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Virgil and the Conquest of Chaos

N. M. HORSFALL

The hunt for Virgil's sources has been, by unspoken agreement among Latinists, largely abandoned. This regrettable development may in part have been a by-product of the justifiable revulsion against the excesses of *Quellenforschung* as practised c. 1880–c. 1930 (everyone read Posidonius and Varro: no one else was read), in part of the opening of alluring new vistas in Virgilian studies, where apparent progress might be made without the need of painstaking consultation of *HRR*, *GRF*, *FGH*, *FHG*, and similar collections. It has therefore escaped notice that just as the detailed examination of Virgil's use of Homer (G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer*) or even of the Homer scholia (R. R. Schlunk, *Virgil and the Homeric Scholia*) can lead to immensely valuable advances in our understanding of the poet's compositional techniques, so the survey of Virgil's prose sources and the analysis of how he handles the material available to him can be employed to precisely comparable ends. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate some ways in which such a survey may be put into effect.

Chaos¹ was indeed what confronted Virgil whenever he turned to consider a story in the mythology of Italy. In his brilliant paper, *Origines Gentium*, Elias Bickerman writes: 'One could write on the subject in an original manner, disentangling the difficulties [i.e. any problem of religion, topography or antiquities] in most satisfactory fashion, yet without coming into conflict with accepted mythology' (*CP* 47 (1952), 67). We should not forget that Virgil was the pupil of Parthenius (Macr. 5. 17. 18), whose collection of arcane and curious tales of love survives (cf. Horsfall, *Échos du monde classique* 23 (1979), 80).²

After I had completed and revised this paper, I became aware that some of the same ground had been lightly covered in A. M. Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (Paris, 1931); some cross-references to that uneven but stimulating book are included.

¹ Cf. Guillemin, p. 47, who speaks specifically of the 'chaos' of contradictory legends.

² Of rare Greek stories in Virgil, I give four examples: elements in the tale of Laocoon (R. G. Austin on 2. 95); on Orpheus, see C. M. Bowra, *CQ* (1952), 113 ff., L. P. Wilkinson, *Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge, 1969), pp. 116 ff.; on 7.304, see Horsfall, *CR* 29

To begin with a modest range of examples of the sort of fluidity which confronted Virgil in his sources:

(i) First, an instance where there was no settled Greek version and Roman writers only increased the range of possibilities: in the texts, the Trojans' homeland is given variously as the Troad itself (*Il.* 20. 216 ff.), Arcadia (*RE* s.v. Dardanos, 2168. 55 ff. on Hellanicus), Crete—probably on account of association between the two Idas (*Aen.* 3. 94 ff.; from Callinus on), Samothrace—as the product of speculation about the origin of the mysteries (cf. *Aen.* 7. 207 f.), and Etruria (*Aen.* 3. 168 f.), though it is not certain that Virgil is not innovating here (cf. Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973), 74 ff.).

(ii) Just as diverse and confusing is the range of explanations given for the origin of the name of the Palatine hill: according to Virgil (*Aen.* 8. 54), Evander named it after his ancestor Pallas. But Varro (*LL* 5. 53) offers five other possibilities (e.g., following Naevius, *a balatu ovium*).

(iii) The length of the era from Aeneas' arrival in Italy to the foundation of Rome.³ Virgil records idiosyncratically an era of 333 years (*Aen.* 1. 257 ff.); Naevius and Ennius, on the other hand, make Romulus a grandson of Aeneas (Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1. 273), while (e.g.) Cato counts 432 years between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome (*Orig.* fr. 17P).

(iv) (v) The site of Anchises' death and the places visited by Aeneas on the Campanian coast will shortly emerge as comparable.

It should not be thought that the legend of Aeneas is a special case. Nor, for that matter, is the story of Romulus. It might not appear at first sight that the story of Tarpeia was so important (and therefore so liable to variation). That is far from the case.⁴ Livy 1. 11 may give to the casual reader, as does the *Aeneid*, an altogether misleading impression of the classical and definitive statement of a long, settled and normalized tradition.

However, we should not suppose that Virgil regularly confronted directly a mass of conflicting prose and verse texts. Prolonged study of Virgil's sources confirms me in the view already argued most lucidly by B. Rehm (*Philol. Supplbd.* 24. 2 (1932), 92 ff.) that for many of the more minute details of Italian legend—and one might wonder whether Virgil

(1979), 222; Troilus: see Austin on 1. 474. A certain delight in lesser-known versions emerges.

³ H. A. Sanders, *CP* 3 (1908), 317 ff.; Horsfall, *CQ* 24 (1974), 111 ff.

⁴ H. A. Sanders in *Roman History, Sources and Institutions* (New York, 1904), pp. 1 ff.; Horsfall in *CJ* 76 (1981), forthcoming = *BICS* Suppl. 52 (1987), 68–70.

was really as interested in them as he was in Greek stories—he confronted the range of discrepant texts at one remove, as they stood arrayed in Varro's surveys, cited by name, sometimes quoted, sometimes arrayed in partial order of credibility. One should, of course, think of a considerable range of texts: *res humanae* 2, 8, and 11, the *de vita* and *de gente populi romani*, the *de familiis troianis*, and the *imagines*.⁵ But Varro is characteristically descriptive, not prescriptive; the impact of his normative date of 753 BC for the foundation of the city is not typical of his effect on the state of scholarship at Rome. That the poet also read (e.g.) Cato's *Origines* is of course highly likely, but his extensive reading in Roman antiquarian prose cannot be demonstrated and is indeed not a necessary deduction from the poem or from general probabilities.⁶

I turn first to the simplest *modus operandi* under discussion: instances where the poet simply selects and omits from a clearly far more substantial register of people or places:

(i) It was observed in a notably valuable discussion by R. B. Lloyd (*AJP* 77 (1957), 382 ff.) that Virgil had nine episodes on Aeneas' voyage from Troy to Sicily, of which four (Crete, Strophades, Scylla and Charybdis, Cyclops) seem not to have been associated with Aeneas previously. In contrast, seventeen stopping-places for Aeneas are attested, of which fourteen appear in Dionysius' narrative. Virgil clearly selects to avoid sameness and repetition; mere economy of number is less important as is evident from the readiness with which he exploits the mythical connections between Troy and Crete, the Argonautic Harpies, and the Odyssean episodes of Scylla and Charybdis and of the Cyclops in order to enrich and diversify the aridities of the antiquarian tradition.

(ii) Closely comparable is Aeneas' passage along the coast of Campania: connections are attested⁷ with Cape Palinurus, Leucosia (Isola Pianosa), Inarime (Ischia), Prochyta (Procida), Baiiae, Cape Misenum, Cumae, Capua, Formiae, and Caieta. Virgil merely alludes in passing in a simile (9. 710 ff.) to Baiiae, Prochyta, and Inarime; no connection with Aeneas is drawn. The *aetia* of the two capes are of course given (6. 234, 281), but Aeneas only in fact lands at (i) Cumae and (ii) Caieta, before reaching the Tiber mouth; to the north, he sails

⁵ For *Imagines*, see Horsfall, *Anc. Soc.* (Macquarie) 10 (1980), 20 ff.; for *de gente*, id., *Cet M* 30 (1969), 299 and *CR* 28 (1978), 365 f.; *de fam. tro.*, see G. J. M. Bartelink, *Etymologiseren bij Vergilius* (Amsterdam, 1965), p. 63 n. 1. Use of the *de vita* and of *res hum.* 2 and 8 is not, so far as I know, provable, just highly likely.

⁶ Horsfall, *Prudentia* 8 (1976), 77 f.

⁷ H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam, 1938), pp. 27 ff.

past Circeii, in the interests of narrative economy and the avoidance of retardation.

(iii) It is very clear indeed, even from a simple comparison of *Aen.* 7. 647 ff. with *Sil.* 8. 349 ff. that Virgil is vastly more self-denying in his selection of material from a common geographical source, i.e. Varro, *res humanae* 11 (Rehm, pp. 84 ff.);⁸ his intention, after all, is, in the footsteps of Homer, impressionistically to evoke the diversity of country and people, not to versify a gazetteer. But again, he does have ingenious techniques for alluding to people and places which he does not include in the catalogues, for example, by the topographical associations of such names as Umbro, Messapus, and Asilas.⁹

(iv) We can see elsewhere in very different contexts how far Virgil is concerned to eliminate a superfluity of detail that could raise only satiety in a reader and to achieve a simplicity in his outlines of place and time:

Thus in *Aen.* 5 there are only four contests in the games, as against the Homeric eight: wrestling is too like boxing and field events are the narrator's despair: hence, only archery as against discus—archery—javelin;¹⁰ the Homeric spear-fight is unattractively and inappropriately menacing. So too an increased economy of narrative is achieved by the elimination of retardatory up-country episodes in Book 3;¹¹ we might compare the omission of Capua, later. In Book 6, the juxtaposition of Avernus, Cumae, and Misenum is apparently unreal and 'inaccurate'; on 6. 13 Austin aptly cites an admirably perceptive comment by Bertha Tilly on 'Virgil's habit of telescoping, or even ignoring, distances. For him the epic must move more quickly, against a shadowed background of omissions.'¹² Time, just as much as place, demanded straight and rapid outlines: the foremost example is, of course, the well-known acceleration of the action in Books 7–12, from the three or four campaigning seasons of the annalistic tradition, to a matter of days.¹³

⁸ Fordyce (ad loc.) is right to insist that Virgil's source for the Italian *leaders* was not alphabetical, against L. W. Daly, *AJP* 84 (1963), 68 f.; *res hum.* 11, moreover, was not a list of people, nor was the book's arrangement geographical (R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 20 (1885), 534).

⁹ Asilas: cf. *Sil.* 8. 445; in Picene country. Cf. L. A. Holland, *AJP* 56 (1935), 202 ff. C. Saunders, *TAPA* 71 (1940), 544 ff. Names familiar from legends other than that of Aeneas are an extreme case: for Acro 'the Greek' at 10. 719, see Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973), 69 n. 11.

¹⁰ Cf. H. A. Harris, *PVS* 8 (1968–9), 14 ff.

¹¹ e.g. that at Dodona; cf. Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 378; likewise, Lloyd 384 on Arcadia.

¹² *Gnomon* 47 (1975), 363. Through Miss Tilly's recent death, we have lost a passionate and perceptive student of Virgil, a real lover of Italy, and a true friend; this article should be taken as a tribute to her memory.

¹³ R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*³ (Leipzig, 1928), pp. 172 ff., cf. 340 ff.

I have pointed already to Virgil's technique of geographical allusion through his choice of personal names.¹⁴ Allusive poetry requires erudite readers and the *Aeneid* is an extreme case: the poet borrowed and alluded *hoc animo ut vellet agnosci* (Sen. *Suas.* 3. 7): his most careful readers were expected to recognize not only poetic but scholarly allusions. So just as the poet borrowed isolated lines at times with conscious glee from bizarre and apparently inappropriate contexts,¹⁵ straining his readers' memories, or even altered an Homeric original in the expectation that the scholiastic comment on that original which prompted the alteration would itself be recalled (Schlunk, pp. 7, 110), so his erudite public will have been expected to recognize the most fleeting allusions to stories which are not narrated, or which are narrated, but in an entirely different form:

(i) 4. 427 *nec patris Anchisae cineres manesve revelli*: Dido alludes to the (Varronian) story that Diomedes dug up and carried off the bones of Anchises and later restored them to Aeneas (Serv. ad loc.). In *Aen.* 3–5, Anchises is, of course, buried at Drepanum in Sicily. Other sites are also attested: Trojan Ida, the peninsula of Pallene, Aeneia (in NW Chalcidice), Arcadia, Anchisos in Epiros, and Latium.¹⁶

(ii) 5. 298: Salius and Patron, one an Acarnanian, one a native of Tegea; this Salius, according to Varro (Serv. Dan. ad *Aen.* 8. 285, *Isid. Orig.* 18. 50) was an Arcadian and founded the Salii: to the alert reader, this familiar and important name is the only hint in the poem of Aeneas' traditional visit to Arcadia.

(iii) *ultra virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi* says Dido (4. 656). But is it enough that Pygmalion's treasure was carried away (1. 340 ff.)? The possibility exists (cf. Sil. 8. 143) that Virgil is hinting at some story of altogether more drastic punishment (so A. S. Pease ad loc., most attractively).

(iv) 4. 421 f. (Dido to Anna): *solam nam perfidus ille / te colere* ... may hint at the (Varronian) story (Serv. ad *Aen.* 5. 4, Serv. Dan. ad *Aen.* 4. 682) that Aeneas was in love with Anna not Dido (cf. Horsfall, *PVS* 13 (1973–4), 11; Ch. 6 above).

It is also worthy of note that Virgil is evidently concerned to hint at, in polemic allusion, and to reject, certain versions of the legends of Aeneas hostile to his hero:

¹⁴ One might refer also to the technique of hinting at a name by means of etymological play: for 7. 182, cf. Bartelink (n. 6 above), pp. 61 f.

¹⁵ Cf. E. L. Harrison, *CP* 65 (1970), 241 ff. (repr. in this collection, Ch. 24 above).

¹⁶ Cf. Guillemin, pp. 60 ff.; see Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 381 f. for the widespread story of the burning of the ships, located by Virgil in Sicily.

(v) *qui primus ... Italiam ... Lavinaque venit / litora* (1. 1 f.) is as G. K. Galinsky (*Lat.* 28 (1969), 3 ff.; cf. Guillemin, pp. 43 ff.) recognized, polemic against the claims and achievements of both Odysseus and Antenor (cf. Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 379 ff., 387).

(vi) 1. 599 describes the Trojans as *omnium egenos*, in sharp and arguably deliberate conflict with versions in which the Trojans left their city by negotiation, well loaded with riches—like Dido, indeed.¹⁷

(vii) Ilioneus is at pains to assure Latinus (7. 231 ff.) that the Trojans will be respectable immigrants in Latium: contrast Cato, *Orig. fr.* 10P *cum Aeneae socii praedam agerent* (the banditry alleged at *Aen.* 7. 362 is of another kind). When Ilioneus asks for *litus ... innocuum* (230 f.), an active sense, *non nocens*, is required for the adjective by the argument of the passage—notably *non erimus regno indecores*.¹⁸

Allusions to rejected stories are one thing, extended references to conflicting accounts, another. 'Inconsistencies in the *Aeneid*' have fortunately ceased to attract much learned attention. But it may not be inappropriate to suggest a novel mode of explanation (hinted at by Guillemin, p. 59): that is, that Virgil, confronted by a multiplicity of accounts in his sources, simply set down different accounts in different places, with no thought of a single 'authorized version'. This, after all, is far and away the simplest explanation of confusions and inconsistencies in the eschatology of *Aen.* 6 (cf. Austin on 724, for example): Homeric, Pythagorean/Orphic, and Stoic theories simply coexist and it is as misguided to attempt a coherent synthesis (something of the sort recently in both A. Thornton, *The Living Universe* (Leiden, 1976) and R. J. Clark, *Catabasis*) as it is to reprove the poet for incoherence (low marks awarded by H. E. Butler in his commentary on Book 6, p. 18). If we turn to the 'classic' inconsistencies, it is striking how often both versions are established and traditional: I would point to the following:

(i) In *Aen.* 3, the Trojans are sometimes presented as unaware of their goal (7 f.), sometimes, as following oracular prescriptions. Both conceptions are attested earlier: we may contrast Sallust's *Troiani, qui Aeneae duce profugi sedibus incertis vagabantur* (*Cat.* 6. 1), with Naevius' account of Venus having given *libros futura continentes* to Aeneas (*fr.* 13 Marm.: cf. H. T. Rowell, *AJPh* 78 (1957), 1 ff.).

(ii) The kings of Alba are variously presented as descendants of

¹⁷ Cf. G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton, 1969), p. 49; but see Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 384, 386.

¹⁸ Cf. *TLL* 7. 1. 1708. 73; Fordyce characteristically misses the antiquarian point. This whole area of Virgilian allusion has been, up till now, barely explored. I have given, therefore, a rather wider range of instances.

Aeneas and Creusa (1. 267 ff.: cf. Liv. 1. 3. 2) and descendants of Aeneas and Lavinia (6. 760 ff.; cf. Liv. 1. 1. 11). Both genealogies are well attested and have a long history: that in Book 1 clearly does more honour to the Julii and the persistence of conflicting versions in this case is best explained by the annalists' political involvement (cf. R. M. Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 3. 2).

(iii) The prophecy of the tables is given by the harpy Celaeno (3. 255) or by Anchises (7. 127). In the antiquarian tradition, it was given variously by Zeus at Dodona, the Erythraean Sibyl, Delphic Apollo, and Venus. Virgil does not therefore appear at first sight to have a source for either version, but we have just seen that Naevius granted Anchises oracular associations and they recur at Enn. *Ann.* 18–9: thus when *OGR* 11. 1 refers to Anchises as having remembered a prediction of Venus to him that when they ate their tables, *illum condendae sedis fatalem locum fore*, it is not unlikely that the author has some respectable, if garbled, warrant for his story.

Celaeno's role, on the other hand, is the product of an eminently Virgilian proceeding, the enrichment of Roman and antiquarian material by a reminiscence Greek, poetical, and mythological (*vide infra*); structurally, the warning of famine corresponds to Circe's warning about the cattle of the sun (*Od.* 12. 127–41; Knauer, p. 187 n. 1), while the attribution of an impeding and alarming role to an Harpy is in turn a recollection of AR 2. 178 ff. (Jason, Phineus, Harpies).

(iv) In *Aen.* 3. 389 ff. the sow, found with her thirty piglets, indicates the site of Aeneas' future city (*is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum*); in 8. 42 ff. Tiberinus refers the prodigy to the ultimate foundation of Alba, *ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis / Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam*... The fine distinction in formulation (obscured, Williams, *Aen.* 3. 138) is real and traditional: for the correspondence of the piglets to the thirty years which will elapse until the foundation of Alba, we may compare Varro, *LL* 5. 144 and *RR* 2. 4. 18 (cf. Schol. Lyc. 1232 = DC 1, fr. 4–5 and Schol. Lyc. 1255); for the sow as indicating the site of a nameless city, the end of Aeneas' wanderings, we turn, on the other hand, to Fabius Pictor, fr. 4P (where the litter pressages a foundation date in 30 years), Caesar, and Lutatius ap. *OGR* 11. 2 and DH 1. 55. 4.

I would end with a minor and curious example:

(v) At 6. 825, Camillus is described as *referentem signa*; the gold of the annalistic tradition has, as Austin persuasively suggests, been replaced by a reminiscence of the contemporary preoccupation with the recovery

of Crassus' standards from the Parthians: at all events, the story is the conventional one of Camillus as Rome's saviour; not so at 8. 656 *arcemque tenebant*, where O. Skutsch sensed problems in the Latin (*JRS* 43 (1953), 77) and K. W. Gransden (*Virgil: Aeneid* 8 (Cambridge, 1976), p. 171) rightly suggests that the plain meaning is a reference to the original version of the story, in which the Gauls seized and held the Capitol (cf. further Horsfall in *CJ* (1981), forthcoming) = *BICS* Suppl. 52. 1987, 63–75.

Virgil's large-scale recasting of his Italian source-material is necessarily an isolated phenomenon: the structure of Books 7–12 remains Iliadic and from his antiquarian sources what Virgil has to extract is a coherent and essentially familiar account of the situation at Aeneas' arrival, a credible narrative of how the war began (the criticism preserved by Macrobius 5. 17. 1 is deservedly well known, though in many ways unfair) and a vision of the war in Latium capable of narration in Homeric terms, in six books. How Virgil reduced the three or four campaigns of the antiquarian tradition to a few clear and tumultuous weeks of war was brilliantly outlined by Richard Heinze (*Vergils epische Technik*³, pp. 171 ff.). Far less familiar is the formidable and suggestive economy with which he outlines the situation in Latium at the time of the outbreak of Aeneas' arrival. All further developments in the plot arise out of the reworking of traditional material in 7. 45–58:

rex arva Latinus et urbes
iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat. (45–6)

Latinus is regularly described as a warrior who died in battle (Cato, *Orig.* fr. 9, 10P; Liv. 1. 2. 2; DH 1. 64. 3); Dionysius of Halicarnassus specified his age (1. 44. 3)—about 55. Virgil on the other hand alters the tradition; his Latinus is conveniently too old to fight against his fellow-ancestors of Rome. In the *Aeneid*, his old age is emphasized: the weakness of his resistance (7. 591 ff.) to Latin war-fever and the guilt-stricken perfidy of his opposition to the Trojans (11. 113 f., 304 f., 471 f.; 12. 27 ff.) provide Aeneas with a rightful claim to Lavinia (one absent in the tradition), yet do not alienate our sympathy, for Latinus' faults are excupated by his senility (cf. 7. 597 f.; 12. 611; Heinze, pp. 174 f.). Latinus' failings are seen most clearly in the matter of Lavinia's betrothal: he thinks he is still free to decide on a son-in-law (7. 58 ff.); Turnus does not, nor, clearly enough, does Amata. In many accounts, Lavinia is formally betrothed to Turnus before Aeneas' arrival and Latinus' sudden preference for a stranger was variously explained

(Strab. 5. p. 229; Liv. 1. 1. 8; DH 1. 57. 4; DC 1. fr. 2; OGR 13. 2; Justin 43. 1. 10). In Virgil, Lavinia's betrothal to Turnus is only alleged by him and Amata (7. 366; 10. 79, etc.); it is never objectively confirmed in the poet's narrative. Aeneas must hold right on his side; that he is another Paris is merely alleged against him (7. 36. 3 f.) and Turnus' fight for the bride and kingdom supposedly owed him (cf. 7. 421 ff., 469, 478 f.; 9. 737; 11. 369 ff., etc.) is thus misconceived and in consequence his motives can be represented as personal and selfish, not patriotic and national.

Secondly,

arva ... et urbes
... longa placidas in pace regebat.

Certainly, Virgil exhibits two opposed conceptions of the condition of primitive Italy; it seems likely that he found antecedents for both conceptions in his sources.

Appropriately, it is the peaceful condition of Latium which is stressed at 7. 45 ff., in keeping with (49) Latinus' descent from Saturn, and in contrast both with the Sibyl's prophecy of war (6. 85 ff.) and with the invocation of Erato's aid in singing *horrida bella*, immediately before the passage under discussion. More important, there are thematic consequences here for Virgil's preference for the peaceful image of Latium¹⁹—it is evidently in keeping with king Latinus' old age; unreadiness reinforces vacillation and serves further to exculpate the old king. Above all, this unreadiness and the warm welcome he naïvely offers the Trojans amid the ancient martial glories of his race (7. 170 ff.)²⁰ greatly heighten the chaotic drama with which rural Latium plunges into war (475 ff.) and takes up arms (623 ff.).

In the *Aeneid*, Latinus is regularly presented (7. 151, 160, e.g.) as ruler over Latins:²¹ hitherto *Latini* had designated the joint Trojan-native stock, and Aborigines, Latinus' people before the settlement with Aeneas, dwelling in the *ager Laurens*. Aborigines are colourless, remote, and unmetrical (but cf. 7. 181 *cunctique ab origine reges*, where the etymological reference is unmistakable), in sharp contrast to the

¹⁹ There is no certainty, though, that Naev. *Bell. Pun.* fr. 23 *silvicolae homines bellicque inertes* refers to Latium (see, e.g., *Bell. Pun.* ed. Strzelecki (1959), 63 f.).

²⁰ So elsewhere too Virgil alludes to the warlike condition of early Latium (cf. 8. 146 ff., 492 ff.; 9. 603 ff.); this latter conception seems to have been widely attested: Liv. 1. 1. 5; DH 1. 57. 2; OGR 13. 1.

²¹ Laurenses too, 11. 909; 12. 240; see J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*² (Paris, 1968), pp. 245 f.; they are irrelevant to this discussion.

familiar and historical Latini and Latium. Virgil builds up the land as Saturn's own (7. 322 ff.) and the people as direct ancestors, under a proudly unchanged name (12. 819 ff.), of Rome, her customs and her greatness (1. 6 ff.; 6. 876 ff.; 7. 601 ff.; 12. 826 ff.). Now Latinus' role as the embodiment of the old Italy is greatly helped by his evocative genealogy; Circe, Odysseus, and Heracles are attested in the Greek historiographical tradition,²² but Virgil dispenses with alien origins in favour of a well-attested (second-century BC annalistic)²³ family tree which involves the local and Italian Faunus, Marica, and Picus (7. 47 ff.).

At the same time that Virgil simplified, clarified, and abbreviated the main lines of the narrative of Aeneas' progress which he had inherited from the antiquarian tradition, he was under a strikingly contrasted obligation: not only did he have to create order out of chaos, but Eden out of the desert, for not only were the narratives in his sources sorely confused, but also, so far as we can judge from much in Dionysius, they were trite, jejune, and mechanical, a mere chronicle of events in episodic sequence, intermittently enriched by pedantic digressions. Virgil's fundamental recasting of this material²⁴ is not, of course, the matter of this paper. But Virgil's erudite readers will have relished some of the exquisitely elaborate combinations of sources and textures in *Aen.* 7-12.

This re-elaboration is of the texture of individual episodes; I give a pair of examples, both quite complex, from *Aeneid* 7, whose sources constitute an extraordinarily entangled and largely unexplored maze, to show just how Virgil simultaneously simplifies and elaborates:

761 ff. Virgil's first catalogue is a direct inheritance from *Iliad* 2, but also reveals details which suggest powerfully a Varronian origin (*res hum.* 11).²⁵ Yet these double foundations may be subject to further elaboration, as at 7. 761 ff., from Callimachus' *Aetia*;²⁶ detailed and extended borrowing is likely, as features such as *namque ferunt fama, verso nomine*, and *unde etiam* ... suggest. An interesting parallel (note 7. 781 :: 10. 194)

²² DH 1. 43, etc.; see A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte* (Tübingen, 1867), 1. 405, 216 n. 21, etc.

²³ Schwegler, 1. 214 ff.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*² (Munich, 1912), p. 66.

²⁴ Of which the most striking and familiar aspect is Virgil's entirely original vision of events in Latium in Homeric terms, G. N. Knauer, *GRBS* 5 (1964), 61 ff.; for example, the familiar Lavinia of the antiquarian tradition acquired the roles—in part—both of Helen and Penelope; Knauer, *Aeneis und Homer*, pp. 327 ff., 343.

²⁵ Aug. *CD* 6. 3; Macr. 3. 16. 12. R. Ritter, *Diss. Phil. Halenses* 14. 4 (Halle, 1901); Rehm, op. cit. 84 ff. (a brilliant discussion).

²⁶ *Aetia* fr. 190; cf. Horsfall, *JRS* 65 (1975), 228 f. and *CR* 29 (1979), 223.

may be drawn with a detail in the catalogue of Aeneas' Etruscan allies: the story of Cycnus' love for Phaethon;²⁷ the catalogue itself recalls that of the Trojans' allies in *Iliad* 2, but Virgil is under compulsion to include it, for the Aeneas of his recast narrative has no allies at the outset of the war against Turnus and must do on the grounds of narrative credibility. Cycnus' son Cupavo fights for Aeneas. The connection of Cycnus with the Ligurians is traditional (Plat. *Phaedr.* 237 A) and it is again likely that much of Virgil's geographical detail in his second catalogue at large is Varronian,²⁸ but the erotic vignette *namque ferunt . . .* (189 ff.) is Alexandrian and elegiac in tone and Phanocles' *Ἔρωτες ἢ Καλοὶ* ('Loves or Beautiful Boys') has been suggested as a likely source.²⁹

Secondly, 7. 475 ff. On the trenchant criticism preserved by Macr. 5. 17. 1 we have touched already: 'quid Vergilio contulerit Homerus hinc maxime liquet quod, ubi rerum necessitas exegit a Marone dispositionem inchoandi belli, quam non habuit Homerus . . . laboravit ad rei novae partum', 'What Homer contributed to Vergil is particularly clear from this fact, namely that when the necessities of plot required from Virgil the ordering of the beginning of a war, something which Homer had not . . . he struggled in bringing forth this novelty'. The critic's analysis of detail is often peculiarly silly and trivial. But the absence of an Homeric model is of course true and Virgil's answer is elegant, ingenious, and effective. He starts the third section of his narrative, I have suggested, from a hint in Cato (*Orig.* fr. 10P) and develops it with borrowings from at least six quarters: the name of the bailiff, Tyrrhus (485), is traditional (Schol. Ver. *nomen . . . ab historicis traxit*) and traces of his presence in the antiquarian writers survive.³⁰ The deer, beloved pet of his daughter, Silvia, is described in terms which are, I have suggested elsewhere,³¹ clearly modelled upon the description of a pet hare in an epigram of Meleager (*AP* 7. 207); Virgil's best-educated readers will have recalled with delight that the hare died of overeating. Allecto maddens Ascanius' hounds in pursuit of the deer in a manner surely reminiscent of the scene in Aeschylus' lost *Toxotides* in which Lyssa, bearing a torch, maddens the hounds of Actaeon (fr. 422M). When the deer returns to its home, Silvia *auxilium clamat* and to

²⁷ Cf. S. Timpanaro, *Contributi di Filologia* (Rome, 1978), p. 317.

²⁸ R. Ritter, *de Timaei fabulis* (diss. Halle, 1901), pp. 40 ff.

²⁹ J. Knaack in Roscher 3. 2187. 15 ff., Eur. *Phaethon*, ed. J. Diggle, 8.

³⁰ Serv. on *Aen.* 1. 270; 6. 270 (falsely attributed to Cato; see R. M. Ogilvie, *CR* 24 (1974), 64 f.; the parallel with Livy is decisive against Catonian authorship) and DH 1. 70. 2, where Tyrrhenus is called superintendent of the royal swineherds.

³¹ *CR* 29 (1979), 223.

reinforce the effect, Allecto *pastorale canit signum: auxilium* was the traditional term for a formal appeal, publicly, for aid to one's fellow-citizens³² and the trumpet-signal likewise belongs to the world of antiquarian traditions: according to Cic. *Ver.* 2. 4. 96, it was still in use in central Sicily as an emergency signal and it had been used (Prop. 4. 1. 13; Varr. *LL* 6. 92) to summon the primitive assemblies of Rome. The effect of the trumpet is described—as has long been recognized—in terms borrowed from the language used by Apollonius to portray the effect of the Colchian dragon's hiss (4. 131 f.). The range is startling: the Latin antiquarian writers, Greek tragedy, and epigram; in small details, more echoes will be found.

It would not be true to say that Virgil's narrative is wholly clear and coherent in all details; careful analysis of the subject-matter reveals, at times, I believe, that Virgil was *not* passionately interested in antiquarian or technical minutiae, and we have already seen that consistency mattered much less than effect. The disorder that survives is the diversity or disdain of great art, not the quibbling of antiquarians and pedants.

APPENDIX

Postscript 1988

Source-criticism as an instrument of literary criticism remains un-
prisingly unpopular. But W. Suerbaum in *Et scholae et vitae* (*Beitr. . . A. Bayer*) (Munich, 1985), 22–32, has developed some of my ideas. Cf. too G. D'Anna in *Atti del Convegno virgiliano di Brindisi* (Perugia, 1983), 323–43. Some elements in my argument I have developed further in *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 8–17, and *Athen.* 56 (1988), 31–51. The topic is, for me, very much 'work in hand'.

³² W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* (Göttingen, 1934), p. 176.