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3

Augustan Poets and the Mutability of Rome¹

Philip Hardie

Two centuries before Gibbon heard the barefooted friars singing Vespers in the temple of Jupiter, Joachim Du Bellay mused on the half-buried remains of Rome and was led to write his sonnet sequence *Les antiquités de Rome*, a work translated by Edmund Spenser as *The Ruines of Rome*. The end of the third poem gives the flavour:

Rome now of Rome is th' only funeral,
And onely Rome of Rome hath victorie;
Ne ought save Tyber hastning to his fall
Remaines of all. O worlds inconstancie!
That which is firme doth flit and fall away,
And that is flitting doth abide and stay.

Such musings were not peculiar to the post-antique period; a number of Hellenistic epigrams dwell on the bitter-sweet pleasure to be derived from the contemplation of the former grandeur of cities such as Mycenae, now the territory of a few shepherds.² The topos was taken up by Lucan with a new and savage force in his description of Caesar's visit to the site of Troy in Book 9 of the *Bellum Civile* (950-79), where Caesar's careless and unwitting violation of the once holy places of the city is only too clearly analogous to what he is doing, and will continue to do, to the city of Rome itself. The analogy is driven home more forcefully for the reader who recognises the Virgilian model for Caesar's tour of the vanished Troy at the transient moment of Rome's greatest glory, in Aeneas' tour in *Aeneid* 8 of the humble landmarks of Pallanteum at the point where Rome's history is about to begin. But Lucan was by no means the first Roman to see in the destruction of another great city a warning for Rome itself: in 146 BC, a date which later generations were to regard as both the final seal on Rome's hegemony and the era of future decay, no less an imperialist than Scipio

Aemilianus, as he watched Carthage burn, was prompted to muse on the mutability of Fortune and to wonder what the future might hold for Rome.³ Like Lucan's Caesar, Scipio also made the link with the destruction of Troy; according to Appian and Diodorus, as he looked on he quoted *Iliad* 6. 448 f.: 'There will come some time a day when holy Ilium shall perish, and Priam and the people of Priam of the ashen spear.'

The Virgilian version of history, or at least the version that struggles to assert itself in the *Aeneid*, will have it that the tale begins with the destruction of one city, Troy, and ends with the exaltation of another city, Rome, under the guidance of Augustus; a *translatio imperii* that will not be repeated. Here history effectively stops, to be replaced by the changelessness of the perfected *urbs aeterna* ('eternal city'), a phrase not in fact Virgilian but first extant in Tibullus 2. 5. 23, a poem that like *Aeneid* 8 works with the extreme contrast (and hence change) between a primitive pastoral and a modern imperial Rome.⁴ This kind of reading of *Aeneid* 8 is only slightly thrown into doubt by the fact that Pallanteum is both a green-field site for future urban development and a setting for the romantic ruins of past cities: at 355-8 Evander tells Aeneas: 'and next these ruined walls of two towns that you see here are remains to remind us of men of old; this citadel was founded by father Janus, that by Saturn. The former used to be called Janiculum, the later Saturnia.'⁵ Cities have been founded here before, and decayed – suggestive perhaps of what may happen to new cities.

Lucan directly, even crudely, challenges the Virgilian view of history: instead of an end-stopped process that re-establishes and transfigures a primitive equilibrium as the new Troy, Rome replaces the old; for Lucan, history is doomed to repeat itself. Troy has fallen, Rome is falling; no Providence is concerned to lead human affairs towards the celestial Jerusalem. Many interpreters find the same philosophy of history in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*: here is a work with an epic and Virgilian frame, the creation of an ordered universe out of chaos at the beginning of Book 1, matched by the final establishment of the Augustan political order at the end of Book 15;⁶ but this frame is scarcely able to contain the seemingly endless pullulation of transformations that throng the intervening space. Notoriously, the Virgilian theme of the rise of Rome from the ashes of Troy is incorporated by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 15 in the Speech of Pythagoras, who presents a philosophical and scientific account of the theme of universal change, to which the disquisition on cities forms the climax (420-52), concluding with Rome herself (434-5): 'this city therefore changes her shape as she grows and there will come a time when she is the head of the vast world'. Pythagoras opines that the Greek victory over Troy was worth it if it was the precondition for

the growth of Rome (451-2); but observe that he makes no allusion to the eternity of the city (contrast Virgil's Jupiter at *Aeneid* 1. 278: 'for the Romans I set no limits in space or time'). The only concession to the uniqueness of Rome in the larger historical process is Pythagoras' claim (445) that Rome is greater than any city that is, has been, or will be. The suspicion that the present change through growth of Rome will at some date give way to change through decay or destruction is increased if lines 426-30, which anachronistically refer to events later than Pythagoras, are genuine;⁷ in that case we have not just the two poles of the fall of Troy and rise of Rome, but a whole series, Troy, Sparta, Mycenae, Athens, Thebes – and Rome. It is hard to see why the impetus of change should suddenly stop once Rome has reached her peak.

The story about Scipio Aemilianus has shown that Ovid was not the first to hint at the transience of Rome; nor was he the first Augustan poet to link the story of Augustus' Rome to themes of metamorphosis and mutability. The historical component of the Speech of Pythagoras fits into a much wider Roman anxiety about change and instability in their state.⁸ Three factors converge to make this concern acute. First, the surprisingly rapid growth of Roman power during the previous two centuries. Roman consciousness of this typically found expression in the topos of the contrast between the pastoral origins of Rome and the present military might of the gleaming city, a topos which we have seen to be the inverse of the epigram motif of the once-mighty city now the haunt of the occasional shepherd. Secondly, the memory of the violent changeability⁹ of political and social conditions in the last decades of the Republic, whose convulsive climax was the 'Roman Revolution' by which Octavian established his power and, in so doing, had attempted to impose an ideology appealing to notions of continuity, stability, fixity – the *urbs aeterna*. This ideology itself is the third factor, called forth by the problems raised by the first two, which it could not, however, entirely efface; rather the tension between the ideology of permanence and the underlying forces tending to historical change might have the unintended effect of focusing the anxiety.

From the *Metamorphoses* I turn to three more overtly 'Augustan' Augustan books of poetry, in chronological order: the *Aeneid*, the fourth book of Propertius, and Ovid's *Fasti*. In the last two, Propertius 4 and the *Fasti*, the theme of change is given prominence by an introductory god who embodies mutability, Vertumnus and Janus respectively; in the case of Virgil we are dealing with a much more elaborate complex, but one that wheels round a divine agent of metamorphosis who is literally central. What is the significance within the *Aeneid* of the figure of Circe, so prominently, but apparently incidentally, placed at the beginning of Book 7, which is to say at the major dividing-point of the

poem?¹⁰ It is worth recalling that the corresponding position in the *Georgics* is occupied by the poetic temple of Caesar, where language evokes sculpture and architecture in order to give permanent form to the achievements of Octavian.¹¹

Metamorphoses, as we shall see, are particularly dense in the seventh book of the *Aeneid*, but transformation is perhaps a more common theme in the poem as a whole than is usually allowed; certainly the incidence of miraculous change is greater than in either the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. Most notable, or notorious, is the transformation of the ships of Aeneas into nymphs in Book 9, a passage that many have felt to be out of keeping with the epic narrative of war in Italy. Another striking metamorphosis is that of Polydorus into a bush, narrated by the speaking bush at the beginning of Book 3. Here the correspondence between human suffering and vegetable transformation is elaborated with a wit that would not be out of place in Ovid's epic of change. Lesser transformations include the spontaneous ignition of the arrow of Acestes in Book 5, and the changing into birds of his companions lamented by Diomedes in Book 11.¹² When Ovid reworked the wanderings of Aeneas in his *Metamorphoses*, most of the stories of transformation that he contrived to introduce by one means or another had, in fact, already been alluded to in the *Aeneid*. In a more abstract sense, metamorphosis is a central theme of the story of the rebirth of Rome out of the ashes of Troy; the oriental Trojan will be transmuted into the Italian and eventually the Roman. And this fascination with unstable and shifting essences also translates itself into what might be described as a metamorphic quality to the surface of the text that has been well described by Heuzé in numerous close analyses of Virgil's language. For example, at 8. 256 ff. the image of the rolling waves of smoke belched forth by Cacus leads the poet to represent Hercules as a diver leaping headlong into the liquid: 'le poète prête à Hercule un corps si souple...qu'il suppose une véritable métamorphose'.¹³ It is this quality that is partly responsible for the feeling that one often has when reading Virgil of looking into a pool where a series of shifting *simulacra* swim up to compete for our attention.

The theme of metamorphosis in Book 7 of the *Aeneid* has been well analysed in an article by Michael Putnam.¹⁴ I summarise some of Putnam's points and add some of my own, before turning to consider the wider significance of metamorphosis in Book 7 for the poem as a whole. At the beginning of Book 7, Aeneas buries his nurse Caieta, and then the Trojans continue their sea-journey past the home of Circe, before arriving at the mouth of the Tiber. Neptune sends a breeze to waft the Trojans past Circe, so that they should not suffer the monstrous transformation undergone by previous visitors (21-4). But the Trojans cannot

escape the power of Circe. In Homer she lives on an island, literally insulated from the normal world, but her Virgilian home is part of the mainland.¹⁵ The Trojans will soon meet a king, Latinus, whose grandfather Picus has been changed into a bird by Circe (189 ff., the *equum domitor*, 'horse-tamer', himself enters the animal kingdom).¹⁶ Picus was the innocent victim of an impassioned woman, *capta cupidine coniunx* ('a wife the slave of lust'); we will see more victims of female fury before Book 7 comes to an end.

The Italian proclivity to confuse man and beast continues, and Circcean magic is not the only means. One possibility is to *dress up* as an animal, as do a number of the characters in the catalogue at the end of the book: Aventinus wears over his head and shoulders the lionskin of his father Hercules, 666 ff.,¹⁷ some of the troops of Caeculus wear helmets of wolfskin, 688 f. A second alternative is the figurative bestialisation of the epic simile: the men of Messapus are like swans, 699 ff. (Messapus, like the birdman Picus, an *equum domitor*); the Tiburtine brothers Catillus and Coras come down like Centaurs, monsters who combine in one body human and animal natures, 674 ff. A third possibility is to bear the emblem of an animal: Aventinus carries another symbol of his father in the shield-device of the hundred-headed Hydra, 657 f., a sign of human conquest of the beast, but perhaps also a warning to the enemy that fighting with Aventinus will be like fighting the Hydra. Turnus himself bears on his helmet a magic figure of the Chimaera, 785ff., whose volcanic out-breathings remind us of the monsters of Book 3 as well as of the Tartarean eruptions earlier in this book, and will recur to our thoughts when we read of Cacus a few hundred lines later. This monster can only be understood as an expression of the battle frenzy of the man Turnus. On his shield Turnus bears the image of Io, *iam saetis obsita, iam bos* ('already overgrown with bristles, already a cow', 790); Turnus prides himself on his Argive origins (371-2), but Virgil's reader may contemplate the ring with the metamorphoses at the beginning of the book, including the *saetigerique sues*, 'bristly swine', of line 17.¹⁸ Io was another innocent changed into a beast by a furious Juno, then to be driven into a restless frenzy by Juno's gadfly. The Trojans may escape the monsters of Circe, but they will not avoid the monsters into which the Italians will turn.

The agent of transformation is Allecto acting on behalf of Juno.¹⁹ At 309-10, in the course of her monologue, Juno says: *quae memet in omnia verti, / vincor ab Aenea* ('I who have turned myself to every shift am defeated by Aeneas'). *Memet in omnia verti* I translate as 'I have turned myself to every shift', but it is not possible to exclude the more literal meaning 'I have changed myself into everything', like the Proteus of the fourth *Georgic* in his attempt to elude the single-mindedness of his human adversary²⁰ (or are we to think of Aeneas as an Odysseus,

proof against all the turns of a Circe-like Juno?). The divine embodiment of the *genus varium et mutabile* ('the fickle and inconstant sex'),²¹ Juno turns now to the Tartarean spirit of multiform disorder, Allecto (328 f.): *tot sese vertit in ora, / tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris* ('so many are the shapes she changes into, so fearsome her masks, so numerous the crop of snakes that sprout from her black head'). Her work will be to transform the peaceful inhabitants of Latium into demonic parodies of their former selves. Metamorphosis comes naturally to Allecto: her snake changes into items of Amata's attire (351 f.), and the Fury changes herself into the aged priestess of Juno to approach Turnus (*in vultus sese transformat anilis*, 'she transforms herself into the likeness of an old woman' 416).

The infuriation of Turnus is described in a simile of boiling water at 7. 462 ff., whose language is indebted to a Lucretian description of the nature of lions:²²

sic effata facem iuveni coniecit et atro
lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas.
olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor, ossaque et artus
perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor.
arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit;
saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
ira super: magno veluti cum flamma sonore
virgea suggeritur costis undantis aëni
exsultantque aestu latices, furit intus aquai
fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis,
nec iam se capit unda, volat vapor ater ad auras.

So she spoke and hurling a torch at the young man she transfixed his breast with brands that smoked a murky flame. He starts from sleep in a great panic, his bones and limbs bathed in a sweat that breaks out over his whole body. He shouts for arms in his madness, arms he looks for in his bed and in his palace. He is overcome by a frenzied lust for iron and a criminal passion for war, and anger as well; just as when a roaring pile of burning brushwood is piled up under the ribs of a seething cauldron and the liquid bubbles and boils, and the smoking flood inside rages and surges up frothing; now the water no longer contains itself and the black steam flies up into the air.

Aen. 7. 456-66

sed calidi plus est illis quibus acria corda
iracundaque mens facile effervescit in ira.
quo genere in primis vis est violenta leonum,
pectora qui fremitu rumpunt plerumque gementes
nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt.

...[cows, unlike lions]
nec nimis irai fax umquam subdita percit
fumida, suffundens caecae caliginis umbra

But there is more heat in those animals whose hearts are fierce and whose hot-tempered minds are prone to boil up in a rage. Of this sort above all are violent lions, who often burst their breasts roaring and who cannot contain the waves of anger in their breast... They [sc. cows] are never excessively provoked by the smoky torch of anger applied to their breasts, enveloping them in a pall of blinding smoke.

Lucret. 3. 294-8, 303-4

Lucretian psychology provides a scientific basis for the interconvertibility of human and animal characteristics; the language of his description of the leonine temperament had already been drawn on by Virgil in the description of Circe's beasts at 7. 15, *hinc exaudiri gemitus iraeque leonum* ('thence could be heard the angry growls of lions').²³ The flames of Allecto's torch will fuel the martial fieriness of Turnus until the final chill of death in the penultimate line of the poem (12. 951, *frigore*); that dying chill forms a contrasting ring with the lion's heat in the simile at the beginning of the book (12. 3-9):

...ultro implacabilis ardet
attollitque animos. Poenorum qualis in arvis
saucius ille gravi venantum vulnere pectus
tum demum movet arma leo, gaudetque comantis
excutiens cervice toros fixumque latronis
impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento:
haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno.²⁴

He stubbornly burns in an unappeasable anger and rouses his spirit. Like a lion in the fields of Carthage that at last advances to battle when badly wounded in the breast by hunters, and exults as he shakes the masses of his mane from his neck and fearlessly breaks off the weapon fixed in him by the brigand as he roars with bloody mouth. Just so Turnus blazed with swelling violence.

In his discussion of psychological types, Lucretius adduces three kinds of animal: lion, deer, and cow; all three are found in *Aeneid* 7 in contexts that confuse the boundary between human and animal. The cow we have seen in the shape of Io on Turnus' shield; this specimen is an exception to the placidity of the species, driven wild because of the anger of Juno.²⁵ The stag in *Aen.* 7. 481 ff. is a real stag, but one that has

lost its natural timidity (Lucr. 3. 299-301) by virtue of having been brought into the world of man by a girl of the woods; its *gemitus* are more human than bestial: *saucius at quadripes nota intra tecta refugit / successitque gemens stabulis, questuque cruentus / atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat* ('but the wounded beast fled to the house it knew and sheltered groaning in its stall; bloodied it filled the whole house with its moans like someone begging for help', 500-2).²⁶ Sylvia's stag is the benign inverse of the Circean beast.²⁷

The result of Allecto's interventions is to engineer a catastrophic metamorphosis in the state of Italy, from peace to war, from pastoral (or georgic) to epic.²⁸ Again the imagery bears the work of indicating transformation, particularly in the metaphor of the 'bristling crop of drawn swords' at 7. 526, *horrescit strictis seges ensibus*, a line whose language echoes the literal metamorphosis alluded to at *Georgics* 2. 142, *nec galeis densisque virum seges horruit hastis* ('here was no bristling crop of soldiers' helmets and serried spears').²⁹ The change is emblematised in the forging of swords from ploughs at 7. 635-6: *vomeris huc et falcis honos, huc omnis aratri / cessit amor; recoquant patrios fornacibus ensis* ('this was what became of the ploughshare and scythe they once revered and of the plough they once loved; they retemper their fathers' swords in the furnaces').³⁰

So far I have localised the theme of metamorphosis *within* Book 7, describing how, on Aeneas' arrival in Italy, the peaceful state that has prevailed hitherto is subjected to a radical set of changes that pose for Aeneas the task of restoring to the country a peace in which the Trojan presence is accepted by the Italians. Thus understood, the second half of the *Aeneid* would conform to a simple story pattern of disequilibrium eventually returning to equilibrium, a pattern that would harmonise precisely with the basic Augustan myth of permanent stability assured after chaos. The catastrophic bestialisation of humans leading to the war of the last half of the *Aeneid* will eventually be transcended in the final victory at Actium of the Olympian gods of reason; Turnus' armour with its Chimaera and human in beast form is to be set against the shield of Aeneas at the end of the next book, whose scenes culminate in the routing of the bestial gods of Egypt by the anthropomorphic gods of Olympus. But I now want to look more carefully at the Circe motif in its relations with the surrounding books, in particular the two books immediately on either side, 6 and 8, the two books which above all develop a view of Roman history leading to fulfilment in Augustus. The *Helden-schau* of Book 6 provides the first of the two 'definitive' versions of this historical construction; the section on Augustus, while it does not occupy the concluding position in the catalogue, gives the final goal on Rome's historical path, and it is one that Aeneas is told of at the end of

his *own* journey through the Underworld (whether or not one wants to understand this of an interior, spiritual journey as well). The book ends with the liminal symbol of the gates of horn and ivory, whose purpose might seem to be to effect a transition from one story successfully completed to the beginning of the next; or, from the end of the first half of the epic to the beginning of the second.

But something strange then happens: as he proceeds to his mission in Italy, fortified by his experiences in the Underworld, Aeneas seems in fact to be *repeating* the journey that we thought he had put behind him. Book 7 opens with four lines apostrophising Aeneas' dead nurse Caieta, whom Aeneas proceeds to bury; he then continues on his way at night, past the weird home of Circe, to arrive at dawn at the mouth of the Tiber. There is an obvious contrast between the ominous night-landscape of Circe and the idyllic dawn-landscape of the Tiber, a contrast that is further articulated by an opposition between the artifice of Circe's groves, her skilful song, her lofty palace, her perfumed night-lights, and her unnatural beasts, on the one hand, and on the other the prelapsarian innocence of the grove at the mouth of the Tiber, with its birdsong, uninhabited banks, and dawn light. But this is a sequence that we have seen before, in Book 6, in the passage from Tartarus to the Elysian Fields. There, too, there is a contrast between the satanic architecture that walls off the place of the damned, and the green fields of the blessed;³¹ Tartarus too is guarded by an unsleeping female, Tisiphone (6. 555-6),³² and she presides over spirits who cry out in their distress (6. 557): *hinc exaudiri gemitus* (= 7. 15); and with the *catenae* ('chains') of 6. 558 compare 7. 16: *vincla recusantum* ('chafing at their bonds'). The Sibyl tells Aeneas 'no man that is pure may step on this threshold of guilt' (6. 563), and leads him past the place and on to their destination in the Elysian Fields; likewise Aeneas is not to set foot in the land of Circe, 'lest the pious Trojans should undergo such horrors' (7. 21). Aeneas reaches the mouth of the Tiber at dawn; arrival at the Elysian Fields brings him into a world of a new light, 'a more generous aether clothes the plains in a purple light; they have their own sun and stars' (6. 641-2); and with the moonlight of Monte Circello one may compare the simile at 6. 270-1, at the beginning of the *katabasis*, describing a journey by moonlight. The landscape as described by Anchises is not unlike the *locus amoenus* at the mouth of the Tiber: 'we have no fixed home; we live in the shady groves, and dwell on the cushioning banks and meadows freshened by streams' (6. 673-5); music, of birds or bards, enlivens both settings.³³

If we take the first four lines of Book 7 into consideration the parallelism with the structure of Book 6 becomes even more extensive: burial of another companion (*tu quoque*) followed by journey through places

of darkness and light, just as Aeneas' journey to the Underworld is preceded by the burial of Misenus. At 7. 37 Virgil turns from the description of the landscape to the reinvocation of the Muse, with an appeal for information on the kings and history of Latium. The words that introduce the request, *nunc age...expediam*, are also those with which Anchises turns from the philosophical part of his Speech to the review of the kings and history of Alba and Rome (6. 756-9, 7. 37-40: not elsewhere in the *Aeneid*).

The appearance of Circe in a sequence that evokes katabasis raises a further question. In Book 6, Anchises, in the philosophical part of his speech, gave a Platonic-Pythagorean account of the cycle of souls. In an allegorisation ascribed by Stobaeus to Porphyry, but possibly deriving from Plutarch, the transformations of Circe become a figure of the cycle of metempsychosis.³⁴ Is it possible that the allegorisation is of considerably earlier origin, and does Virgil hint at an eschatological allegory of the beasts of Circe, a mythological counterpart to the philosophical account of metempsychosis given by Anchises in the previous book? Anchises had spoken only of the reincarnation of souls in human bodies; the doctrine of metempsychosis normally includes also the less encouraging possibility of return in animal form, for example in Plato's Myth of Er, one of the main models for the whole of the Speech of Anchises (*Rep.* 619e6 ff.), and which is also drawn upon in the eschatological Circe allegory.

Perhaps one may be so irresponsible as to add another to the list of interpretations of the Gates of Ivory at the end of Book 6; the unreality of this passage indicates that Aeneas *has not in fact* left the Underworld, and is condemned to wander further in it when he reaches Italy, as Allecto bursts the boundaries between upper and lower worlds and sets in motion a ghastly process of metamorphosis in which animal souls find a lodging in human form (the reverse of Circe's magic!); the father Anchises cannot in fact control the limits of humanity.³⁵ Further doubt as to the capacity of even the epic hero to control and delimit processes of potentially catastrophic change may be suggested by Virgil's reworking of Odysseus' encounter with Circe.³⁶ The Greek landing on Aiaia did indeed lead to the *monstra* that Neptune is concerned that the Trojans should be spared, when the companions of Odysseus succumbed to Circean temptation, but it also led eventually to Odysseus' mastering of Circe. One is tempted to ask whether the shielding of Aeneas from a direct encounter with Circe may not conceal a suspicion that the hero of Rome is after all incapable of mastering, let us call it, the processes of historical change. And anyway, as we have seen, Neptune's protection of the Trojans is largely futile; if they are spared

from being turned into animals themselves, they find in Italy a land that is thoroughly infected with Circean *monstra*.

As mistress of the cycle of rebirth, Circe presides over a process of change whose limit lies beyond the temporal imagination of ordinary mortals. The Virgilian account of the time-spans involved is contained in the much vexed lines 6. 739 ff.; as a more general symbol of the bestialisation of humans in Book 7 Circe is linked to a change from peace to war, a rhythm that will determine the future history of Rome until the time of Augustus. The general pattern is sketched out in the Speech of Jupiter in Book 1, and also in the words with which Anchises greets the vision of the four white horses when Italian soil is first spied at 3. 539 ff. The two poles are elaborately portrayed in the great set-pieces with which Books 7 and 8 end: first, in Book 7, the gates of the temple of War or of Janus thrown open by Juno, followed by the procession of the Italian peoples armed for war, and, second, at the end of Book 8, the Shield of Aeneas, on which the movement is reversed: a long tale of wars, leading to a final scene where Augustus sits at the doors of the temple of Apollo reviewing the procession of conquered (pacified) peoples.³⁷ Behind the historical fantasies of Books 7 and 8 lies a natural-philosophical model of the alternation of war and peace, the Empedoclean principles of Strife and Love.³⁸ In Book 7 this is implied through the descent of the mythological demon Allecto from Ennius' philosophical personification Discordia (with her Empedoclean elemental constitution), in Book 8 through Virgil's reworking of the Hellenistic allegorisation of the two cities on the Homeric Shield of Achilles, one at peace and one at war, as images of Empedoclean Love and Strife. Virgil strives to lend to the uncertainties of human history the inevitability of natural processes; but there is potentially a serious mismatch, if the Empedoclean cycle is one that will continue to repeat itself. Catherine Osborne concludes a recent discussion of Empedocles' cosmic model thus: 'Empedocles' position is basically pessimistic because of the fundamental dualism of Love and Strife. Love will never achieve eternal supremacy because Strife can never be fully overcome.'³⁹ Perhaps one may see in the Shield the ultimate attempt of human art to arrest mutability and set a term to historical process: Vulcan as the human craftsman apotheosed setting down prophecies in concrete, the uncertainties of the future frozen in a series of historical friezes, or cinematographic freeze-frames, the whole aggressively defined as a sum-total by the perfection of the circular form of the artefact. In so far as the Shield of Aeneas also functions as an image of the verbal artefact, the epic poem that contains it, it bodies forth a theory of the epic as a poem that is definitive, limiting possibilities through an omniscient comprehensiveness.⁴⁰

Here it may be helpful to appeal to distinctions used by critics of Renaissance literature when discussing the relation between epic and romance. Patricia Parker in *Inescapable Romance*⁴¹ defines romance as 'a form which simultaneously quests for and postpones a particular end, objective, or object'. It is a genre that indefinitely suspends or defers the goal towards which the epic resolutely marches. Parker has some very interesting discussion of the ways in which *Paradise Lost*, that most teleological of epics, cannot escape the iconoclastic and deconstructive impulses of romance. Now romance is obviously not an antique genre, but I think one could describe the *Metamorphoses* as an epic moving strongly in the direction of what was later to be romance (and one might also reflect on ways in which the story-line of epic is distorted in some of the ancient novels). Questions about the possibility of epic closure cluster at the beginning and end of the *Aeneid*. At 1. 237 Venus complains of Jupiter's apparent failure to maintain the fixity of fate: *quae te, genitor, sententia vertit?* ('What decision has changed you, father?'). We have already observed the repeated use of *uertere* in Book 7; here commentators note the oddity in the notion of Jupiter, rather than his plan, being 'changed'. Jupiter, whose word should be identical with the inflexibility of fate, assures Venus that he is not for turning: *manent immota*⁴² *tuorum / fata tibi...neque me sententia vertit* ('your people's destiny remains unshaken (257-8)... And my decision has not changed', (260.)) We might see in Jupiter a male principle of stability and closure opposed to a Juno aiming at an indefinite deferral of Aeneas' goal: at the end Jupiter wearily asks his wife: *quae iam finis erit, coniunx?* ('What end will there be now, my wife?', 12. 793), echoing Venus' disappointed question to Jupiter at 1. 241: *quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?* ('What end to their toils do you grant, great king?'); and follows up his own question with the strong assertion at 12. 803: *ventum ad supremum est* ('we have come to the end'). On earth, Aeneas as Jupiter's vicar will provide a *finis* to the narrative; this role lends a savage force to his taunt to Turnus at 12. 891: *verte omnis tete in facies* ('turn yourself into any shape you can'). Turnus has run out of shifts; not coincidentally this follows on a scene in which, shockingly, the transformative power of a Fury has been enlisted by Jupiter himself.⁴³ But Denis Feeney has shown how, even within its own terms, the reconciliation between Jupiter and Juno in Book 12 is at best only partial: 'At the end of the epic the forces represented by Juno nudge closer to those of Jupiter, and rest there for the while, in tension. One thinks perhaps of Plutarch's good and evil divine principles, which hold the universe in shifting balance.'⁴⁴ Thus, on the divine level, we have at most the beginning of an end. On the human level, the action concludes with the *furiae* and *ira* which impel Aeneas to the slaughter of Turnus (12. 946): this

ending slips back to the beginning marked by the *furor iraque* (2. 316) which drove Aeneas on to the epic stage.

Instructive also, and obviously important for Virgil, is the case of Lucretius, an anti-epicist who seeks to burst the straitjacket which cultural constructs tighten around human existence through a revelation of the glorious and eternal mutability of the natural universe.⁴⁵ Lucretius begins his poem with an historical allegorisation of Empedoclean Strife and Love in the tableau of Mars and Venus; this is to be seen not so much as a doomed attempt to regulate history, in the Virgilian manner, but as a more radical, Epicurean sweeping away of culture as we understand it, to be replaced by a philosophically sophisticated return to an innocent harmony with nature, a state in which war will be unnecessary and even unthinkable. As emblem of the opposition between the Lucretian and the ('official') Virgilian outlooks, one may juxtapose the final scene on the Shield of Aeneas – which in a sense encircles the *oik umene* with the walls of Rome – with the Lucretian image of Epicurus bursting through the 'walls of the world'.

These are themes that had also concerned the younger Virgil. In the *Georgics* the drive for stability and permanence may be read out of the Aristaeus epyllion: the mastering of Proteus, the god of change *par excellence*, yields the knowledge necessary for the regeneration of the bees, at some level an image of the hopefully enduring regeneration of Rome. On the other hand, the *Georgics* is a poem about the seasonal round of nature, where it would be perverse to look for a suspension of process. The impossibility of halting change is suggested by a comparison of the conclusions to Books 2 and 3. In his recent commentary Richard Thomas indulges some pessimistic thoughts on the plague description that ends Book 3, in particular on lines 551-2: *saevit et in lucen. Stygiis emissa tenebris / pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque* ('Pale Tisiphone also rages, released from her Stygian darkness into the light, and drives before her Diseases and Fear'). He says: 'The inclusion of *Metus* along with *Morbi* looks to the end of Book 2 (491-2), where the purpose of knowledge (which here fails) was the banishment of fear to the Underworld – whence it now returns rampant.' One may also draw in the end of the prologue to *Georgics* 3, where, after the ecphrasis of the temple of Augustan epic, Virgil condemns *Invidia* to punishment by the horrors of the Underworld. This is an alternative to Lucretius' total dismissal of the Underworld, but either way the infernal terrors are controlled, through philosophical certainty or ideological supremacy. The fixity of the image at the beginning of the third *Georgic* is analogous to the apparent immutability of the Shield of Aeneas in *Aeneid* 8; indeed the two passages are closely related. But at the end of the third *Georgic* it emerges that however you try to cast out death and her

terrors, *tamen usque recurret*. As we come to the end of Book 6 of the *Aeneid*, we might think that we had done with the terrors of the Underworld, but it bursts out in a new and more fearsome form in Book 7.

For Virgil the possibility (or hope) of calling a halt to the endless transformations of history is given vivid realisation in the image of the closing of the Gates of Janus (*Aen.* 1. 293-4). Janus is, naturally, the god who introduces the *Fasti* of Ovid; he presides over a calendar which, as Mary Beard and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill have brought out,⁴⁶ is itself an ideological tool, stamping Roman history and the achievements of Augustus in particular on the celestial motions that measure time. The annual recurrence of Roman festivals, as of the festivals of any culture or religion, is one way of creating the illusion of permanence and stability in the very experience of the passing of time. It is therefore fitting that Janus himself, according to Ovid, owes his present form to a cycle of transformation that has been arrested. Janus answers the poet's question as to why the god has two faces in terms that may come from the theology of the augur M. Valerius Messalla Rufus⁴⁷ (*Fasti* 1. 103-14):

me Chaos antiqui (nam sum res prisca) vocabant:
aspice, quam longi temporis acta canam.
lucidus hic aer et quae tria corpora restant,
ignis, aqua et tellus, unus acervus erat.
ut semel haec rerum secessit lite suarum
inque novas abiit massa soluta domos,
flamma petit altum, propior locus aëra cepit,
sederunt medio terra fretumque solo.
tunc ego, qui fueram globus et sine imagine moles,
in faciem redii dignaque membra deo.
nunc quoque, confusae quondam nota parva figurae,
ante quod est in me postque, videtur idem.

The ancients called me Chaos, for a being from of old am I; observe the long, long ages of which my song shall tell. Yon lucid air and the three other bodies, fire, water, earth, were huddled all in one. When once, through the discord of its elements, the mass parted, dissolved, and went in diverse ways to seek new homes, flame sought the height, air filled the nearer space, while earth and sea sank in the middle deep. It was then that I, till that time a mere ball, a shapeless lump, assumed the face and members of a god. And even now, small index of my former chaotic state, my front and back look just the same.

(Loeb translation)

Janus is a symbol of the ordered universe, but he still preserves a trace of the vast process of change by which that universe evolved from chaos.

In the light of my discussion of the *Aeneid* it is worth noting the Empedoclean echoes in this account, which are also present in the cosmogony at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses*. Indeed, Janus in his present form is not unlike one of the monsters that arise at a certain point in the Empedoclean cosmic cycle, among which are to be found (DK B 61) *πολλὰ μὲν ἐμφιπρόσωπα καὶ ἐμφίστερνα* ('many beings with faces and breasts on both sides'). In a second explanation of his form and function, which Börtzler speculates may derive from the theology of Nigidius Figulus, Janus gives a synchronic account of his duality; he is the great doorkeeper of the universe (117-26):

quicquid ubique vides, caelum, mare, nubila, terras,
omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque manu.
me penes est unum vasti custodia mundi,
et ius vertendi cardinis omne meum est.
cum libuit Pacem placidis emittere tectis,
libera perpetuas ambulat illa vias:
sanguine letifero totus miscebitur orbis,
ni teneant rigidae condita bella serae.
praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis:
it, redit officio Iuppiter ipse meo.

Whatever you see anywhere – sky, sea, clouds, earth – all things are closed and opened by my hand. The guardianship of this vast universe is in my hands alone, and none but me may rule the wheeling pole. When I choose to send forth peace from tranquil halls, she freely walks the ways unhindered. But with blood and slaughter the whole world would welter, did not the bars unbending hold the barricaded wars. I sit at heaven's gate with the gentle Hours; my office regulates the goings and comings of Jupiter himself.

(Loeb translation)

Here Janus is a symbol of the incessant but regular change that is the law of the universe. But not only does he preside over the greatest secrets of the universe, Janus is also very closely associated with *Roman* power in that universe. From the opening of the section the description of Janus is intertwined with the conventional panegyric topics of the universal power of Roman princes, concluding with the final picture (283-4) of Janus' dual vision encompassing nothing that is not filled with *pax Romana*, and with the prayer to Janus that peace and its agents may last for ever (287-8), a prayer whose fulfilment would, in fact, negate the

essential duality of the god. The Romanness of Janus is further emphasised by the fact that 'Greece has no god like you' (90), and also by the immersion of this cosmic god in the earlier history of Rome, of whose site he was an inhabitant in the time of Saturn (235 ff.), a tradition that is recorded in *Aeneid* 8. 357-8. Like *Aeneid* 8, Ovid's Janus episode is structured about the contrast between primitive and contemporary Rome;⁴⁸ furthermore, Janus' last two answers (255-88) juxtapose a rescue of the Capitol from the Sabine Titus Tatius in the time of Romulus with the universal peace of the Caesars now completed by the triumph of Germanicus, a sequence that reworks the basic contrast of the Virgilian Shield of Aeneas between early victories over attacks on the city of Rome and the universal *pax Augusta* of the present day.

Börtzler points out the parallelism between the description of Janus as regulator of the cosmic flux and the Speech of Pythagoras in Book 15 of the *Metamorphoses*,⁴⁹ but in the *Fasti* there is a much stronger attempt to assert the stability of Rome against the forces making for further radical change in the future: the phrase *aeterna urbs* does occur in this poem (3. 72). On the other hand, the two-facedness of Janus stains this ideology of fixity with an indelible mark of uncertainty and lability. Janus asserts a simple open and shut case,⁵⁰ but how far will we stray from this comforting simplicity in the bewildering variety of the remaining eleven and a half books of the *Fasti*?

Finally, I glance at an Augustan poetry book that anticipates – intriguingly – many of the features of the later works of Ovid: the fourth book of Propertius. Propertius' programme, laid out at the end of the first part of 4. 1, could be a description of the *Fasti* (4. 1. 69): *sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum* ('I shall sing of rites and days and the ancient names of places'). But in the sequel this intention is rudely interrupted by the astrologer Horos, a master of time who is anything but Roman.⁵¹ I want to concentrate not on 4. 1, but on the poem inaugurating the series of poems that realises the aetiological programme of the first poem (however we understand that programme), namely 4. 2.⁵² Here the speaker is a statue of the god Vertumnus. Like Ovid's Janus, his address is delivered in answer to the spectator's curiosity about his multiformity, and like Janus he gives more than one answer (fittingly, perhaps, for gods of versatility).

The origin of Vertumnus poses a problem for the modern historian of religion, as well as for the ancient etymologist. Various claims are made: identification with the Etruscan Voltumna, protecting deity of the Etruscan League, is most widely favoured. Marquis makes some extravagant claims for Voltumna as the principle of cosmic cohesion, and writes of Propertius 4. 2 (499): 'The poem is one of transformations; it is entirely appropriate that the god who, in another culture,

was the symbol of the all-embracing Cosmic unity should have settled in Rome as a new *saeculum* dawned over this City.' Vertumnus, for Marquis, is a 'god of beginnings and endings'. This could almost be taken for an account of Ovid's Janus, although Marquis does not allude to that passage. And we may feel that neither the philological evidence for Voltumna nor the tone of Propertius' poem quite justifies Marquis' claims. Pinotti, speculating rather more modestly, suggests that Varro's description of Vertumnus as *deus Etruriae princeps* (*Ling. Lat.* 5. 46) means not 'chief god of Etruria', but 'first in order of invocation' in religious ceremonies, and she compares the analogous privilege accorded to Janus in Roman religion.

The similarities between Vertumnus and Janus may be extended: although, unlike Janus, he is in origin *not* Roman (being Etruscan), he too remembers his services to Rome at a critical moment in the early history of the city, in his case in the aid lent to Rome by the Etruscans against the Sabine Titus Tatius (4. 2. 49-54); Janus had also assisted in that war by throwing up a boiling spring in the way of the Sabine advance on the Capitol (*Fasti* 1. 259-76). Vertumnus has other links with early Roman history: in lines 7-10 the first etymology of his name, *uerso ab amne* ('from the turning of the river'), refers to the turning back of the waters of the Tiber from the Velabrum; this flooding is one of the features of the primitive site of Rome as described in Tibullus 2. 5. 33-4. Like Janus, Vertumnus himself has undergone a historical transformation from the shapeless to the shapely (59-64); once he was a roughly hewn wooden image, but now he has received a *forma aenea* ('a bronze shape') from the hand of the master sculptor Mamurrius. Mamurrius, who lived in the reign of Numa, is best known for his multiple copies of the *ancile* that fell from heaven and was preserved as one of the *pignora imperii* ('guarantees of empire') (*Ov. Fasti* 3. 361 ff.); the *ancilia* are sculpted, by Vulcan, on the Shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8. 664), and there is a sense in which the Virgilian Shield, guarantee of empire for the descendants of Aeneas, is itself a copy of the *ancile*.⁵³ The Propertian Vertumnus ends his self-encomium with a prayer to Jupiter (55-6): *sed facias, divum Sator, ut Romana per aevum / transeat ante meos turba togata pedes* ('but grant, father of the gods, that the crowd of Romans may for ever pass before my feet in their togas') – the *pax Romana* of an *urbs aeterna*.⁵⁴ In the last six lines we learn of the durability of Vertumnus himself, in the bronze shape lent to him centuries ago by the artist Mamurrius, and the poem thus closes with the teasing reflection that the long catalogue of metamorphoses has been uttered by a motionless statue: the principle of mutability frozen in the perfection of a work of art.

Notes

1. A first version of this essay was read to the London Classical Society on 10 May 1989. Later versions have benefited from the criticism of Graham Ley, John Henderson, and the editor.

2. A.S.F. Gow and D.L. Page, *The Garland of Philip II* (Cambridge, 1968), 428.

3. Polyb. 38. 21. 1-3; App. Lib. 132; Diod. Sic. 32. 24. Cf. A. E. Austin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford, 1967), 282-7.

4. *urbs aeterna*: Austin on *Aen.* 1. 278; Ogilvie on Livy 4. 4. 4: *in aeternum urbe condita, in immensum crescente* ('a city founded to last for ever, growing boundlessly'), from the speech of Canuleius who is, in fact, arguing for important changes in the Roman constitution. The rhetoric of the Speech of Anchises (return of the Golden Age), and of the Shield of Aeneas, presents as completed the process whose beginning is noted by Canuleius; on the Livian concept of Roman growth through change, see G. Miles, *TAPhA* 118 (1988), 185-208.

5. If the primitive site of Rome is a locus of pastoral peace, it is an idyll with a turbulent past, as Evander is an Arcadian with a less than peaceful history.

6. On political themes in *Met.* 1, see V. Buchheit, *Hermes* 94 (1966), 80-108.

7. See Bömer ad loc.

8. Cf. my *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford, 1986), 52-3.

9. *Mutatio* has a specific sense of 'a political or constitutional change' (*OLD* s.v. 5b).

10. On the structural correspondence between the beginnings of *Aen.* 7 and *Od.* 12 (burial of Caieta/Elpenor, visit to home of Circe after a book of *katabasis*), see G.N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen, 1964), 137-8. The Homeric sequence had already been adapted at the end of the fourth *Georgic*, where Cyrene and Proteus take the place of Circe and Teiresias in *Od.* 10-12; further connections with my present theme are suggested by the figure of Proteus, embodiment of the principle of mutability, and by the parallel between the society of the bees and the Roman state (see n. 20 below). Critics tend to see the Virgilian Circe episode as a picturesque continuation of the wandering theme of the first six books before the 'real' beginning of the second half at 7. 37 ff.; for a discussion of some views, see I. Mariotti, 'Il secondo proemio dell' *Eneide*', in *Letterature comparate, problemi e metodo: Studi in onore di E. Paratore I* (Bologna, 1981), 463-4. Putnam (see n. 14 below) rightly recognises in her (292-3) 'a precursorial symbol

for the whole book'; I argue that her central position marks a symbol whose implications reach out over the whole poem.

11. As is well known, the second halves of the *Georgics* and of the *Aeneid* begin with virtually the same two words, *te/tu quoque*.

12. These episodes should be distinguished from the universal ability of epic gods to change their form at will.

13. P. Heuzé, *L'image du corps dans l'œuvre de Virgile* (Rome, 1985), 441-2.

14. '*Aeneid VII and the Aeneid*', *AJPh* 91 (1970), 408-30 (= *Essays on Latin Lyric, Elegy, and Epic* (Princeton, 1982), 288-310). In his discussion of the prefatory nature of the Circe episode in Book 7, Putnam was preceded by C.P. Segal, 'Circean temptations: Homer, Vergil, Ovid', *TAPhA* 99 (1968), 428 ff., for whom Circe is 'a supernatural danger and an obstruction who symbolises the lure of hidden passions'; she foreshadows the violence, passion, and chthonic magic of Allecto; her beasts are an allegory of what will happen to the actors in the main narrative. 'Circe at the beginning poses the threat of human brutalisation which is to hang over both Aeneas' victory and Turnus' defeat' (p. 431).

15. At 3. 386 Helenus refers to *Aeaeaeque insula Circae* ('the island of Aeaeae Circe'), but at the beginning of Book 7 it is left unclear whether we are to think of Monte Circello as at this point in time an island (see Varro *ap. Serv.* on 3. 386) or as already the promontory that in fact it is; 7. 799, *Circaeumque iugum*, might suggest the latter. See Fordyce on 7. 10; R.F. Thomas, *PLLS* 5 (1985), 65; H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam, 1938), 46.

16. Putnam, 294. According to one version (*Ov. Met.* 14. 573 ff.) a heron rose out of the ashes of Turnus' own city of Ardea. Virgil plays with another etymology, from *arduus*, 'lofty', but perhaps hints at the bird-metamorphosis at 7. 411-12: *locus Ardea quondam / dictus avis* ('a place that our ancestors once called Ardea'); (we are only sure that the final syllable of *avis* is long and not short (*avis* = 'bird') when we read on).

17. See D.C. Feeney, *PVS* 18 (1986), 51-2, 65-6, on the ambivalent humanity of Hercules in Apollonius Rhodius and Virgil.

18. Putnam, 305, who also points out (294) that Circe reappears at the end of the book in the *Circaeum iugum* of 799 and by proxy through her niece Angitia at 759. To these examples of ring-composition add the parallelism between the very last lines of Book 7, the description of Camilla, 803-17 (= 15 lines), and the description of that other weird woman of Italy, Circe, 10-24 (= 15 lines). Camilla is also of doubtful humanity: the closest model for her magical power to run over fields of standing corn and the sea (7. 808-11) is *Iliad* 20. 226-9, the *horses* of

Erichthonius; later we learn (11. 571-2) that the motherless infant Camilla was nourished on the milk of wild mares. It might also be noted that the Lucretian precedent for 7. 17, *saetigerique sues*, occurs in a description of primitive *men saetigerisque pares subus*, 'like bristly swine' (5. 970).

19. Putnam, 295-6, 301.

20. *Geo.* 4. 411-12: *sed quanto ille magis formas se vertet in omnis / tam tu, nate, magis contende tenacia vincla* ('but the more he turns himself into shapes of all kinds, so much the more tightly do you draw his bonds, my son'); 441-4: *omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum, / ignemque horribilemque feram fluviumque liquentem. / verum ubi nulla fugam reperit fallacia, victus / in sese redit* ('he transforms himself into all kinds of amazing things: fire, a terrifying beast, a running river. But when his tricks afford him no escape, defeated he returns to his own shape'). With the elemental transformations of Proteus, compare the elemental language at *Aen.* 7. 301. On the use of *uerto* in *Aen.* 7, see Putnam, 295, 301, 305.

21. *Aen.* 4. 569. At Silius 2. 553 Tisiphone is called a *mutabile monstrum* ('a changeful monster'), in the course of an episode modelled on Virgil's Allecto episode.

22. Cf. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid*, 228-30.

23. The howls of Circe's wolves likewise echo later in the book: with 7. 18, *formae magnorum ululare luporum* ('huge wolves howled'), cf. 7. 395: (the Latin women in their Bacchic frenzy) *ast aliae tremulis ululatus aethera complent* ('and others filled the air with their quavering cries').

24. Cf. also *Lucr.* 1. 473 ff. Turnus' fieriness is manifested again at 12. 101-2: *totoque ardentis ab ore / scintillae absistunt, oculis micat acribus ignis* ('sparks fly off from all over his burning face, and fire glitters in his fierce eyes'), which echoes *Lucr.* 3. 289, and is immediately followed by a simile of a bull.

25. Cf. *Geo.* 3. 152-3: *hoc quondam monstro horribilis exercuit iras / Inachiae Iuno pestem meditata iuvencae* ('this monster was once the instrument for Juno's fearsome anger when she devised a plague against the heifer Io'); the gadfly is sent as a plague upon a pastoral landscape, much like Allecto at *Aen.* 7. 505: *pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis* ('for the cruel plague lurks in the silent woods'). Juno perverts (transforms) the placidity of the Lucretian cow, *Lucr.* 3. 302-4: *at natura boum placido magis aere vivit, / nec nimis irai fax umquam subdita percit / fumida, suffundens caecae caliginis umbra* ('but the nature of cows is animated more by the calm principle of air, and they are never excessively provoked by the smoky torch of anger applied to their breasts, enveloping them in a pall of blinding smoke').

26. Ovid draws on this passage in the literal metamorphosis of Aetna, *Met.* 3. 237-41: *iam loca vulneribus desunt, gemit ille sonumque / etsi non hominis, quem non tamen edere possit / cervus, habet maestisque replet iuga nota querellis / et genibus pronis supplex similisque roganti / circumfert tacitos tamquam sua brachia vultus* ('now his body has no more room for wounds; he groans with a sound not that of a man, but no sound that a stag could utter, and fills his mountain haunts with sad moans. Kneeling down, and like a man beseeching, he throws silent glances about as if they were his arms').

27. Putnam, 298.

28. Putnam, 298-9.

29. Cf. 7. 551: *spargam arma per agros* ('I will scatter arms over the fields'); Ovid uses *spargo* of sowing the dragon's teeth at *Met.* 3. 105. Ovid's simile of the rising stage curtain, *Met.* 3. 111-14, verbally echoes *Aen.* 7. 529-30: *paulatim sese tollit mare et altius undas / erigit* ('the sea gradually swells and raises higher its waves'); see Hardie, *CQ* n.s. 40 (1990), 230 n. 34. The reverse metamorphosis, from spears to tree, is found at *Aen.* 3. 22 ff.

30. Cf. *Geo.* 1. 505-8: *quippe ubi fas versum atque nefas: tot bella per orbem, / tam multae scelerum facies, non ullus aratro / dignus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis, / et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem* ('since right and wrong have been turned inside out: there are so many wars in the world, so many faces of crime; the plough is not given the respect it deserves; the farmers have been taken away to leave the fields barren, and the curved scythes are melted down to make hard swords'). Here the ploughs-into-swords motif is combined with the multiformity of crime (like Allecto's *tot ... ora, / tam saevae facies*, *Aen.* 7. 328-9), and with the inversion (or metamorphosis) of *fas* and *nefas*, an idea which Lucan was to put at the centre of his epic; on the place of metamorphosis in the *Bellum Civile*, see M. von Albrecht, 'Lucaïn', *Entret. Hardt* 15 (Geneva, 1970), 293-7.

31. Cf. the contrast between the architecture of Milton's Pandemonium and the pastoral/georgic simplicity of Eden. Putnam (293) notes the parallels between Tartarus and Circe's domain, but overlooks the Elysium/mouth of Tiber parallel.

32. C.P. Segal (art. cit., 430) suggests an association between Circe and the Fury Allecto. At 7. 22 Circe's shores are *litora dira* ('dread shores'), an epithet that often connotes hellishness in Virgil. In *Arion* 5 (1966), 56 ff., Segal discusses the infernal echoes in the Circe scene to ends other than mine.

33. The banks of the river of Elysium, Lethe, resound to the hum of the bee-like souls of the unborn (6. 706-9); in the light of what we subsequently learn, we might ask whether the birds that sing at the

mouth of the Tiber are all that they seem: were they once humans? Cf. also the birds simile at 6. 310-12.

34. Stob. 1. 41. 60 (= Plut. fr. 200, Sandbach); see F. Buffière, *Les mythes d'Homère et la pensée grecque* (Paris, 1956), 506-17; E. Kaiser, *MH* 21 (1964), 205-6.

35. Putnam (art. cit., 295 ff.) discusses the emergence of the monsters of Hades in Book 6 into the world above in Book 7; I do not follow him in seeing Aeneas himself as one of those *monstra*. Virgil gives us two versions of the Underworld in *Aen.* 6 and 7, the first a map of divine order and providence, suitable setting for Rome's glorious history, the second a source of uncontrolled negative energy: Lucan, in *BC* 6, picks up Virgil's hint that it may not be easy to keep the two separate, and violently merges them into the one episode of Erichtho and the corpse. The ways in which this episode mirrors *Aeneid* 6 have been exhaustively analysed; less attention has been paid to the similarities between Erichtho and Allecto. At the beginning of her necromancy Erichtho is labelled *furialis*, and binds her hair in a wreath of serpents (654-6); her double assault on the reluctant corpse (667-760) is like Allecto's twofold approach to Turnus, *Aen.* 7. 415-66; at 727 Erichtho whips (*uerberat*) the corpse with a serpent: cf. *Aen.* 7. 451, *uerberaque insonuit* ('(Allecto) cracked her whip'), perhaps with snakes as lashes (see Conington ad loc.); Erichtho opens her tremendous threat to the powers of Hell by addressing two of the Furies, Tisiphone and Megaera, but *not* Allecto – because that would in a sense be to address herself?

36. The failure to confront Circe is one of a series of encounters that Aeneas fails to realise: with Polyphemus (from whom Aeneas, unlike Odysseus, flees), and with Camilla (the great Italian warrior *not* killed by Aeneas, unlike Achilles who killed Penthesilea).

37. Putnam (291) notes the parallelism between Gates of Sleep and Gates of War; one may add a parallel between the Gates of Sleep and the door of the Palatine temple: with 8. 720, *niveo candentis limine Phoebi* ('at gleaming Apollo's snow-white threshold'), compare 6. 895, *altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto* ('the other gate gleams with the shine of wrought ivory'). The doors of the Palatine temple were indeed of ivory!

38. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid*, 358-61.

39. *CQ* n.s. 37 (1987), 50.

40. The Shield is summed up as *famamque et fata nepotum* ('the glory and destiny of his descendants', 8. 731): *fata* the unalterable words of Jupiter (*quod fatur*) as Providence, *fama* (κλέος) the final word of the poet who pretends to be as omniscient about the future as Homer was about the past. The (male) epic poet seeks to control *fama*, and in so doing to exclude the uncontrollable and theomachic *Fama* (4. 173-

97), a Giantess not unlike Allecto in her shiftiness and in her effects. Spenser, interestingly, makes his Mutabilitie a Titaness who assaults the rightful inhabitants of Heaven. For Ovid, his epic poem is the indestructible *monumentum* (*Met.* 15. 871-2) which alone escapes from the mutability that is its subject, and whose invulnerability is matched only by that of the *aeterna tabularia*, 'everlasting tablets', of Jupiter's *fata* (809-14), if it will not indeed outlast the latter which are made of the Horatian *aes* (*Odes* 3. 30.1); see M. Holahan, 'Iamque opus exegi: Ovid's changes and Spenser's brief epic of mutability', *ELR* 6 (1976), 253. This approach to the Shield of Aeneas may be compared with the discussion of the Shield of Achilles by M. Lynn-George, *Epos: Word, Narrative and the Iliad* (Macmillan, 1988), 177: 'a spatial art conceived as a triumph over time', 'an image beyond narrative', 'the artifice of eternity'.

41. *Inescapable Romance: Studies in the Poetics of a Mode* (Princeton, 1979).

42. Cf. 7. 314: *atque immota manet fatis Lauinia coniunx* ('fate's decrees remain unshaken that Lavinia shall be his wife') – Juno speaks, attempting to twist fate; *immota manet* occurs also in the famous line at 4. 449 *mens i. m.* (the 'Stoic' Aeneas not to be diverted from the call of fate).

43. The continuation of the taunt, 891-2, *opta ardua pennis / astra sequi* ('pray for wings to fly to the lofty stars'), perhaps alludes to the *ardea* transformation: see n. 16 above.

44. *CQ* n.s. 34 (1984), 194.

45. On Lucretius' celebration of change, and on the link to Ovid's theme in the *Metamorphoses*, see L.C. Curran, 'Transformation and anti-Augustanism in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*', *Arethusa* 5 (1972), 71-91. The Lucretian perspective on permanence and mutability is pinpointed in the two uses of *durare* in 5. 56-61: *doceo dictis, quo quaeque creata / foedere sint, in eo quam sit durare necessum / nec ualidas ualeant aevi rescindere leges, / quo genere in primis animi natura reperta est / natiuo primum consistere corpore creta / nec posse incolumis magnum durare per aeuum* ('I teach how all things must endure according to the law by which they were made and are powerless to undo the powerful decrees of time; above all, accordingly, the nature of the soul has been found to first come into existence as the product of a body that has birth and to be incapable of enduring unimpaired through a great length of time').

46. M. Beard, *PCPhS* 213 (1987), 1-15; A. Wallace-Hadrill, in M. Whitby et al. (eds), *Homo Viator* (Bristol, 1987), 221-30.

47. F. Börtzler, 'Janus und seine Deuter', *Abh. u. Vortr. Bremer Wiss. Ges.* 4 (1930), 103-96; Börtzler speculates that Messalla models his Janus on Proteus (138-9).

48. Plutarch (*Qu. Rom.* 22, *Numa* 19. 10 f.) retails an explanation of Janus' two faces as an allegory of cultural change, Janus being the king or god who changed (*μεταβάλλειν*) the way of life of the inhabitants of the site of Rome from wild to civilised.

49. Art. cit., 130-2.

50. 1. 282: *Caesareoque diu numine chusus ero* ('under Caesar's sway I shall long be closed'), the last words of Janus whose first obligation had been to *open* (70, *resera*) the temples of Rome for the New Year; cf. Statius' imitation in *Silvae* 4. 1, beginning (2) *insignemque aperit Germanicus annum* ('Germanicus opens the glorious year'), and ending (44) *sic Ianus clausoque libens se poste recepit* ('so Janus spoke and willingly withdrew inside his closed door'). I discuss the Janus episode at greater length in an article forthcoming in *Materiali e Discussioni*.

51. Augustus symbolises his pretensions to control time and history with the *Horologium* in the Campus Martius.

52. See E.C. Marquis, 'Vertumnus in Propertius 4. 2', *Hermes* 102 (1974), 491-500; P. Pinotti, 'Properzio e Vertumno: anticonformismo e restaurazione augustea', *Colloquium Propertianum III* (Accademia Propertiana del Subasio, Assisi 1983), 75-96; P. Grimal, 'Notes sur Properce: 1. La composition de l'Élégie à Vertumne', *REL* 23 (1945), 110-19; G. Dumézil, 'Propertiana', *Latomus* 10 (1951), 289-302; A. Deremetz, 'L'Élégie de Vertumne: l'œuvre trompeuse', *REL* 64 (1986), 116-49.

53. Dumézil points out how the statue of Vertumnus, *unum opus* ('one work') but adaptable to multiple guises, is the inverse of the multiple but indistinguishable copies of the *ancile*.

54. Cf. Pinotti, 93.