind of ultimate good, but about those controversial contemporary events to which it gives a positive ‘spin.’

In a discussion of rhetoric, Josiah Ober claims that *topoi* “derived from and referred to the common ideological frame of reference...” and that they were “reiterated precisely because of their symbolic value and demonstrated power to influence an audience.”²⁴⁴ In a footnote he goes on to clarify a key aspect of ideology, namely that it is “(relative to philosophy) inconsistent; the orator may appeal to different aspects of popular ideology as it suits his purposes.”²⁴⁵ It therefore follows that it would be naïve to take a purely literalist approach to primarily rhetorical texts; instead one can glean much

²⁴² Perkell (2002) 34-5 deals with these issues; the quote is from 35.

²⁴³ Kermode (1967) 3-66 is cited by Perkell (2002) 10 n.13 “on the organizational function of apocalyptic thought.” However, she seems to have missed that the action of apocalypse on time (which for Kermode transforms meaningless *chronos* into structured, understandable *kairos*) is not reciprocal; that is, apocalypse affects time but is not affected by it, it stands outside and beyond and is brought into being by agencies also outside of time. And although time is suffused with meaning by the apocalyptic event, the events of time can not possibly change our interpretation of the apocalypse, or have ethical implications for it. In short, the Golden Age, like any supernatural *telos*, is miraculous; it stands outside causality and ethical considerations, justifying events and actions, but not besmirched by them in return.

²⁴⁴ Ober (1989) 44.

²⁴⁵ Ober (1989) 44 n.103, in which he goes on to provide an example: “Consider the different treatment of the rich in Dem. 20 and 21 – the former in support of a rich man’s privileges, the latter an attack on a rich man’s hubris.”

value from recognizing that such tropes are revelatory of a popular ideology (who the “people” are might be open to question) and that they act to produce a response “by operating on the level of . . . symbolic equality.”²⁴⁶ These features are in accordance with what we have seen of Vergil’s use of the Golden Age in the *Aeneid*. It now becomes primarily a matter of decoding the symbolic equalities that the text attempts to establish; that is, what is it that Evander’s description establishes (not philosophically, but merely by association) as “the good?”

The characteristics of the Golden Age in *Aeneid* VIII are cultural and spatial community (one *gens* in line 315, collected in *haec nemora* (314) from the surrounding mountains (321-2)), a system of government which includes both the rule of law and a wise monarch (*leges dedit* (322), but *sub rege fuere / saecula* (324-5)), and, most importantly, that *sine qua non* of all of Vergil’s Golden Ages, peace (*sic placida populos in pace regebat*, 325). On the negative plane, it excludes greed (the *amor habendi* of line 327), war (*belli rabies*, 325), (somewhat paradoxically) rule by kings (*tum reges* in the *decolor aetas* in 330), and rule by force (as personified by *asperque immani corpore Thybris*, 330). Of all these attributes, it is peace and freedom from greed, violence, and tyranny that are commonplace, traceable back to Hesiod’s treatment in *Opera et Dies* 109-20. Notably absent is any mention of feeding habits (as in *Eclogue* IV.18-22, 28-30, 39-41) or prosperity of lifestyle (as in *Eclogue* IV.25, 42-5) in the period after Saturn’s arrival. Instead, there is a novel emphasis on government, and that novelty is a sure sign that these are elements that make up one side of the symbolic equation. When all the items relating to government are removed, only peace and freedom from greed are left as

²⁴⁶ Ober (1989) 45-6.

the anemic conventional attributes that help render the claims that Saturn's was a Golden Age recognizable.

As to the claims for a system of government, part of the interpretive crux lies in the distinction between the description of *aurea quae perhibent illo sub rege fuere / saecula: sic placida populos in pace regebat*, "the Centuries called Golden took place under his rule: thus did he rule the tribes in unbroken peace" (*Aeneid* VIII.324-5), and that of the worse age which followed as *tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris*, "then came kings and harsh huge-bodied Thybris" (330). Because the words *rex* and *regere* are used so prominently with such different connotations, it is clear that rule by a monarch is a central question of the passage, and one to which no definitive answer can be given in terms of one-man rule (the most basic meaning of the word).²⁴⁷ The point is that distinctions have to be made, and by engaging in the description of such distinctions the text subtly assumes the premise that there is no inherent reason to categorically oppose a monarchy. As Gransden astutely points out, the *-que* in line 330 is epexegetic,²⁴⁸ so that the objectionable sort of kingship is described in its epitome, Thybris, as harsh and *immani corpore*, i.e. reliant on might or violence. The people over

²⁴⁷ Servius *ad loc.* catalogues different versions of the eponymous king, including that of Livy I.iii.8, who identifies him (under the name Tiberinus, like Ennius at *Ann.* 54 V) as a member of the ruling line of Alba Longa, and Varro *L.L.* V.30, who makes him (under the name Thebris) an Etruscan king of Veii. Fordyce (1977) *ad* VII.30 notes that Vergil uses Thybris eighteen times in the *Aeneid*, but Tiberis only once. If Vergil's onomastic preference is taken as an indication that he reads Thybris as an Etruscan king, this would add an interesting nuance to his seemingly mixed attitude towards kingship, i.e. foreign domination as represented by Etruscan kings (and perhaps Antony and Cleopatra?), which is bad, as opposed to that of Romulus (and his own principate), which is acceptable, even desirable. On the name, see Meister (1916) I.53 ff.; Kretschmer (1909) 295; Bömer (1957) 134 ff.; and especially Momigliano (1966) II.609 ff.

²⁴⁸ Gransden (1976) 127. Cf. also Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* 330. For a parallel, see *Aen.* VII.535, *corpora multa virum circa seniorque Galaesus*.

whom Saturn wields power are admitted to be *indocile* (320), yet even they are easily ruled by a monarch, and one not of their own people. Though nothing specific is said of Saturn's character or the means by which he comes to power, it is strongly implied that he was a sufficiently mild and fair ruler (see for instance the emphasis on community and laws in lines 321-2). It therefore also follows that, as he was a good ruler, no dissatisfaction would result, and therefore no need for civil violence. In the case of the overweening ruler, Thybris, the need for violence almost necessarily follows from his character as a tyrant.

There is no doubt that a central problem of the Augustan principate was the definition of the role of the *princeps*, a man who at once claimed to be the political equal of his subjects and the social authority over them, and who grounded that authority on his record of serving the traditional commonwealth, not in its material embodiment at the time of the civil wars when it was corrupt and decayed, but according to its ancient spirit and morality, the source of its strength. This defense is that given in the *Res Gestae*, and the fact that it was felt to be necessary even after the long and successful reign of Augustus is a testament to the genuine difficulty of reconciling the paradoxes inherent in it. These very contradictions are played out in the fiction of the Golden Age in Evander's retelling in *Aeneid* VIII. Ober's rhetorical theory explains the way in which citizens and elites negotiated useful but troubling political contradictions: "the citizens more easily and safely embraced pairs of concepts that, if contradictory, were also complementary and that collectively served a useful function in the organization of the state and society. The tensions generated by simultaneously maintaining social inequality and political

equality therefore had to be resolved on the ideological plane.”²⁴⁹ In *Aeneid* VIII, Saturn’s peaceful, moral, and enlightened reign sets up the concrete paradigm that suggests the usefulness of such regimes, while the Golden Age in its different future and past versions acts to resolve the tensions inherent in the principate.

One final piece of the puzzle remains if such a rhetorical analysis is to be complete, namely the issue of the intended audience. Most historical research agrees that the ascension to power of Octavian/Augustus involved his radical co-optation of power from the former Roman elite (effectively taking it out of the picture as an independent political entity) and the subsequent dialogue had to be between himself as new representative of the elite (whose elite status, *sans* power, he continued to uphold) and the equestrians and people of Rome.²⁵⁰ More specifically, Ober’s study centers on the mediating roles of rhetoricians/politicians in the negotiation between mass and elite,²⁵¹ and draws much of its evidence from the texts of such orators. As such, it seems natural to apply his ideas to the poets of the Augustan principate, who played a similar role as agents of communication whenever they wrote overtly political material, which the Golden Age stories of the *Aeneid* certainly seem to be.

²⁴⁹ Ober (1989) 304.

²⁵⁰ See, for example, Galinsky (1996) 58-79 for the importance of the idea of a restored republic in Augustan ideology. On p.56 he discusses the shift of the previous mass-elite system to one in which the senate becomes powerless, although he does not there address the nature of the new relationship between *princeps* and mass. See also Brunt (1988) 326 on elite conceptions of mass-elite relations before the principate.

²⁵¹ Of course it should be said that ‘masses’ in the sense in which Ober employs it in his analysis, and which I adopt here, is not the same as what is commonly understood by that term today. It refers to those members of the community who were politically relevant but not of elite status, thus ruling out, for instance, slaves, women, minors, and in the case of Rome generally the very poor, whose vote counted little because of the organization of the voting system. Thus it is not unbelievable that poetry was addressed to masses understood as male heads of household of a fair degree of prosperity and education, but not of senatorial or consular rank.

In this case, I think that the equestrian order is the likeliest candidate for an addressee, and perhaps even more specifically the newly reconstituted Roman *iuventus*.²⁵² That this was the non-elite class most likely to be exposed to Vergil's *Aeneid* seems a sufficiently straightforward claim, and it has been noted that Augustus' *Res Gestae*, for instance, makes a special point of appealing to the *equites*: *Tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus et equester ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae*, "During my thirteenth consulate, the senate, the equestrian order, and all the Roman people named me 'father of the fatherland'" (*Res Gestae* 35, the last and crowning section of the whole document). There are many examples of Augustus' interest in the education of the Roman *iuventus*, including the resurrection of such traditions as the *exercitatio campestris*, the *Lusus Troiae*, and of course the chorus of youths at the Secular Games.²⁵³

IV. Conclusion

It is in the long-poem form of the *Aeneid* that Vergil is finally able to pull off his twofold move of humanizing the Golden Age, thus bringing it into the realm of contemporary political discourse, while at the same time extracting it from time and causality to transcend that discourse. In *Aeneid* VIII, as we have discussed, we have the human element in the tribes of early Italian indigenes over whom Saturn reigns. We also

²⁵² On the importance of the equestrian order for Augustus, see Yavetz (1984) 14 and 16, and especially 16-20 on Augustus' interest in and attempts to educate the *iuventus*; see also Nicolet (1984) 99-107; Rostovtzeff (1905); and Mommsen *Staatsrecht* III.14, III.1, 476 ff., esp. 525.

²⁵³ Zanker (1988) 167-192 has an extended reading of the Secular Games as an expression of Augustus' Golden Age propaganda tantamount to the claim the Games were a declaration of the arrival of the Golden Age in Rome.

have the placement of the Golden Age irrevocably in the past, but through links to his earlier poetry in the *Eclogues* as well as in the *Aeneid*, Vergil is able to bridge that temporal divide. First there is Jupiter's prophecy of *Aeneid* I.291-7, which begins: *aspera tum positae mitescent saecula bellis*, "the harsh years will mellow when war's set aside." Here we have the Golden Age as promise for the future, handed down by the will of the gods at a time of their choosing, much as that of *Eclogue* IV. In between we have Anchises' prophecy, uniting the two passages so that neither can be truly interpreted without the other:

Hic vir, hic est tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
proferet imperium.

Aeneid VI.791-5

This is the man whom you so often heard me promise,
Augustus Caesar, born of a god, who'll bring back
Those golden centuries over the fields once ruled by
Latian Saturn, and who shall place his military might
Over Indians and Garamantes.

Here there is both future and past, human agency and divine will, and the prophecy of a place, Latium, all centering on the supreme political figure of contemporary Rome, Augustus. Vergil has combined his previous Golden Age stories into one new discourse, uniquely suited for his new purpose, while keeping the various parts in discrete units spread throughout the text so as to conceal the joins. But it is only here in the *Aeneid* that these stories have found their way into a common arrangement, and any attempt to read that unity back onto the shorter poems is to import something which is not there, which cannot be there because it came later. As for the joining together of past, future, and

most emphatically and importantly the present around the myth of the Golden Age, only one part finds its fulfillment in Evander's Golden Age story, which establishes the teleological promise of unity for the Augustan principate. It is not until the tour of Rome, with its appeal to the visible and concrete improvements in the contemporary city, that the other half of the rhetorical equation is set into motion, and it is that phenomenon with which the next chapter will concern itself.

Chapter V

The Bucolic Metropolis

We have just explored Vergil's retelling of the Golden Age myth as a transition to the famous Tour of Rome passage in lines 306-69. In the course of that exploration, we discovered that Vergil's use of bucolic allusions indicated a return to origins, a temporal displacement which took the reader back to the beginnings of civilization in Italy while simultaneously referring him/her to Vergil's own poetic roots in the *Eclogues*.²⁵⁴ Paradoxically, it was also established that the Golden Age narrative constituted an appeal to the contemporary Roman reader, one fraught with political implications for that contemporary (but from the point of view of the narrative action, future) space.

In this chapter we will follow that effect of temporal destabilization as it intensifies to construct a vision of contemporary Rome and its inhabitants on the soil of the still-bucolic landscape of Latium. This vision entails a further paradox, that of the city of Rome as bucolic, primitive countryside. Once the functions of address to the Roman reader, temporal displacement, and bucolic allusion have been traced in the text, we will turn to Bakhtin's theory of genre (appropriate both because it's based on a dialectical relation between epic and non-epic, and because of its unique emphasis on

²⁵⁴ Of course, this reference to Vergil's earlier work is not neutral or objective; it constitutes a reinterpretation of that work, both by emphasizing certain features and passages at the expense of others, and by setting it within the trajectory of a career that includes the entire body of Vergil's work up to and including the *Aeneid*.

time) to finally provide a model which explains the systematic recurrence of the themes of place, prophecy, and most especially power in Vergil's description of Rome's bucolic landscapes.

I. Constructing Rome

First let us trace the narratological motif of which Vergil is so fond in this book, namely, the use of the bucolic reference to establish a relationship between place on the one hand and prophecy and power on the other. The so-called "Tour of Rome" begins at *Aeneid* VIII.306 and ends at 369. Of these, 314-336 are a digression, already discussed, into the history of the site and the time of Saturn. As has been shown there, the bucolic is almost immediately introduced in the shape of Fauns, Nymphs, and groves in line 314, with specific reference to the *Georgics* and *Eclogues*. The Golden Age motif of lines 319-25, in particular, alludes to *Eclogue* IV and the end of *Georgics* II. The end of Evander's speech, which works to transition the narrative back to the tour, clearly marks the relationship between the elements of place, prophecy, and power, while also tying them to the *topothesia* which follows:

“[me] Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum
his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda
Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.”
Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
quam memorant...

Aeneid VIII.334-9.

“Omnipotent Fortune and inescapable Fate
Put me in this place, along with my mother, the nymph Carmentis's,
Dreadful warnings and the agency of the god Apollo.”
Scarce had he said this, he walked from there and showed the altar
And gate which Romans remember as Carmentalis

By name...

Fortuna, fatum, and the gods are established as privileged *sedes* of power in this passage; so is Evander himself. On one level, he makes it clear that he has their sanction to rule. On another, he sets himself up as an intermediary, a sort of prophet in his own right who relays the ancient stories and prophecies of the gods and men, as he did when recounting his version of the Golden Age myth. The actuality of the place is also emphasized in terms such as *his locis* and the monuments of religious observance, and it is these that act as catalysts or confirmations for the reminiscences of Evander. Finally, the situation of his exile also brings him into a sympathetic position with Saturn before him and Aeneas afterwards²⁵⁵; one thinks, for example, of Aeneas' parallel consultation of the god Apollo.²⁵⁶

The ring composition here is also striking. The story was introduced in the following way:

... Aeneas capiturque locis et singula laetus
exquirique auditque virum monimenta priorum.
tum rex Evandrus Romanae conditor arcis:
Aeneid VIII.311-3.

Aeneas was captivated by the place and happily asked
Regarding each thing and heard of the monuments of bygone men.
Then king Evander, founder of Rome's high citadel, spoke:

The repeated element of *locis*, as well as the close analogy between *monimenta* and *monita* on the one hand and *Romanae arcis* and *Romani nomine portam / quam memorant* on the other act to signal the simple changes of landscape and descriptive narrative to direct speech and vice-versa; but more than that, they emphasize the tripartite

²⁵⁵ Novara (1986) 81.

²⁵⁶ Eden (1975) *ad loc.*

vision of Rome as simultaneously pure physicality, i.e. a collection of places (and the plurality of the word highlights the way that it is only the metanarratives of history that tie raw physicalities into unities such as “city”), its context for the characters in the distant past *qua* memory and *loci* of memory, and its context for the reader as actual (and future) place, as currently existing Rome and its potentialities for the future. In fact, the reader is almost drawn into the web of the story as an active agent, for it is the *Romani* who with their commemoration make the dumb object, the *porta*, into that *nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem*, “the nymph Carmentis’s ancient glory,” the recognizable *porta Carmentalis*.²⁵⁷ I say almost drawn as active agent, because the process of the drawing is complex and reciprocal, as perfectly according to the concept of interpellation.²⁵⁸

According to Althusser, the position of a subject in the field of ideology implies a feeling of obviousness. “Like all obviousnesses, including those that make a word ‘name a thing’ or ‘have a meaning’ (therefore including the obviousness of the ‘transparency’ of language), the ‘obviousness’ that you and I are subjects...is an ideological effect.” This effect of obviousness is precisely the one created and then destroyed in lines 337-9 of *Aeneid* VIII. As Evander leads Aeneas, he makes a motion by which he indicates the

²⁵⁷ Dion. Hal. I.32 attests that the Altar of Carmentis was in existence at the time of Virgil; cf. Platner (1929) *s.v.* Carmentis; Richardson (1992) *s.v.* Ara Carmentalis; and Steinby (1993) *s.v.* Murus Servii Tullii – Porta Carmentalis and Carmentis, Carmenta on the location of the altar near the Carmental gate. Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* 337ff points out that the Carmental gate is the one anachronism in Evander’s tour, since it would have belonged to the Servian walls of the city. Grimal (1948) suggests that the Carmental gate led to the temple of Apollo, restored in the Augustan period, and thus further reinforces through topography the association between Carmentis and the god Apollo (and thus, prophecy). Binder (1971) 115-117 emphasizes that the association between the ancient gate and the shining temple of Apollo for the contemporary reader would provide dramatic proof of the fulfillment of Carmentis’ prophecy in the time of Augustus.

²⁵⁸ Althusser (1998) 299-303 (originally in Althusser (1971)).

altar and gate, *monstrat et aram* (line 337). The transition again catches the reader by surprise with its casualness, *et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam / quam memorant* (338-9). *Carmentalem* seems to be the name inherent to the gate, until the developing syntax makes it clear that it is, in fact, part of a relative clause; it is only the *portam* that Evander points out. The ablative *nomine* further highlights the role of language as mediator, and causes a jarringly sudden disjunction between the adjective and the noun. The final verb, *memorant*, makes the artificiality of the term clear; it takes somebody, some subject, to make a gate a meaningful object. The obviousness of words naming things and of the transparency of language has been radically undermined. The effect of this sentence is to inspire a double-take, figuratively and literally, by forcing the reader to reconsider it and decipher it again, perhaps in opposition to their first, natural instinct. And after all, on each successive reading, that *Carmentalem* in its forward position remains as a challenge, suggesting that perhaps there is a sense in which the truth of the present is the truth of all time periods, and of dumb objects, even while the syntax denies it. In the end, however, this focus on the problems of language and time does not mount a challenge to ideology; on the contrary, it deflects attention from the other element of interpellation, the subject.

Embedded as it is in the middle of line 338, *Romani* stands out as the key to the puzzle, clarifying the tortured syntax of the sentence and its subordinate clause.²⁵⁹ Just as the word *Romani* is recruited into service for the purpose of making meaning, however,

²⁵⁹ On the role of *Romani* in this passage, see Novara (1986) 82-3; Mack (1978) 52-3 points out that, since much of the content of the Tour was not available to Aeneas and Evander, “The importance of the scene, like the importance of the Vergil’s conflation of times, lies in what it does for the reader.” Mack also conceives of this address as an invitation to the reader to become aware of two presents.

so is the subject of ideology a key participant in the constitution of the material world around it. Althusser writes:

I shall then suggest that ideology ‘acts’ or ‘functions’ in such a way that it ‘recruits’ subjects among the individuals...by that very precise operation which I have called *interpellation* or hailing, and which can be imagined along the lines of the most commonplace everyday police (or other) hailing: ‘Hey, you there!’
Althusser (1998) 301.

The reader is invited to make just such a self-identification on several levels. First of all, as reader in Latin of the *Aeneid*, that individual is almost guaranteed to partake of the linguistic system at stake in the naming of a Roman gate. Secondly, the reader is assumed to be familiar with the gate, so that as they read the description they know precisely the place under discussion. Finally, as someone who knows the gate, not just as a gate, but “transparently” as the Carmental Gate, they already take part in the process of commemoration which the third-person “Romans” of the text are said to engage in. Everything in the text suggests an address to the reader of “Hey, you there, Roman!” to which nothing is more natural than the acceptance on the part of the reader of that address in the same spirit of obviousness discussed above. It is this smoothness of obvious effect which the jarring difficulties of the surrounding words conceal.

We had discussed earlier some of the common elements constituting a ring around Evander’s mythological narration, namely disparate physical elements, their fictional constitution within the narrative, and a second constitution, equally fictional, in which the implied reader partakes. This last is the Roman aspect, evoked by *Romanae* (line 313) and *Romani* (line 338) and their concomitant anachronistic elements of, respectively, Evander as the founder of the Roman citadel and the Romans who honor Carmentis with

a gate. Within this aspect we can detect a twofold recognition: first, that Rome and Romans are artificial and interdependent creations, or, as Althusser defines it,

...the category of the subject is constitutive of all ideology, but at the same time and immediately I add that *the category of the subject is only constitutive of all ideology insofar as all ideology has the function (which defines it) of 'constituting concrete individuals as subjects'*.

Althusser (1998) 299.

More striking is the shorter formulation that “there is no ideology except by the subject and for subjects.” The second recognition has to do with historicity, which is implicitly denied by the repeated prolepsis, the bringing of Rome and the site of Rome together in the text. This latter recognition has a twofold meaning both as relating to the nature of ideology (which, as Althusser says, “has no history”) and to the nature of the subject (who is “always-already a subject, even before he is born.”). To unpack these meanings more clearly in relation to the text, on the one hand Rome as concept (corresponding to ideology) has no history because, as *telos*, it can be overlaid on any part of the landscape as if prefigured there, which is what happens when the citadel of Evander is denoted as Roman; on the other, it has an eternal existence in the extra-historical realm of fate and the mind of the gods.²⁶⁰ Along with this is the fact that in lines such as 338 the Roman subjects are brought into being, in a sense, before their births. They participate in the same timelessness as Rome, for they are indissolubly tied together. This is further emphasized by the narration of lines 314-36 which are bracketed by the ring composition, for as has been shown in the previous chapter, they establish not only the same timeless links to the past and the divine for Rome as their framing elements but also extend those links to a concrete future of eternally immanent prosperity.

²⁶⁰ Most immediately in lines 334-6, as Evander is explicitly made part of the history of Rome in 313, but also e.g. in Jupiter’s prophecy in I.257-96.

What results from this reading is an echo of the call which we heard earlier in the previous chapter on the Golden Age (and still earlier in passages such as Anchises' speech in book VI.851-2: '*tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento, / (hae tibi erunt artes)*,' "you, Roman, remember to rule over nations with military might, (for this will be your art)"), namely the address to the Roman citizen. Here, however, the call is more explicit, and at the same time more complex, because it brings up the polarity between city and citizen and calls its boundaries into question, which is to say that it blurs the line between the public and the private aspects of Romans' lives (*Romani* as concrete individuals or private agents vs. *Romani* as subjects constituted by and constitutive of the city and empire). Like any good thematic unfolding, however, it brings up some of the same themes as the embedded Golden Age narrative, such as the valorization of the power of the citizen and the attempt to mediate the role of Augustus in traditional Roman terms. We should remember that there it was a matter of laying out the spectrum of monarchical possibilities from the enlightened rule of a figure such as Saturn to the tyranny of Thybris and addressing it to the Roman 'mass' as actual arbiter of power. In lines 339-41, the tangled sentence about the Carmental gate is extended by means of two appositives and a relative clause; these subordinates have the effect of revealing what was implicit in the simpler formulation rather than overtly taking responsibility for adding more (perhaps suspect) information:

[portam] quam memorant, nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,
 vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros
 Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.

[the gate] which Romans remember, the nymph Carmentis's ancient glory,
 That doom-telling prophetess, first to sing of the great line of Aeneas
 To come as well as the noble Pallanteum.

It now becomes obvious that as Romans, the citizen-readers commemorate Carmenta with a gate because of her role as *vates*, either specifically for her prophecies relating to Augustus or because such a prophecy is the ultimate confirmation of her status, honorable in itself. It is not truly important whether the actual Roman reader had previously thought of the gate and Carmenta in these terms; once again, the characteristics of ideological interpellation are present in all their “obviousness,” and the Roman reader is likely to pass this description by with the characteristic exclamation of “That’s obvious! That’s right! That’s true!” The subordinate clauses emphasize the “always-already” timelessness of ideological claims, as if this reading of Carmenta and the gate was always implicit in the Roman mind and even in the very stone of the dumb monument.

The complex intertwining of ideas in these lines has achieved yet one more ideological effect. While tying the Romans, as agents of memory, to the places and monuments of the city, it has simultaneously tied them down to the extra-human forces of memory as embodied in fate and necessarily interpreted by the *vates*. The Roman subjects (i.e. *Romani*) in the lines of poetry, who become embroiled in an increasingly lengthy sentence by means of all the informative relatives and appositives, until they are face-to-face with the figure of Augustus, the ordained of fate, closely mirror the experience of the Roman reader caught up by the narrative thread of the self-proclaimed *vates*, Vergil, who reveals the nuances and meanings of their lived experience of the city to themselves in terms of the fated rule of Augustus. There seems to be an extraordinary degree of self-consciousness on the part of the text about its role in creating a subject, and this self-consciousness results in a reinscription of the narrative motif on different levels. What emerges is a self-aware rhetorical appeal, one which relies on the

acknowledgement of the agency of the *vates* and the *carmen* (the prophecy part of our triad) in constructing a meaning that only seems implied by the dumb extra-ideological fact (most tellingly represented as place in this book). What is extraordinary is the simultaneous acknowledgment of the importance of the subject, the ‘addressee’ of the poem, who is not merely ‘addressed’ but created insofar as they accept the poet’s appeal. Power, then, becomes interpretable in one of three ways: it can refer to the power of Augustus, an unquestionable fact for both the text and the milieu of its composition; it can refer to the power which the poet wields as shaper of the idea of Rome, the Romans, and even the forms which the real power of Augustus takes in the imaginative realm; and finally, it can refer to the power of the subject consciously or unconsciously to reject the addresses and exhortations of the text, the constructions which the poet at times seeks to foist upon him/her surreptitiously, and at times asks him/her to consider carefully in a particular light.

That a rhetorical plan which takes particular care to address the Roman subject in terms of location is an integral part of the book of the *Aeneid* which deals with the future site of Rome should seem a plausible proposition. That it should do so by incorporating elements which are recognizably bucolic seems a less straightforward matter, but one that the text will not allow us to evade either in the Golden Age story and its frame or in the lines that follow:

Hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum
rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycae.

Aeneid VIII.342-4.

Then he showed him the spacious grove that savage Romulus rendered
A place of asylum, and under the frozen cliff, the Lupercal,
Called in Parrhasian manner of Pan Lycaeos.

The first two lines prefigure VIII.597, *est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem*, “there is by the frozen stream of Caere a spacious grove,” while 344 looks forward to VIII.600 (referring to the same grove as 597), *Silvano fama est veteres sacrasse Pelasgos*, “the story goes that the ancient Greeks had consecrated it to Silvanus.” They share with those lines some of the same allusions to Vergil’s earlier bucolic, such as *Eclogue* X.15 *Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei*, “Maenalus wept and the stones of cold Lycaeon,” and 42-3, *hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori, / hic nemus*, “here are frosty streams, here fields of tender grass, Lycoris, here a grove,” and some slightly different but complementary ones such as X.26, *Pan deus Arcadiae venit*, “Pan came, the god of Arcadia,” for Pan here and line 24’s description of Silvanus for the grove at Caere. Pan, of course, appears in *Eclogue* IV.58-9, where he is also associated with Arcadia. *Georgics* I.16-7 describes Pan as *ipse nemus linquens patrium saltusque Lycaei / Pan, ovium custos, tua si tibi Maenala curae*, “yourself abandoning the grove of your fathers and Mt. Lykaion’s passes, Pan, keeper of sheep, if you have a care for your Maenalus.” Here we have similarities to *Aeneid* VIII.344 in the genitive *Lycaei* in the final position of a hexameter and the association with a grove *patrium*. How the word *patrium* should be interpreted is to some extent unclear – the reference could be to Pan’s parentage (which is variously attributed to Apollo or to Hermes)²⁶¹ or to the “fatherland” aspect of the grove as a site of ancient Greek worship. Most likely, both meanings are encompassed, highlighting Pan’s Greek (and especially Arcadian) provenance while tying him to gods familiar from Greek bucolic. This is relevant to the *Aeneid* passage both on the level of

²⁶¹ Röscher s.v. Pan 1380.5-7, 12 gives numerous references for Pan’s descent from Hermes, including the Homeric Hymn to Pan, Herodotus, Cicero, and Nonnus; 1380.8 gives references for Apollo as his father, including Pindar and Euphorion (but both of these are references appearing only in Scholia).

the Greek (Arcadian) ancestry of Evander and his people and the ties to the “fathers” implied in the description of the asylum and Lupercal.²⁶² Most appropriately for his sense, however, Vergil goes back to the Greek original for his closest parallel in

Theocritus *Idyll* I.123-6:

ὦ Πάν Πάν, εἴτ' ἔσσι κατ' ὄρεα μακρὰ Λυκαίω,
εἴτε τύγ' ἀμφοπολεῖς μέγα Μαίναλον, ἔνθ' ἐπὶ νᾶσον
τὰν Σικελάν, Ἑλίκας δὲ λίπε ρίον αἰπύ τε σᾶμα
τῆνο Λυκαονίδαο, τὸ καὶ μακάρεσσιν ἀγητόν.

Pan, oh Pan, whether on the lofty slopes of Lycaion
Or watching over the mass of Mainalon, come to the island
Sicily, leave Helike's hill and the sharp mound
Of Lykaonides, wonderful even to gods.

Here the sacred site of Pan is precisely under the (supposedly, since frozen) high mountain, and Vergil plays with the *Parrhasio more* of line 344 by both referring to the Greek text and by using the Greek genitive for Pan.

A complex series of associations is occurring here in terms of the use of Greek. For one thing, the word asylum is itself of Greek origin; therefore the explanation of the institution of the asylum is tied to the Greek language of Pan Lykaios.²⁶³ Parrhasian, also Greek, refers to a district of Arcadia, and it is used elsewhere in the *Aeneid* to describe Evander (XI.31).²⁶⁴ Finally, the term *Lykaion* comes from Greek “lykos,” or

²⁶² The importance of establishing ties between Greek (Arcadian) ancestry and the *mos maiorum* in the early empire can hardly be overstated, and has been dealt with at length by Fabre-Serris (2008). Cf. also Moatti (1997) and (2003). As will be shown momentarily, antiquarians of the time ascribed Greek origins to both the institution of the asylum and the Lupercal.

²⁶³ As Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* points out, the verb *rettulit* was used in the sense of ‘reproduced from a model’ in *Aen.* V.596-8: *hunc morem cursus atque haec certamina primus / Ascanius... / rettulit*. Thus “whatever the primitive origins of this ‘place of refuge’ may have been, the fact that it is always called by the Greek name itself shows that Roman antiquarians supposed it to be modeled on” Greek asyla.

²⁶⁴ This association is very old, appearing already in *Iliad* II.608.

wolf, which picks up the wolfish associations of the Latin word *Lupercal* from line 343 while also playing with the notion of cultural change in the religious figures of the woods.²⁶⁵ The Romans assimilated the cult of Pan Lykaios as the cult of the nature deity Faunus, who in turn was heavily associated with the Lupercal and the Lupercalia.²⁶⁶ Yet, as we have seen throughout Vergil's work, there seems to be a further level whereby the gods Pan, Silvanus, Faunus, and Silenus, along with lesser nature deities such as satyrs, all become to some degree possessors of the same set of characteristics. The iconography shows an increasing assimilation to a generic family of goat-like nature deities (generic to the extent that once individualized deities, such as Silvanus and Faunus, could be written of in the plural).²⁶⁷

In establishing ties to bucolic at the beginning of Aeneas' tour, Vergil is also establishing ties to Greece, to Arcadia, and to the earliest roots of Roman cult and culture. For Fabre-Serris, this constitutes a poetic attempt at a re-foundation of Rome: "Le régime issu des guerres civiles a eu l'ambition de refonder la cité en restaurant ses valeurs

²⁶⁵ Cf. for instance Livy I.5.2, where he writes that the Lupercal is named after Pan Lykaios in the Arcadian manner, almost exactly what Vergil writes here. Ovid has a different account, however – he ascribes the Lupercal to an old Italian deity, but a certain Faunus Lykaios (*F.* V.423-4), as well as the she-wolf who nursed Romulus and Remus (*F.* V.421-2). Thus we see both the process of conflation of nature deities such as Pan and Faunus at play, as well as the attribution of wolfish characteristics to Faunus. For a modern treatment of Faunus' role in the Lupercalia, see Ulf (1982). The Lupercal was an important site for Augustus, and thus likely to be very much on the minds of contemporary readers. Augustus mentions his restoration of the cave in his *Res Gestae* 19.1 (on which see further Binder (1971) 121), and Suetonius claims that he also took steps to regulate the festival of the Lupercalia (*Aug.* 31.4).

²⁶⁶ Röscher s.v. Faunus 1456-8; on 1455 he is associated with protection of the flocks and specifically with warding off wolves, functions which may play into his association with the Lupercal.

²⁶⁷ Coleman (1977) *ad loc.* X.24. Cf. also n.97.

primitives... c'est ce à quoi sert l'intermède arcadien."²⁶⁸ There is clearly merit to this opinion, which Novara's reading of the next two lines supports. VIII.345-6 run thus: *nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti / testaturque locum et letum docet hospitis Argi*, "and also he showed Argiletum's sacred grove, calling the place to witness, and teaching the death of Argus, his guest." Novara reads these lines as both appropriate to Arcadian times and as valorizing a place sacred to Augustan politics on grounds of their legendary foundation.²⁶⁹

I don't find much that is bucolic, Arcadian, or Greek about these lines, and the *aition* has disturbing dimensions that make it a poor choice for strong foundational claims. In fact, Varro writes that there were two stories about the source of the name Argiletum.²⁷⁰ The popular belief was that it came from the death of an Argus, a stranger who had tried to usurp Evander's throne. The sinister implications in regard to Aeneas and Evander's situation are fairly obvious, especially in view of Aeneas' later assumption of Evander's *imperium* in leading his troops to war, so it is interesting that this story would be Vergil's choice. There might also be disturbing overtones when applied to Augustus and his own assumption of power through civil strife. The other story simply derives the name from *argilla*, or clay, since the area had formerly been a series of clay-pits. In trying to describe the humble and virtuous nature of bucolic pre-Roman settlements, one might have expected Vergil to go with the second version. Instead, it is probable that he is concentrating on establishing, not what Rome was, but what it has

²⁶⁸ Fabre-Serris (2008) 18. Here we have a concrete instance of Vergil's reinterpretation of his earlier poetry; by associating bucolic with Roman power and politics here, it is inevitable that readers will import such ideas back onto the *Eclogues* at a later rereading.

²⁶⁹ Novara (1986) 84; in this she partly follows Grimal (1948) 348. Cf. also Binder (1971) 124.

²⁷⁰ *LL* V.157.

become; not the mud-pits from whence the Argiletum arose, but the modern Argiletum and particularly people's stories and perceptions of it as derived from the death of Argus.

Thus, in contrast with received scholarly opinion, it seems that bucolic elements in the tour of Rome are not only being used to take the reader back into the primitive ages of Italy, nor yet simply to establish the legitimacy of Augustan institutions by linking them to the remote past. Instead, bucolic and its Arcadian associations are being used to bring the reader forward from the time of the *Aeneid* to contemporary Augustan Rome. The appeals are made, not only in reference to the distant past, but also to what lies before readers in their everyday lives; furthermore, the appeals are made *to* someone as Rome and reader are constructed at once. Since this seems in accordance with what was happening in previous chapters, now is the time to take a brief detour, to get the theoretical lay of the land, and propose a hypothesis as to how precisely bucolic is being used in *Aeneid* VIII.

II. A Time to Every Purpose: Bakhtin and Epic

Bakhtin's theory is an obvious starting point for an analysis of the generic tensions between epic and non-epic.²⁷¹ This is because his analysis of epic is essentially

²⁷¹ Bakhtin's literary theory in relation to the classics is extensively discussed in Branham (2002). Earlier efforts include those of Carrière (1979); Rösler (1986); Branham (1989) and (1995); Peradotto (1990) and (1993); Slater (1990); Goldhill (1991); Döpp (1993); Relihan (1993); Nimis (1994); and Branham and Goulet-Cazé (1996). Unfortunately, the vast majority of this literature deals with either the notion of Carnival or that of the ancient novel. The potential of Bakhtin's work for epic has been less exploited, and then usually for the study of Greek epic, as in Peradotto (1990) and Nagy (2002). As Branham (2002) acknowledges, classical studies has been slower than other fields of the humanities and social sciences to make use of Bakhtin's work; Farrell (2001), an overview of Vergilian work over the past century, acknowledges this as well, although he seems to believe that classics has missed the boat entirely and should move on.

dualistic, defined entirely in relation to what he calls the novel, and because he maintains a particular sensitivity to non-classical ancient texts, especially those of the Hellenistic period.²⁷² In *Aeneid* VIII, we face the problem of the encounter between epic genre on the one hand and bucolic on the other.²⁷³ Thus the text itself establishes the generic encounter in terms of dialectic; moreover, one of the genres is originally a Hellenistic genre (and, arguably, Vergil maintains much of the Hellenistic flavor of bucolic in his own *Eclogues*). Thus it seems worthwhile to explore what precisely Bakhtin means by epic and non-epic, and to see how these definitions accord with the characteristics of Vergil's bucolic in *Aeneid* VIII as we've observed them so far in this study.

The novel (or non-epic), he maintains in his essay "Epic and Novel,"²⁷⁴ is not exactly a genre, but rather a reaction to the conventions of true genres, an attempt to revive what is dead through them. One of the constitutive characteristics of "epic" for

²⁷² Bakhtin studied classics at Petrograd University under F.F. Zelinskii, whom he called "the closest thing to a teacher I ever had." See Clark and Holquist (1984) 30-34 for this quote and an evaluation of this phase of his studies. Zelinskii (or Zielinski, the Polonized form of his name) was particularly associated with the study of classical comedy; cf. Nagy (2002) 74. Many of Bakhtin's works deal with classical forms, including Bakhtin (1934-5), (1937-8), (1940), and (1941).

²⁷³ The bibliography on genre, ancient genre, and the admixture of genres in Augustan poetry specifically is tremendous. A good overview of recent work on genre theory can be found in Duff (2000); and *New Literary History* 34.2-3 (2003), which are specifically devoted to the topic of genre theory; some theorists who deny the importance of genre for interpretation are Derrida (1979); and Croce (1922) 37, 436-9, who was very influential on the New Critical school as described in Duff (2000) 25-8. For an overview of ancient genre see Depew and Obbink (2000); for the importance of ancient genre for interpretation, see Zetzel (1980); and Cairns (1972); for its fluidity, see Hinds (1992); on its vagueness, see Rosenmeyer (1985); for an analysis of its implicit content, see Farrell (2003). On Augustan and Hellenistic approaches to genre, see Harrison (2007); Kroll (1924) 202-24; Rossi (1971) and (2000); Harder, Regtuit, and Wakker (1998); Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 17-41; Zetzel (1980); Cairns (1972); and Galinsky (1996) 332-63, who traces Augustan generic *variatio* beyond literature into the realms of politics and visual art.

²⁷⁴ Bakhtin (1981) 3-40.

Bakhtin is its radical disjunction from the present into an unreachable past; another is its reliance on national tradition over personal experience. Whenever the epic comes into contact with contemporary events it does so by incorporating those events into the heroic framework rather than vice-versa, and thus by abstracting them from the realm of the reader's experience. The novel does precisely the opposite; "the 'absolute past' of gods, demigods, and heroes is here, in parodies and even more so in travesties, 'contemporized'." Through this emphasis on contemporizing the world, the novel tends to destroy the function of memory, as there is no use for it. The roots of the novel lie "in popular laughter." Among the types of ancient literature that accord with these criteria Bakhtin lists Sophron's mimes and "all the bucolic poems." Two other aspects of what Bakhtin calls the "serio-comical" are the concurrent shift from tradition to experience which allows "the author, in all his various masks and faces, to move freely onto the field of his represented world, a field that in the epic had been absolutely inaccessible and closed" and the way that "the inconclusive present begins to feel closer to the future than to the past, and begins to seek some valorized support in the future, even if this future is as yet pictured merely as a return to the Golden Age of Saturn." A corollary is that "in Roman times, Menippean satire was closely associated with the Saturnalia and with the freedom of Saturnalian laughter."²⁷⁵

Some critics have characterized Bakhtin's description of the epic as too narrow, and in general I am forced to concur with the criticism.²⁷⁶ Yet although, as Peradotto points out, Bakhtin's definition may not accurately describe the *Odyssey* (let alone the

²⁷⁵ Bakhtin (1981) 3-27.

²⁷⁶ Most notably Todorov (1984) 85-91. See also Peradotto (1990) 53 n. 13, who stresses that novelistic elements predominate over supposedly epic ones in the *Odyssey*.

epic of Apollonius), it seems fitting for the *Aeneid* and its hero, *pius Aeneas*. As scholars of the Augustan period generally agree, an important part of Augustus' cultural program after the Battle of Actium was to pursue a classicizing aesthetic "linked to the acknowledged moral superiority of Greek art of the Archaic and Classical periods."²⁷⁷

This stiffness, stylization, and dignity apply also to the character of Aeneas.²⁷⁸

Furthermore, if there is an epic that seems to accord with Bakhtin's description as reliant on national tradition over personal experience, or depicting a hero and heroic past that seem out of reach from the present (Aeneas as ideal type), it could be said to be the *Aeneid* even more so than its famous predecessors. Although the epic prefigures Rome and Augustus throughout, it generally does so in accordance with Bakhtin's description, by bringing the present into the distant past rather than vice-versa.

Likewise, where bucolic is used in *Aeneid* VIII, it does act as a foil or contrast to its epic context, forming a reaction to that genre that fits Bakhtin's formulation of the novelistic. It contemporizes the epic action, placing it in relation to the modern city, and thus appeals to lived experience rather than memory of the past. Whereas in *Aeneid* VIII

²⁷⁷ Zanker (1988) 89. Chapters 3 and 4 of the book deal at length with many of the manifestations of this classical ideal and its ties to the value of *pietas* (see, for example, the discussion of Augustus' portraiture in pp. 98-100. An emphasis on Augustan classicism is a *leitmotif* in Galinsky (1996), although it is somewhat nuanced especially in the conclusion (332-50 on visual art and 356-60 on Vergil) to emphasize the inclusive nature of that classicism. On p. 248 he ties Aeneas' stiffness (for which see also Bowra (1945) 37) to the "exemplary attitudes" of Augustan pieces such as the Boscoreale cups and the Ara Pacis frieze, all done in solemn styles hearkening back to Greek archaic and classical models. Cf. also Galinsky (1969) 192. Hardie (1986) 125-43 deals with art and the *Aeneid*; he acknowledges that Augustan official art, although it had a variety of options available to it, nevertheless primarily chose neo-Atticizing, classicizing forms (134). He makes interesting claims from 135-43, however, for a primacy of Hellenistic (and specifically Pergamene) influence in Vergil's poetic descriptions, notably excepting books VI and VIII (135).

²⁷⁸ Conte (2002) goes into great depth about Vergil's selective reception of Homeric material to create a classicizing epic in the *Aeneid*.

the genre is definitely more serious than comic, this is just a matter of changed emphasis; for instance, the link to “popular laughter” becomes less about laughter and more about the popular, what is approachable and available to the Roman people. Note that rather than attempting a definition of essential characteristics of epic or bucolic, we are here merely looking at the ways in which these genres seem to function in the *Aeneid*, and particularly in *Aeneid* VIII. To continue along these lines of provisional analysis, I’d like to add a nuance which Gregory Nagy introduced in his brilliant 2002 essay, “Reading Bakhtin Reading the Classics.” For him, epic does indeed tend to “privilege the heroic past with reference to the nonheroic present.”²⁷⁹ Yet this does not mean that epic is completely incapable of privileging the present; it merely means that such privileging is an exceptional, or “marked,” function for epic. He furthermore suggests that new genres tend to take over functions of older genres so as to establish new dialectical relations of marked to unmarked functions.²⁸⁰ This language of marked and unmarked categories is drawn from Prague-school linguistic analysis; it merely means that genres tend to have certain implied functions that are taken for granted when they appear, and thus could be said to be “unmarked.” That which subverts generic expectations thus becomes “marked,” and noticeable, simply because of its contrast with the unmarked norm. For Vergil’s epic, the setting in a classicized heroic past would be unmarked, and the attempt

²⁷⁹ Nagy (2002) 78. See also Nagy (1990) 191-2, where he discusses this disjunctive effect in the context of *Iliad* XII.445-9, where heroes are able to lift stones that it would take multiple modern men to move. This is particularly relevant to the *Aeneid* in its basic epic function, as in XII.896-902, where Turnus lifts a stone twelve men could scarcely budge.

²⁸⁰ Nagy (2002) 78-9. For the notion of marked and unmarked functions, see Nagy (2002) 72; (1990) 5-6; and Waugh (1982). The idea that new forms may take over functions from earlier forms is drawn from Kurylowicz’s fourth law of analogy. Cf. Kurylowicz (1966).

to bring that past into the present would be marked. Furthermore, a different genre might be employed to introduce the marked category of time, i.e. bucolic for contemporaneity. In this case, it might be hypothesized that bucolic is being used to express a temporal function in later epic which earlier epic, such as Homer's, expressed as marked but without resorting to a generic shift, i.e. *qua* epic.²⁸¹

What emerges is a clear picture of Vergilian elegance and intricacy. The use of bucolic genre in *Aeneid* VIII is particularly elegant because it seems so natural and fitting in a description of the early site of Rome, particularly one that emphasizes the Arcadian character of the place and its early traditions. In addition, by alluding to bucolic poems whose generic character already incorporates some non-bucolic nuances, such as *Eclogues* IV and VI, there is an elegant effect of smoothness and appropriateness that might have suffered if more blatantly or comically rustic and non-heroic material had been utilized. It is intricate because it serves two additional purposes: first, the bucolic acts as a *locus* for allusions to earlier poetry, much of it Vergil's own, and thus introduces additional layers and considerations to the text much as any poetic allusion would, regardless of genre; secondly, through its distinct generic identity, the bucolic acts as a vehicle for a form of temporality that is fundamentally different from that of the kind of epic Vergil has created, but which is eminently suited to the setting of book VIII. There is no better place to discuss Rome than the site of Rome, and no better time to discuss it

²⁸¹ This sets up an interesting hypothesis to explain the frequently noted parallels between *Aeneid* VI and VIII. Both of these books seek to establish a rapport with the "present" of Rome in a prophetic manner. *Aeneid* VI does so by using the *nekuyia*, or trip to the underworld, from the *Odyssey*. As Nagy argues, the *Odyssey* is already expressing such material in its own epic form. Thus Vergil has two options available to him, namely, to express the material as the *Odyssey* did, in epic (but marked) form, or to express it in a new form, such as bucolic. Perhaps he takes the first option in book VI, with an explicit nod to the work that first undertook such expression, and the second in book VIII.

with the reader than in their own time, the contemporary present of the Augustan principate. One additional layer of intricate elegance would be introduced if it could be shown that the concerns that the bucolic allusions raise are particularly relevant to the contemporary reader whom the bucolic generic features address. This will be our task in the remainder of the chapter, a task made easier by the fact that the remainder of the tour itself naturally recalls (or foreshadows) those other passages with which we have been engaged in previous chapters.

III. Rome's Sacred Groves: *Aeneid* VIII.347-54 and the Grove at Caere

hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrid dumis.
iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.
'hoc nemus, hunc' inquit 'frondoso vertice collem
(quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum
credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.'

He led him thence to the Tarpeian place and the Capitol,
Golden now, but then overgrown with wild thorn-bushes.
Even then did awful fear of the gods of the place
Set the rustics trembling, even then did they shudder before wood and stone.
He said "A god inhabits this grove and this hill
With its wooded top (but which god is uncertain); the Arcadians think
They've seen Jupiter himself, as often he strikes with his right
The darkening aegis and gathers the storm clouds."

Aeneid VIII.347-54.

The Tarpeian rock and the temple on the Capitoline hill clearly reach forward
proleptically to later events.²⁸² Among these events are the death of Tarpeia in the regal

²⁸² For the story of Tarpeia, see Varro *LL* V.41; Livy I.2.5-9; and Prop. IV.4. The *arx Tarpeia* reappears in *Aen.* VIII.652-62, on the shield. The temple to Jupiter Capitolinus

period, the Gallic attack on the Capitol of 390 BCE (described in the shield ekphrasis), and the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus by Augustus. All of these would have been well known to Augustan Roman readers, and would serve to construct a narrative of Rome and Roman virtue that culminates with the figure of Augustus.²⁸³

Various elements of the first few lines recall the bucolic setting: the uncultivated mountain and its contrast with the *Capitolia aurea*, “golden Capitol,” in the neuter plural, brings the reader back to Evander’s description of the Golden Age, as perhaps do the wood and stone, hard materials from which primitive man arose (wood in *Aeneid* VIII.314, stone in *Eclogues* VI.41, where they share their line with *Saturnia regna* in another vatic retelling of ancient history). In particular, the terrified rustics trembling before natural and inanimate objects brings out Vergil’s engagement with Lucretius, dealt with at some length in the chapter on the grove, in terms of rusticity, superstition, and traditional religion: one thinks of the description of that grove as *religione patrum late*

was supposed to have been built on the site of Tarpeia’s tomb (Plutarch, *Vit. Rom.* 18), and was later rebuilt by Augustus in 26 BCE (*RG* 19-20). On the temple, see Nash (1961) I.530-31; and Gros (1976) 15, 41. Novara (1986) 103 points out that the *aurea* recalls Evander’s earlier description of the Golden Age. It also looks forward to the repeated emphasis on gold in the above-mentioned description of the Gauls’ attack on the Capitol on the shield, *Aen.* VIII.652-62.

²⁸³ It is interesting to note that among the *summi viri* in the Forum of Augustus there was a statue of L. Albinus (D11), for which we are fortunate enough to have the *elogium*. This man was a plebeian who helped save the Vestal virgins by driving them to Caere during the Gauls’ sack of the city in 390 BCE. This figure, then, aside from demonstrating Augustus’ use of the events of 390 in his retelling of the history of Rome and its virtues, incidentally in a manner that also would have shown him as the culmination of the process, shows Augustus’ respect for the plebeian mass and religious traditions that are anything but out of place in the context of *Aeneid* VIII. Luce (1990) 130-32 sums up the evidence and debate about L. Albinus’ statue in the Forum of Augustus. Livy V.40.9 also provides a treatment of the figure of L. Albinus; later historians all derive their accounts from his. Lastly, the mention of Caere would be most topical if it were a general feature of the tradition about the sack of the city by the Gauls, i.e. if it were thought that many fled to Caere.

sacer, “sacred for miles around because of the ancestors’ fear of the gods” (VIII.597). In this case, the prefiguration of that complex of ideas, which will be introduced through a number of bucolic allusions, is reinforced by the temporal shift into the future, where traditional Roman virtues and religion are upheld by the immanent (for contemporary readers) figure of Augustus and the monuments he has raised both to himself and the gods. This shift is facilitated by the use of bucolic genre to mark the alternative time function, of course, so that bucolic form (genre) and bucolic matter (the allusive content) are elegantly deployed to a common end.

This union reaches a climax in Evander’s account in lines 351-4. 351 clearly recalls 314, its *hoc nemus habitat* analogous to the *haec nemora tenebant* of the beginning of the Golden Age story with its nymphs, fauns, and primitive people. Furthermore there is an echo of *Eclogue* II.60, *habitarunt di quoque silvas*, in lines 351-2, and 352 in particular can be seen as metrically bucolic, with its “light dactyls and the ‘bucolic diaeresis.’”²⁸⁴ The final touch bringing the reader into the pastoral world is the mention of *Arcades* in 352. And yet, strangely enough, this world contains the temple of Jupiter Tonans, dedicated by Augustus in 22 BCE.²⁸⁵ The description of Jupiter striking his aegis and gathering storm clouds hearkens back to the *Iliad*;²⁸⁶ in fact, it is even possible that the *Iliad* contains traces of two different words under the guise of aegis, one for hurricane and another for goat-skin, and that Vergil is recalling both in this

²⁸⁴ Gransden (1976) *ad loc.* 351-3, where he also comments that “V. reverts to the language of pastoral in his description of the Arcadians’ vision of Jupiter.”

²⁸⁵ Grimal (1948) 348-51; also Suet. *Div. Aug.* XXIX.3.

²⁸⁶ Cf. *Il.* IV.166 for Zeus shaking his aegis; “cloud-gathering Zeus” is a standard name and epithet pair in the *Iliad*.

passage.²⁸⁷ The first meaning would account for the thundering deity to whom Augustus dedicated a temple in this location; the other would be an oblique reference to the world of bucolic poetry, perhaps especially significant in light of the allusion to *Eclogue* II.60 with its mention of deities inhabiting the woods. One final note is that the mention of Augustus' temple in connection with the ancient past and the Arcadian settlers ties Augustan religious reforms back to the most ancient customs so as to valorize both the tradition and Augustus' building program.²⁸⁸

This should remind us of our analysis of the sacred grove in Caere (VIII.597-610) in chapter III, in which the bucolic allusions were traced back to a complex of ideas surrounding traditional religion and Lucretius' epicurean critique of it, as well as the role of the poet in relation to divine and human power; it was just pointed out that the sacred grove on the Capitoline presents a verbal prefiguration of that passage as well as a thematic one. The remaining question, or point of analysis, would be whether the bucolic form introduced there leads the reader to a consideration of the contemporary situation; and of course, since the grove acts as a transition and preparation for the Shield ekphrasis, the answer is an emphatic yes. In fact, it might not be altogether off the mark to think that in this respect, all the bucolic content of book VIII is, in addition to its immediate functions, also contributing to the establishment of a concern with the present that culminates with the long (roughly 100 lines) teleological consideration of Roman history as a progress towards the reign of Augustus. In any case, it is significant to the Bakhtinian analysis of genre and time that, whereas the bucolic passages introduce contemporary Roman concerns, it is *pious Aeneas*, the *Aeneid's* classicized figure *par*

²⁸⁷ Fordyce (1977) ad VIII.354.

²⁸⁸ Novara (1986) 85-6; also Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* 349f.

excellence, who is completely incapable of moving beyond his radically distanced heroic time period: he beholds the Shield, *miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*, “wonders and joys in the sight, but understands nothing” (VIII.730).

IV. Saturnian Names: *Aeneid* VIII.355-61 and the Golden Age Story

‘haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris,
reliquias veterumque vides monimenta virorum.
hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;
Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.’
talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
pauperis Evandri, passimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

‘Beyond this you see these two citadels, walls cast down,
Relics, reminders of men of old.
This citadel father Janus founded, that one Saturn;
This one’s name was Janiculus, that one’s Saturnia.’
Amid such speech they climbed to the house
Of poor Evander, and saw on all sides the mooing cows
In the Roman Forum and grand Carinae.

With line 356 and its *veterum monimenta virorum* the reader is transported back to the beginning of the tour in line 312, when Aeneas began asking about the *virum monimenta priorum* and was answered by Evander’s Golden Age story. Now that tradition (invented by Vergil, of course) is brought to the fore once more with Saturn’s reappearance in 357-8, along with another ancient deity, Janus.²⁸⁹ It is also noteworthy that in the previous passage, in line 313, Evander is described as the *Romanae conditor arcis*, “the founder of

²⁸⁹ In addition to this passage and those discussed below, Saturn and Janus appear together in VII.180 in the description of the temple and palace of Picus, *Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago*. It is also interesting that later in VII, when the Gates of War are described, Ianus is mentioned in 610 (the obvious association) and then Juno is described as breaking open the gates in 622, but she is referred to as *Saturnia*.

the Roman citadel,” as he is about to begin his speech. Here Saturn and Janus are also characterized as founders of citadels, and their story has a further parallel with Evander’s situation. According to Varro, Janus was king in Latium before the arrival of Saturn. When Saturn arrived, he peacefully divided his kingdom with the newcomer, retaining his own citadel while Saturn founded another.²⁹⁰ While evoking the Golden Age, Vergil also associates the coming of Aeneas with the coming of Saturn, tying all the founders together in a line of temporal succession.

Neither is the contemporary element absent. The cult of Saturn and especially the Temple of Janus would have been familiar to contemporary readers; already in book VII.601-22 there was a description of the traditional opening of the gates in time of war, and contemporary Romans would recall Augustus’ emphasis on being able to close the gates to signify peace in the empire.²⁹¹ Just as Augustus brought peace, and the closing of the gates, through wars both at home and in Spain, so Aeneas causes the opening of

²⁹⁰ Varro is referenced in Augustine *Civ. Dei* VII.4. On Saturn’s *arx*, cf. also Ovid *F.* I.235-42; Fest. 430L; and Macrobius I.7.19ff. There is some debate about the locations of the citadels: Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* 357-8 claims that Janus’ was on the Janiculum and Saturn’s on the Capitoline, citing Ovid *F.* 241-2 in support, while many others maintain that originally Janiculum was a name for the north-eastern peak of the Capitoline; for this view, cf. Grimal (1945) 56-87; Binder (1971) 134-5; and Eden (1975) 113-14.

²⁹¹ During the time of the *Aeneid* the emphasis was on opening the gates for war, since the default was peace; in historical times, the gates were rarely closed. Augustus closed the gates in January of 29 BCE after the civil war and again in 25 BCE after pacifying Spain. A third closing occurred, but its date is uncertain; some date it to 2 BCE, and it was likely after the death of Vergil. *Res Gestae* 13 vividly evokes the antiquity of the tradition: *Ianum Quirinum, quem claussum esse maiores nostri voluerunt cum per totum imperium populi Romani terra marique esset parta victoriis pax, cum, priusquam nascerer, a condita urbe bis omnino clausum fuisse prodatur memoriae, ter me principe senatus claudendum esse censuit.* As Brunt and Moore (1967) *ad loc.* point out, here *pax* means pacification as much as peace, and peace is won through military victories. Servius (on the passage in VII mentioned above), Livy I.19.2, and Varro *de lingua Lat.* V.165 all ascribe the tradition of opening and closing the gates of the Temple of Janus to Numa. This more ancient origin is probably a Vergilian innovation.

the gates of war in book VII so as to defeat Turnus and bring peace to the future site of Rome. Thus Janus, as well as Saturn, evokes the Golden Age of peace and prosperity both in the distant past and the future of Rome.²⁹² One final consideration is the way that the closing of the gates of war fulfills the prophecy of Jupiter in book I.293-4: *dirae ferro et compagibus artis / claudentur Belli portae*, “the Gates of War, fearsome with iron and tight construction, shall be closed.” This prophecy is specifically about Caesar (*nascetur pulchra Troianus origine Caesar*, “Trojan Caesar will be born from excellent stock,” I.286), and borrows ideas from the Golden Age description of *Eclogue IV*, using *nascetur* as quoted above and *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis*, “the harsh centuries will mellow when war’s set aside.” The vision of a peaceful Golden Age returning with the birth of an important figure is unmistakable.

Evander’s speech ends with an echo of the end of his Golden Age account: line 358, with its pluperfect *fuerat*, indicates the loss of the name Saturnia for Saturn’s citadel.²⁹³ Line 329 told how *saepius et nomen posuit Saturnia tellus*, “again and again the Saturnian land lost its name” after the end of the Golden Age. This signals a transition, and the narrative then resumes with a description of Evander and Aeneas ascending the Palatine to Evander’s house amidst generally pastoral (and literally bucolic) surroundings: Evander is referred to as poor, a kind of rustic and primitive king, and everywhere they look there are mooing cows. But rather than simply recalling the past in comparison to Rome’s future grandeur²⁹⁴, the narrative transports Aeneas,

²⁹² Novara (1986) 86-7.

²⁹³ Fordyce (1977) *ad loc.* gives a host of parallels for this use of the pluperfect tense.

²⁹⁴ Edwards (1996) 11, where he also reads this as a reminder of “the use of ruins to evoke a superior past,” i.e. Saturn’s Golden Age. That it is irrecoverable, however, is not

Evander, and the cattle to contemporary Rome, for they are said *passimque armenta videbant / Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis*. They are in the Roman Forum and in the fashionable neighborhood of Carinae, places which exist (by definition, in the case of the Roman Forum) only centuries later. Here the bucolic and the contemporary find their closest union, precisely at the climactic apogee of the tour of Rome, and on the very place where Augustus would later build his house.²⁹⁵ Suetonius describes the home of Augustus as modest²⁹⁶, which fits with Evander's emphasis on humility before the gods; it also forms a dramatic contrast with the picture of the fashionable neighborhood of Carinae lying below, where opponents of Augustus such as Pompey and Antony (as well as Quintus Cicero) had their homes.²⁹⁷

This passage, then, recalls earlier bucolic episodes such as Hercules and his cattle, as well as the Golden Age description of Evander, all the while bringing the reader (and the characters) into contemporary Rome. Looking back to the Golden Age passage, it is easy to see that intertexts such as *Eclogue IV* and Jupiter's prophecy in *Aeneid I* all reinforce a message about a coming Golden Age, and set it in terms of contemporary political personalities (Pollio, Augustus) and places (most notably Latium, Tiber, and the Carmental gate for the *Aeneid VIII* Golden Age passage). Thus there, just as here, the bucolic allusions and the bucolic form mutually reinforce the core address to the contemporary audience in order to endorse Augustus, piety, and traditional rustic values.

at all clear, since various passages in the *Aeneid* seem to imply the contrary; cf. table IV.1 on p. 112 and the surrounding discussion of the various Golden Ages.

²⁹⁵ Platner-Ashby (1929) 156-7.

²⁹⁶ Suet. *Div. Aug.* 72. But see Edwards (1996) 31-3 and 120 on the view that the Palatine complex was ostentatious, and that thus the comparison between ancient and modern Rome is supposed to reflect poorly on Augustus.

²⁹⁷ Fordyce (1977) ad 361.

V. A Poor Man's Hercules: *Aeneid* VIII.362-8 and the Cacus Episode

ut ventum ad sedes, 'haec' inquit 'limina victor
Alcides subiit, haec illum regia cepit.
aude, hospes, contemnere opes et te quoque dignum
finge deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.'
dixit, et angusti subter fastigia tecti
ingentem Aenean duxit stratisque locavit
effultum foliis et pelle Libystidis ursae.

When they came to his home, he said, 'This threshold
Hercules crossed when victorious, this palace took him in.
Dare then, my guest, to eschew wealth and make yourself worthy
Of the god, and come well-disposed to my humble estate.'
He spoke, and then led huge Aeneas under the eaves
Of his narrow roof, and settled him on a bed of leaves
And the skin of a Lybian she-bear.

One of the most remarkable, and often remarked-upon, aspects of these lines is the way they allude back to Aeneas' first encounter with Evander near the beginning of book VIII, creating a ring effect.²⁹⁸ In lines 176-8, Evander also received Aeneas hospitably in a rustic setting, *gramineoque viros locat ipse sedili, / praecipuumque toro et villosi pelle leonis / accipit Aenean*, "he himself settles the men on grassy seats, and gives special welcome to Aeneas with a couch and a lion's furry hide." It is not long before he begins explaining, in lines 185 and following, that the feast is in honor of Hercules. Many of those elements reappear here: the welcome, the bed of leaves, the animal fur, the emphasis on Evander's rusticity, and of course the pervading presence of Hercules over all the proceedings. Combined with the lowing cattle of the previous lines, the allusion serves to underscore the rustic, bucolic setting on the one hand, and the identification of Aeneas with a rustic interpretation of Hercules on the other.

²⁹⁸ Gransden (1976) ad 362-8.

By bringing the story back to the first welcome and the recounting of the Hercules and Cacus episode, with its typological identification of Hercules with Aeneas and Augustus and its construction of history, at the very site of Augustus' future home, the narrative takes on special significance for contemporary readers.²⁹⁹ That it addresses them in terms of Augustus' moral legislation and reminds them of the frugality of the *princeps* even as it sets up a bucolic landscape and frames the distinction between poverty and opulent wealth in terms of primitive *virtus* should, by now, come as no surprise. Here, certainly, the bucolic form conveys a contemporary message just as surely as the allusions to the story of Hercules the cowherd earlier in the book. There, it will be remembered, the allusions to the *Eclogues* and the Greek bucolic corpus contributed to a discourse about the place of violence in Roman history, and particularly Octavian's use of violence in the civil wars. That the Hercules story in *Aeneid* VIII, with its themes of cowherding, repeatedly brings the reader to consider contemporary Rome and its situation is evident from the emphasis on contemporary elements of Roman culture, such as the Ara Maxima, the Scala Caci, and, at the end of the story, the song of the Salii, which, it should be remembered, was adjusted to include Augustus' name after Actium; Augustus wrote *nomen meum senatus consulto inclusum est in saliare Carmen*, "my name was inserted into the song of the Salii by decree of the Senate" (*RG* 10.1). This put Augustus nearly on par with the gods and, since the song was for the protection of Rome, was an open acknowledgement of Augustus' role as savior and protector.³⁰⁰ In the context of *Aeneid* VIII, the typological parallel with Hercules becomes part of this

²⁹⁹ Klodt (2001) 12-3. Cf. also Binder (1971)141-9.

³⁰⁰ Brunt and Moore (1965) ad 10,1. It should not be forgotten that Augustus celebrated his triumph over Antony on the day of Hercules Invictus; cf. Klodt (2001) 26.

near-deification of Augustus; especially since the song of the Salii in lines 285-305 celebrates Hercules as divine savior. Thus once again bucolic allusions and form come together for the purpose of bringing the narrative into the reader's time frame.

An aspect of Evander's second invitation scene that serves particularly well in bringing past and future together is the allusion to prophecy that occurs three times in lines 365-9. *Rebus egenis* in line 365 echoes the Sybil's prediction in VI.91-2: *cum tu supplex in rebus egenis / quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!*, "when you, a suppliant in dire straits, will beg aid from every city and race of Italians!" Now, as a suppliant, Aeneas accepts Evander's *rebus egenis* in the course of asking for help. The reference to the Sybil's prophecy then serves to put the reader in mind of her prophetic leaves in VI.74, just as the leafy bed is made for Aeneas.³⁰¹ Finally, the bear skin recalls Latinus' *incubatio* on animal skins in VII.88 and 94-5; that Aeneas is about to sleep is not coincidental, especially since Aeneas has had a quasi-*incubatio* of his own earlier in book VIII.31-67, courtesy of the god of the Tiber. By emphasizing the continuities with the Sybil scene in particular, and prophetic practice in general, the text not only valorizes prophecy as truthful; it also valorizes the chain of typologies (constantly alluded to in prophetic visions in the *Aeneid*) connecting one hero to another throughout Roman history, and which finally culminates with Augustus.

VI. Bringing It All Back Home

To summarize, the Tour of Rome is seen to repeatedly address its Roman readers in terms of contemporary structures and events, bringing the action of the narrative into

³⁰¹ Gransden (1976) ad 367-8, where he also talks about the Lybian skin.

their world and asking them to interpret the happenings in light of their lived experience. That this address is conveyed in bucolic terms seems, at first glance odd; after all, the Rome of Augustus was a grand place, a major city on the Mediterranean stage. Bakhtin's generic theory provides one approach towards resolving this impasse by suggesting that, first of all, bucolic may be better suited to connecting with the audience than a stylized and classicizing form such as the epic that Vergil creates; and that, furthermore, generic variation can be a useful signpost for a change of temporal emphasis.

Armed with these insights, the Tour of Rome was revealed as an elegant address, combining as it does bucolic allusions (i.e. bucolic material) and bucolic generic features (i.e. bucolic form) to convey a message about Roman history and Roman power, and always with reference to Augustus and the Romans living under his rule. Furthermore, because of their thematic parallels with bucolic material elsewhere in book VIII, the final episodes of the Tour provided an excellent opportunity to briefly return to those passages and determine that, indeed, there too Vergil used bucolic genre to signify a temporal shift towards the present, and thus reinforce the messages indicated by his allusive material as analyzed in the previous chapters of this work.

Chapter VI

Conclusion

This dissertation set out to explore Vergil's use of bucolic allusions and themes in *Aeneid* VIII. It began with the premise that these allusions occurred within the context of descriptions of place, specifically (and significantly) descriptions of the site of Rome. In the course of the study it became apparent that neither the setting in Rome nor the bucolic allusions were accidental, but rather mutually reinforcing means towards initiating a dialogue about contemporary Roman power between the text and the reader. Constantly in the background was the question of historical progress and the flow of time, a movement that could only be revealed through prophecy; how else would short-lived humans have access to the full context of past, present, and future, as well as the will of the gods? Thus the poet, through his status as prophetic *vates*, is able to suggest the proper interpretation of events, in this case that Augustus' use of force could in fact be justified, and that there was ample precedent for such justification.

The first *locus* examined was the story of Hercules and Cacus. This story began with a description of the hill on which their battle had taken place, and was filled with allusions to passages in the *Eclogues* and the Greek bucolic corpus. Significant among these were *Eclogues* IV and VI, which raise important questions about the place of violence in historical progress, and Theocritus *Idyll* XIII, with its prophetic and panegyric functions. When combined with the notion of typological identification between

Hercules, Aeneas, and Augustus, which is reinforced both by the text of the *Aeneid* and the similarities between the praise of Hercules before the Ara Maxima and the praise of the young god, Octavian, before an altar in *Eclogue I*, it becomes clear that the text invites the reader to consider Augustus as playing a role analogous to other saviors whose violence was justified by history. History, in turn, is revealed as the province of the prophets, since it is only they that can hope to access the entire picture.

The next passage was the scene in which Aeneas receives the shield from Venus in a secluded grove. Here the themes of sacred groves, seclusion, and wanderings among cold waters, as well as the presence of the god Silvanus were traced to similar passages from the *Eclogues*, Lucretius, and Gallus' elegies. The nexus of these ideas was the question of divine and human knowledge. Lucretius, of course, denied the former in favor of the latter, criticizing folk belief in, among other things, prophets and rural gods. Yet Vergil, both in *Aeneid VIII* and in the *Eclogues*, but most openly at the end of *Georgics II*, champions belief in prophecy and rural ways as interdependent foundations of Roman virtue. In its allusions to *Eclogue X* and the poetry of Gallus, the text further underscores the duty of the poet to obey the gods. Aeneas, of course, fails to understand the significance of the shield he is given; but he obeys the higher wisdom of the gods, and trusts their historical plan without seeing it clearly. The suggestion seems to be, again, that Roman readers should trust Augustus, champion of the gods and traditional belief, and his spokesman, the vatic prophet-poet, even if they cannot justify their ways in rational or philosophical terms.

In the following chapter, discussion centered around the motif of the Golden Age, in Evander's retelling as well as in Vergil's earlier work. Rather than assuming a single

Golden Age account to which Vergil's poems conform, or, depending on one's view, fail to conform in order to present the reader with a jarring and disturbing picture of inconsistency, the chapter began by comparing the Golden Age accounts as separate versions altogether, versions subordinated to their purpose in context. By doing this, the discussion of the Golden Age in *Aeneid* VIII could be evaluated primarily in terms of its function, i.e., by highlighting the similarities and differences between this version and the others, one could better realize what Vergil's agenda in *Aeneid* VIII must have been. Once again issues of setting and prophecy came to the fore, along with the exploration of one-man rule in its good (Saturn, Evander) and bad (Thybris) aspects. In the end, the text seemed to indicate that monarchy was not necessarily objectionable, and in certain contexts such as the wild world of primitive Italy, was the only viable alternative. Once again, typological parallels were put into play to make the connection between Augustus and Saturn, so that Roman politics and the Roman city were both simultaneously addressed in terms of their contemporary situation.

The simultaneous presentation of contemporary Roman place and power continued in Evander's tour of the site of Rome. As Aeneas and Evander moved through a primitive landscape the topography of which is defined primarily in terms of the city, the central paradox of Vergil's generic choices came clearly to the fore. Why, after all, would Vergil turn to bucolic as the proper vehicle for an address to an urban audience, as well as a description of an urban cityscape? The theoretical key to solving this problem lay in the work of Bakhtin, as well as Gregory Nagy's use of Prague-school linguistic analysis in conjunction with Bakhtin's theory of genre to discern temporal differences in a text. It seems as though Vergil purposefully institutes a dialectic relationship between

bucolic and epic in *Aeneid* VIII, and that each of these genres is aligned with a different set of temporal features. Bucolic acts as a foil to epic, which in Vergil's interpretation occurs in a past radically divorced from the present, an idealized and classicized realm whose most telling representative is the somewhat inhuman and ignorant Aeneas.

Bucolic then becomes a way of bridging that gap, crossing from the heroic, past, and inhuman to the present, the popular and everyday, that to which the Roman people could relate and which they could identify, like landmarks in the cityscape. In *Aeneid* VIII, then, at the site of Rome, the focus turns away from Aeneas to Hercules the cowherd, an all-too-human hero; to the shield (and the scene in which Aeneas receives that shield) with its contemporary scenes; to a Golden Age of kings, culture, and laws, rather than of magical plants and animals; and finally to the city of Rome itself as the reader knew it, in all its splendor, and that final moment where Aeneas, for just one moment, is asked to come down from the heights and become bucolic, just like Hercules before him.

One advantage of a tightly focused study like this one, is that it opens the door to a great deal of future work. Going from the more specific to the more general, then: one might be tempted to follow up on the figure of Hercules as cowherd. The image of Hercules chasing after cows suggests the action of the Io and Prometheus myths, in which Io is the forerunner of Hercules on his trip through Asia to free Prometheus. Io, of course, continues on to Africa to become identified with Isis. This Egyptian presence looms over the *Aeneid* both as Isis-Cleopatra on the Shield of Aeneas and as Io on the Shield of Turnus. The identification of cows, Egypt, and Io leads beyond the *Aeneid* to Calvus' fragmentary *Io* as well as to near-contemporary wall painting, particularly border scenes in the so-called Fourth Style. In addition, it would be interesting to devote further

study to the question of the Golden Age in Augustan culture. Cultural studies such as those of Zanker and Galinsky constantly assume a pervasive Golden Age ideal in Roman culture of the time, and then go on to interpret art and texts based on that assumption. Yet the hypothesis that Vergil's Golden Ages were fragmented, ad hoc creations puts into question the cogency of the concept, and suggests that the concept should be explored rather than assumed. It is possible, for example, that Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* does not primarily refer to the Greek and Hesiodic concept of the Golden Age, but rather to Roman traditions and Augustus' role in resolving the recent grain shortages; the same could be said of the images of plenty on the *Ara Pacis*. On a more general note, the concept of generic interaction between bucolic and "epic" begs to be followed up in a broader study of Vergil's work, particularly poems such as *Eclogue* IV and certain portions of the *Georgics* (the proem to book I, the praises of the rural life in book II) that make an explicit issue of mixing genres. In addition, there might be a parallel instance of generic variation for temporal purposes in the Underworld passages in book VI, although there it is not bucolic but rather a different flavor of epic that is used as foil.

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