

## Generalizing about Virgil: Dialogue, Wisdom, Mission

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And behold I hear a voice ... “pick it up and read it!”  
Augustine (*Confessions* 8.12)

Literary code and genre dictate the nature of the tacit communication between the poet and the audience.

Charles Segal (from his introduction to Conte’s  
*The Rhetoric of Imitation*, 9)

Virgil wrote in code. The word “code,” as it occurs in the citation above, refers to poetic style and to the method by which a poet conveys meaning. Poetry is encoded through certain generic associations and allusive connections. Though originally composed for a scroll, Virgil’s poems have been preserved for us in the form of a book known as a “codex,” the shape of a book that we still use today. The Latin word *codex* (i.e., *caudex*, originally “bark,” later “book”) is the origin of the English words code and codex. The epic code that the reader confronts when reading Virgil was itself recoded when it was transferred from the ancient scrolls to codex.

Virgil composed three major poetic works, each in dactylic hexameters under the generic term *epos* (Greek “word”). Virgil’s works can thus be classified as three manifestations of epic code. Virgil’s earliest work, the *Eclogues*, is bucolic, to all appearances concerning the world of herdsman; his second, the *Georgics*, is didactic, ostensibly on farming; his grand narrative, the *Aeneid*, is heroic. These distinctions within the code belonging to *epos* represent the first signposts on our journey through Virgil’s poetry.

### Of Codes and Codices

To decipher Virgil’s code, the reader must begin by accessing the codex in its modern book form. The modern form is derived from ancient and

medieval sources and such a history will be explored in the sixth chapter of this book. For the moment, however, let us consider one such manuscript as contributing to the history of Virgil's text.

In the sixteenth century, an important manuscript came into the hands of Francesco I de' Medici, and thus it came to be called Codex Mediceus. Francesco moved it from Rome to the seat of Medicean influence, Florence. Housed in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, this antique codex preserves emendations added in red ink by the fifteenth-century philologist Julius Pomponius Laetus (in Italian, Pomponio Leto).<sup>1</sup> Prior to Leto, however, an early owner and editor of the manuscript had added a subscription in a tiny font at the end of the *Eclogues*, just before the opening of the *Georgics* (Figure 1.1):

Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius v(ir) c(larissimus) et inl(ustris)  
 ex comite domest(icorum) protect(orum) ex com(ite) priv(atarum)  
 largit(ionum)  
 ex prae(f)ecto urbi patricius et consul ordin(arius) legi et distincxi  
 codicem fratris Macharii v(iri) c(larissimi)  
 non mei fiducia set eius cui si et ad omnia sum devotus arbitrio  
 XI Kal. Mai(as) Romae.<sup>2</sup>

(I, Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius, right honorable former member of the protectors of the [imperial] house and former member of private distributors of wealth || and former prefect of the city, patrician and duly elected consul, read and punctuated this codex of my right honorable brother [viz. "friend"] Macharius, || not because of any confidence in myself but because of my confidence in him, to whomsoever [i.e., my future reader?] I have also in every respect been devoted with regard to my judgment [i.e., my job of editing]; [inscribed] on April 21 at Rome.)

This subscription provides an important dating marker known as a *terminus ante quem*.<sup>3</sup> Turcius Rufius Apronianus Asterius pored over the manuscript carefully, and his mysterious words – in the above translation the phrase “to whomsoever” is especially curious – offer tantalizing details. Like Leto years later, Apronianus would presumably have been doing his editing based on an earlier version that was one step closer to Virgil's autograph (original manuscript). Apronianus' encoding of the text is not simply the inclusion of this dedication but also his emendations and punctuation.

What is Apronianus trying to tell posterity in this subscription? First, he is attempting to say that, though he had earned the highest traditional

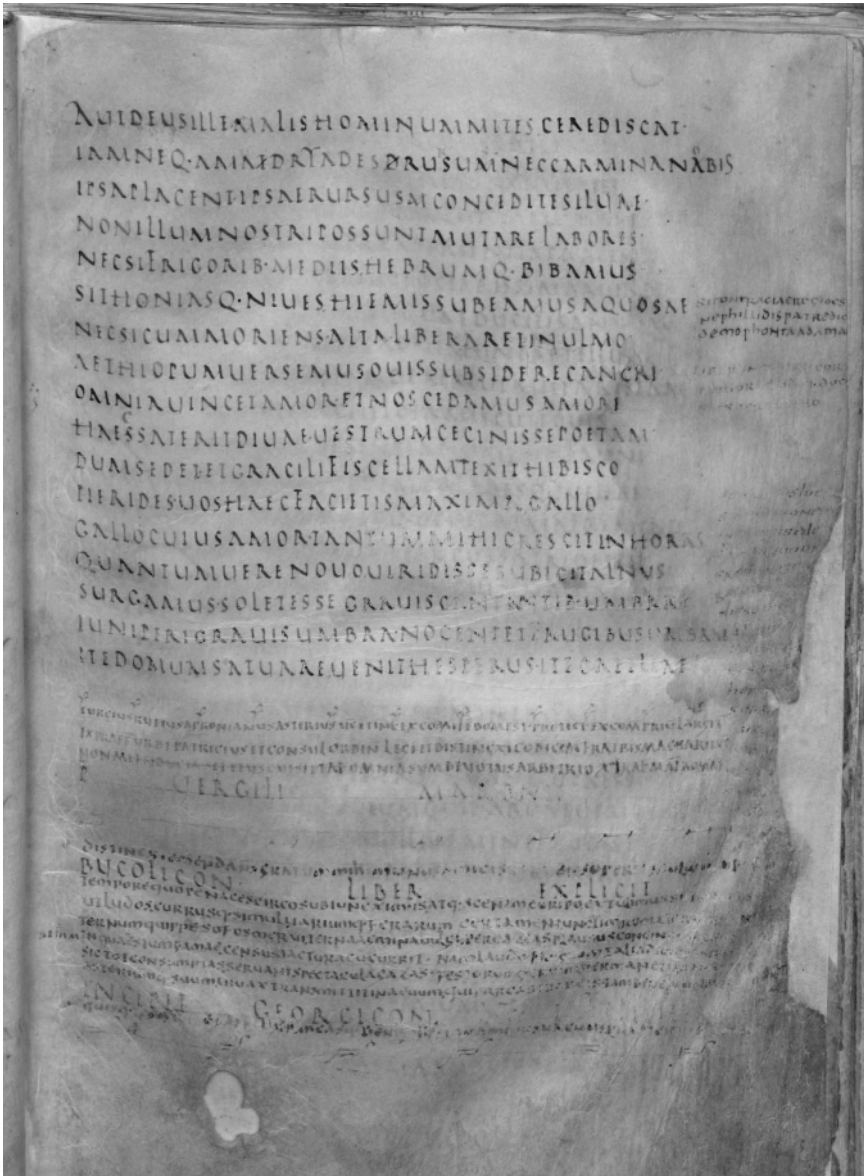


Figure 1.1. Virgil, Codex Mediceus (Ms. Plut. 39.1, cc. 8r, 9r). Used by permission of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence.

Roman office, he was not a mere politician but was one who had a deep appreciation for Virgil and has painstakingly emended the text. That he had done so during his consulship – Rome’s high office instituted by Lucius Iunius Brutus in 509 BC – is obviously significant, as is the fact that he makes this subscription on April 21, the date of the annual Parilia festival, which was recognized as the birthday of Rome. The year AD 494 would have dated nearly one thousand years from the foundation of the Roman Republic. Thus, when Apronianus notes that he was a *consul ordinarius* (entering the office “on the appointed day” and thus, “duly elected”), he ties himself to the ancient, traditional office. The reference to the Parilia acknowledges Rome’s pre-Christian past, as Pales was a pagan deity connected with pastures. This addendum fittingly comes after the *Eclogues* and before the *Georgics*, both of which treat flocks.<sup>4</sup> With this subscription, he accomplishes, then, a great deal, affirming the abiding value of ancient Rome’s greatest poet.

To emphasize his connection with traditional Roman values, Apronianus further states that he was the sponsor of traditional pagan Roman games. Yet we also know him as an editor of Christian devotional poetry. His family had been, since the time of Constantine, connected to the ruling class. A certain L. Turcius Apronianus held an urban prefecture, and his son replicated this achievement in 362. The fourth-century historian Ammianus (23.1.4) tells us that one of these was also a senatorial legate in Antioch under the emperor Julian.

Material evidence enhances our understanding of the family: two statue bases, found in the Campus Martius, held representations of Apronianus and his wife; these images may have come from their home there. The other side of the family lived on the Esquiline. Possibly to protect their wealth from the Gothic invasion of 410, some family member hastily buried heirlooms near the house. This treasure, which includes objects that show pagan influence, certainly belonged to the same family as our manuscript inscriber. Cameron concludes that the family consisted of both pagan and Christian members; the Christian branch was likely to have intermarried with non-Christians.<sup>5</sup>

Such a reconstruction of this family’s religious leanings suits our Apronianus, who both published an edition of Sedulius’ Christian poetic work *Carmen Paschale* and at the same time was an *aficionado* of Virgil, punctuating the manuscript that he obtained from his “brother” Macharius.<sup>6</sup> When one is reading “Virgil,” one is reading a collated text indebted to editors such as Apronianus.

The coexistence of his family's two cultural backgrounds – a family mosaic perhaps not so uncommon among contemporary aristocrats – suggests a workable interaction of pagan and Christian elements. Given his Christian affiliation, Apronianus' subscription is important to the Virgilian tradition because that tradition has now become a blend of two religious cultures and his subscription is literally a Christian addendum to a long pagan tradition. His dedication to Virgil's future readership shows his awareness of his transmission of Virgil in this codex, bearing witness to Apronianus not only as a significant editor but also as an important early reader of the text. Apronianus has thus encoded the text in such a way as to ensure that his manuscript of Virgil would be a part of the future, even if that should be a Christian future. In a sense, he buried in the pages of this manuscript an autobiographical nugget for posterity, as his forebear had buried the family treasure on the Esquiline.

### Code of Readership

The reader who picks up a book and reads it opens a dialogue with the codex and, ultimately, with the code itself. Thus, the reader begins to interact with the text and its code; this interaction or negotiation with the text is "coded" because the reader is establishing his or her own code of readership while encountering Virgil's epic code. The notion of a code moves in both directions: what we are calling epic code moves from the text to the reader, while what we are calling the code of readership represents the reader's negotiation with the text. Such negotiation is assisted by the author, who "establishes the competence of the Model Reader, that is, the author constructs the addressee and motivates the text in order to do so. The text institutes strategic cooperation and regulates it."<sup>7</sup> The greater the appreciation that any reader has of the tradition, the closer he or she approximates the Model Reader and becomes equipped to negotiate the business of reading the text.

Though we shall never know fully what future reader Apronianus envisioned or what kind of reader Virgil had in mind, we can nevertheless establish a few characteristics for a Model Reader of any age. First, as any reader begins to approximate a Model Reader, he or she will increasingly acknowledge that a wider tradition informs Virgil's text and, to the extent that he or she is able, begin to embrace that tradition. For example, the more knowledgeable the reader is of Homer, the deeper that reader's

understanding of the *Aeneid* will become. The Model Reader understands that the later author can best be understood in light of the earlier.

The second criterion for the Model Reader is some knowledge of the cultural milieu of Virgil's lifetime. While the attribution of a rigid political agenda to Virgil is unproductive, one cannot hide from the fact that Virgil was cognizant of his own relevance within the poetic tradition and was aware that the Roman world was in the midst of a major transition.

Thirdly, the Model Reader must have respect for the text's authorial voice. Apronianus seems to have shown such respect in dedicating his careful editorial work "in every respect" to his future reader or, possibly, God himself;<sup>8</sup> he recognizes the importance of his place within a tradition that preserves Virgil's authorial voice. All the discrepancies within the manuscripts notwithstanding – even those that may have been unwittingly introduced by Apronianus – the text known as "Virgil" still emerges, which the Model Reader seeks to understand in view of the tradition, in its historical context, and with respect for the integrity of the authorial voice. Conscientious readership does not preclude the reader's response but qualifies it: the Model Reader engages in honest negotiation with the text.

### Poetic Craft

Long before Virgil began his literary production in the late 40s BC, versifying was a matter of poetic craftsmanship. The etymology of the Latin word *poeta*, descended from a Greek word meaning "make" (*poieo*), implies such fashioning. The other Latin word for poet, *uates*, means "seer" or "prophet," a metaphorical description that embodies poetic inspiration. Inspired by the Muses, the Roman poet opens a dialogue with his predecessors through allusion and cross-pollination of genres. This was especially true in Virgil's time: the skilled poet engaged his predecessors through a process of imitation, emulation, and interpretation.<sup>9</sup>

Virgilian allusion is generally consistent with the practice of poetic reference called Alexandrian, developed in the Hellenistic period (323–327 BC) and characterized by emulative playfulness.<sup>10</sup> Before that period, allusion had been, generally speaking, more imitative than emulative. The dictum that the plays of Aeschylus were "scraps from Homer's banquet" is an old one, attributed to Aeschylus himself by third-century author Athenaeus (*Deipnosophistae* 8.347e). Aeschylus does not so much emulate

Homer as avail himself of Homeric material, often expanding it. In the Hellenistic period something different begins to happen, as allusion effects a learned game, anticipating a reader with a code-breaking mentality. Alexandrian reference is not necessarily meant to be recognized immediately, for such allusive encoding is written for knowledgeable insiders or intended for discovery on a second or third reading.<sup>11</sup> Now, commentary becomes erudite, response somewhat cryptic, and allusion often opaque, intended for readers “in the know.” To see where Virgil falls in this allusive spectrum, let us, before turning to his text, consider two examples outside his corpus. We shall see that Virgil’s Alexandrian style encompasses the kind of allusion seen in Greek poets such as Pindar.

Nearly half a millennium before Virgil, Pindar, the eminent poet of Boeotian Thebes, composed *Olympian* 14 to celebrate the Olympic victory of Asopichos, son of a deceased Boeotian nobleman. This poem is addressed to the Graces, the chief goddesses of the Boeotian city Orchomenos:

O Graces of Orchomenos, guardians of the ancient race of the Minyai, hear me when I pray. For through you all pleasant and sweet things are produced for mortals, if there is anyone wise, beautiful and famous. (14.4–7)

In a manner consistent with the classical form of allusion in his day, Pindar creates a communal mood for this poem by weaving into his text references to Hesiod, his Boeotian predecessor who had lived more than a century before him, specifically echoing Hesiod’s description of the Graces (*Theogony* 63–74).

Pindar uses the poetic character Echo to report to Kleodamos in the Underworld the positive developments regarding Asopichos:

In Lydian style of lays I have come, singing of Asopichos,  
for your sake Aglaia, who in the Minyan land is victorious in  
Olympian games.  
Go, Echo, to the dark-walled abode of Persephone,  
Bringing to his father the fair announcement,  
so that when you see Kleodamos you may tell him of his son,  
how in the famous vale of Pisa he crowned his hair with  
the glorious contests’ garlands. (14.17–24)

Echo metaphorically embodies the allusion to Hesiod, for Pindar “echoes” Hesiod. Pindar’s fame preserves Hesiod’s memory, just as Asopichos’

victory preserves his father's good name in Boeotia. The local flavor of this ode also helps to connect Asopichos and Kleodamos, his deceased father, with that of Pindar and his poetic father-figure, Hesiod. Though Pindar's allusion to Hesiod and his use of it could be said to anticipate Alexandrian practice, it is more general and, if somewhat intricate, not meant chiefly for readers in the know.<sup>12</sup>

A similar example can be seen in Euripides, who, about a third of the way through the *Medea*, refers to the celebrated bard Orpheus. Jason states that he would rather enjoy personal fame than great wealth or even "the capacity to sing songs sweeter than those of Orpheus" (543). Orpheus is the prototypical singer and *exemplum* of the faithful husband; his name in the mouth of Jason is thus incongruous and stinging, representative of Euripides' ironic method.<sup>13</sup>

Such early references, though adroit, are not as sophisticated as Alexandrian allusion. By the beginning of the Roman imperial period, the practice of allusion, having passed through the Alexandrian filter, surpasses even Jason's reference to Orpheus in Euripides' *Medea* or Pindar's expression of Boeotian loyalty to Hesiod in *Olympian* 14. Let us consider how it does so through two further examples.

The end of the first *Georgic* includes an interesting reference to the river Euphrates, which is based on a similar description of the Assyrian river in Callimachus:

I was singing of these things ... while great Caesar thunders in war along the deep Euphrates and as victor gives laws throughout the willing nations and builds a road to Olympus. At that time sweet Parthenope was nursing me, Virgil, when I was flourishing in the pursuits of inglorious leisure. (1.559–64)

In this context, as Clauss has noted, the proximity of war (561) and peace (564) suggests that, after the battle of Actium, Virgil is stating that he "can avail himself of *ignobile otium*, the peace and leisure needed for non-military, georgic topics."<sup>14</sup> A few years earlier, Scodel and Thomas had noted that a reference to the Euphrates coming near the end of a book of Virgil is not a one-time occurrence, connecting the passages to Callimachus:

Three times in his works Virgil mentions the Euphrates. At *Geo.* 1.509 the river threatens war; at *Geo.* 4.561 Octavian thunders there; at *Aen.* 8.726 the river, after Actium, is no longer threatening. Each of these references appears in the sixth line from the end of its respective book. This pattern is no coincidence: Virgil alludes to the Ἀσσυρίου ποταμοῦ μέγας ῥόος



[Assyrian River's great flood] of Callimachus Hymn 2.108 – the sixth line from the close. The Callimachean river is identified with the Euphrates by the scholiast, and the programmatic passage is a natural object for such delicate allusion.<sup>15</sup>

Several scholars have gone further, from Farrell's view that such an allusion symbolizes Virgil's allegiance to Callimachean principles to Jenkyns' reading it as chiefly a way of highlighting Octavian's ability to put aside the panic associated with problems in the east.<sup>16</sup>

As Scodel and Thomas note, Virgil also places a reference to the Euphrates precisely six lines from the end of *Aeneid* 8, where Aeneas' shield reveals the future glory of Rome. A reference to the Euphrates in such a context may suggest the extent of Augustus' military victories and the consequent political settlement; but it also evidences, via the allusion to Callimachus, Virgil's allegiance to Alexandrian poetic principles.<sup>17</sup>

Alexandrian allusion, so delicate that it takes into account precise verbal position, is also a feature of other Augustan poets. Ovid does something similar when, in the *Metamorphoses*, he cites *Aeneid* 10.475 in the exact same book at precisely the same verse number; both passages refer to the drawing of sword from a sheath. In the Ovidian context, the reference to the drawing of the sword acts as a symbol for the end of a perverse sexual liaison, whereas in the *Aeneid* it is a true martial reference. Ovid's allusion depends upon a reader who is erudite and attentive enough to notice – though not necessarily on a first reading – the striking precision of the citation. The reader must be sufficiently knowledgeable to recognize the playful way a heroic battlefield description is now applied in an unheroic moment.<sup>18</sup>

The two examples from Greek literature, cited above, come many years before Virgil; that of Ovid occurs only a quarter century after the *Aeneid*. Each can be seen as generally representative of the way allusion can function. The first two connect the new text with an earlier author or poetic corpus in a way that contextualizes the reference within the poetic tradition. The example from Virgil, however, demonstrates how an allusion can have a double function – referring both to political settlement and serving as a display of Alexandrian poetic principles – while that of Ovid shows how an author can playfully rival a predecessor, redeploying imagery and even citing text at precisely the same line number in a vastly different way.

Two years after his and Scodel's brief but important contribution about the Euphrates, Thomas analyzed the various ways that Virgilian

reference functions in the *Georgics*, establishing roughly seven categories of the poet's allusive capacity, from replication to highly complex double-author references. All such references represent the poet's conversing with a poetic forebear, whether imitating, correcting, conflating, or creating a window through one author to another.<sup>19</sup> Virgil's penchant for Alexandrian allusion does not preclude his capacity to engage in the more "classic" style of allusion seen in Pindar or Euripides. Virgil imitates in the classical style while also alluding in the Alexandrian manner. His signal contribution to Roman heroic epic is that he does so not merely for poetic showmanship but to engage universal human issues.<sup>20</sup>

### Thematic Contours

Virgil employs this diversity of style to shape three major themes in his corpus. The first is that of dialogue, which manifests itself both externally in terms of allusion and internally through the balancing of differing points of view or dualistic ideas within the text, a feature that many years ago Adam Parry well characterized as Virgil's "two voices."<sup>21</sup>

The metaphor of competing voices is sometimes interpreted as "a touch of ambivalence."<sup>22</sup> This ambivalence might be better viewed as an aspect of Virgil's dualistic ebb and flow. In *Eclogue* 1, for example, Virgil presents two distinctly different points of view in his characters Meliboeus and Tityrus. A contrast between the soon-to-be-born child in *Eclogue* 4 and the recently deceased yet soon-to-be-deified Daphnis of *Eclogue* 5 closes the first half of Virgil's first poetry book. In the eighth *Eclogue*, the poet's persona wishes to but cannot write a tribute to his patron. The poetic landscape of the *Eclogues* is an amalgam of, and to some extent a dialogue between, east and west (Arcadia and Italy), city and countryside, hope and despair.

Such dualism is not confined to the *Eclogues*. The *labor improbus* (wicked work) of the farmer of the *Georgics* both contrasts with and complements *durus labor* (hard work) that produces the joy of the harvest: they are different experiences of the same world, not discursive constructs. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas is both a (mostly) steadfast lover of his future country and a failed lover of Dido; he is devoted to his mission yet distracted from it; in book 11 he desires the peace requested by an embassy but in that same book he becomes the merciless avenger; at the *Aeneid*'s close he hesitates, but then kills furiously. The themes of Virgil's dualism relate to devotion, loyalty, courage, or love and by composing

in this way, Virgil works through issues in his corpus by giving the impression of a dialogue.

Virgil's two voices are set in opposition, but rarely in such a way that coexistence is not possible. Such dualism moves beyond the pre-Socratic notion of Pythagorean opposites toward dialogue, with the ultimate goal being the communication of wisdom, not merely conflict. In this sense, Virgil is much more Socratic (and Platonic) than Pythagorean. Mediation of the opposites comes from the poetic persona's voice of wisdom.<sup>23</sup>

The second thematic contour of Virgil's poetic production is just such wisdom. All of his poems have a didactic function, and none is intended merely to be entertainment or simply to sustain literary tradition. Obviously dialogue, such as that of the *Eclogues*, is a means of communicating wisdom, as one can see in Platonic dialogues or the contrasting features of Pythagorean philosophy. Yet Virgil's wisdom book is not the *Eclogues* but the *Georgics*. While there are plenty of dialogic moments in the *Georgics* – for example, the pessimistic endings of books 1 and 3 over and against the more optimistic conclusions of 2 and 4 – Virgil conveys wisdom in the *Georgics* in a different way, infusing it through gnomic dictums and various familial and communal moments in the farmer's life. The wisdom of the *Georgics* encompasses every aspect of human existence; as is often noted, the *Georgics* is not so much about husbandry as about life.<sup>24</sup>

The third way that Virgil shapes his work thematically is by imbuing it with a sense of mission. One could argue that the mission of the *Eclogues* is to convey to a Roman audience through a new genre glimpses of human joy in the midst of political unrest; that of the *Georgics* is consideration of work, life, death, and regeneration. The *Aeneid*, however, embodies mission: its central character's destiny is the reestablishment of Troy as Rome. The *Aeneid* is thus not merely a well-told part of an epic cycle such as the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*, or even a crafted tale of heroes and heroic deeds, like the *Argonautica*. It is a teleological epic, justifying and explaining a new nation's birth out of another's tragic collapse. In it Virgil creates a hero who, if less than perfect, nevertheless shows nobility and bravery.

Each of Virgil's works shares the themes discussed above: internal and external dialogue, soil-bound wisdom, and a sense of mission. While the *Eclogues* emphasize the first of these traits, the *Georgics* the second, and the *Aeneid* the third, each work also encompasses all three. To advance these major themes, Virgil inserts himself through deft allusions into a

preexisting literary tradition, adapting and redefining the epic code. Let us look briefly at some of the figures who formed the literary tradition he inherited.

### Poetic Models

The following abbreviated collection of sources is merely suggestive of Virgil's principal debts to a vast tradition, of which several names have already occurred in this book. While all were important allusive models, in the Alexandrian sense, some were far more important than others in the classic sense of allusion. Though the list is roughly chronological, coincidentally we begin with perhaps the most important figure.

The significance to Virgil of **Homer**, whose *floruit* was ca. 750 BC, is immeasurable. Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* provided models of imitation for the *Aeneid*, in particular, and Homer was important to Virgil's other work. As Halperin has rightly observed about Virgil's use of traditional material, "allusions to the *Odyssey* ... provide a source of thematic continuity within the genre of epos which help to define the literary genealogy of bucolic poetry."<sup>25</sup>

**Hesiod** (ca. 730–ca. 670 BC) also provided a source for Virgil. Hesiod's *Works and Days* (sometimes abbreviated by the first Greek word of its title as *Erga*) was a model for the *Georgics*, while his short epic *Theogony* also furnished Virgil with material for each of his works. Hesiod was the first to claim to have encountered the Muses on Mount Helicon (*Theogony* 22–35), where he portrays himself being commissioned by them, a scene important to Callimachus and one that also recurs in the *Eclogues* (6.69–73).

The impact of **Greek tragedy** on Virgil is a topic that has only recently begun to be explored in a comprehensive way in Virgilian scholarship. We have already considered one example from Euripides, an influence that extends through Virgil's psychological portraiture of characters such as Dido. It would be remiss not to mention, too, the impact of Sophocles on Virgil's consideration of universal human issues or of Aeschylus vis-à-vis questions concerning suffering and divine purpose.

While Platonic dialogues may have had a general influence on Virgil's dialogic style, the chief source of inspiration for the *Eclogues* was certainly the poet **Theocritus** (ca. 300–ca. 260 BC), who hailed from Sicily. Theocritus wrote pastoral *Idylls*, mimes (short dramatic performances), hymns, epithalamia (wedding poems), and epyllia (short epics, of which

only fragments survive). Some of the *Idylls* are dialogues, while others are lyric monologues; others have elements of choral lyric, albeit in hexameters. Theocritus' form, style, imagery and characters unmistakably resonate with Virgil's own.

Just as Theocritus was an important source for Virgil's bucolic poems, so for Virgil's didactic work was **Nicander**, whose *floruit* was in the second century BC. Among Nicander's didactic works was his own *Georgika*, which provided Virgil with theme and title for his *Georgics*. While very little remains of Nicander's poem, Geymonat demonstrates the degree of Virgilian sophistication in an allusion to Nicander, for Virgil plays upon a phrase from Nicander at *Georgic* 1.178; beyond such a slender observation, however, we can only guess how Virgil drew on his work.<sup>26</sup>

More important, without doubt, was **Callimachus** (ca. 305–ca. 240 BC), who hailed from Cyrene but later moved to Alexandria where he compiled numerous scholarly works in that city's famous library, including *Pinakes*, a learned review of the library's holdings. Callimachus' best-known poem, the *Actia* ("Causes"), offers an account of the origins of various mythological topics. In it Callimachus alludes to Hesiod by portraying himself as instructed by the Muses on Mount Helicon. In its prologue, Callimachus also states that he plans to respond to his detractors, whom he calls *telchines*. Their criticism was primarily directed at his anti-epic stance, which he shared with other learned Hellenistic poets who were attentive to Aristotelian poetic precepts outlined in the *Poetics* (23.1459a27).

Callimachus had a circle of students, including the polymaths Eratosthenes of Cyrene and Aristophanes of Byzantium. His most famous student was **Apollonius Rhodius** (ca. 270–ca. 180 BC), who became the head of the library at Alexandria. Many scholars presume him to have turned against his master, even becoming the chief of the inimical *telchines*. In any case, with the *Argonautica* Apollonius deviated significantly from Callimachus' dictum "a big book is the equivalent of a big evil" (fr. 465 Pf.). The *Argonautica* was an important model for Virgil's *Aeneid*. Another Alexandrian poet important to Virgil was **Aratus** of Soli (ca. 300–ca. 240 BC), whose *Phaenomena* is a short epic on the constellations in the didactic tradition stemming from Hesiod.

Among the authors whom Virgil would have grown up reading, Naevius (*fl.* 235 BC) and Ennius (239–169 BC) figure prominently. **Naevius** was born in Capua and served in the First Punic War (which ended in 241 BC). While some fragments of his tragedies survive, Naevius is best known for

his comedies, of which some twenty-eight titles and a few fragments have been preserved. He also wrote an epic entitled *The Punic War* in which there may have been an account of Aeneas' encounter with Dido in Carthage.<sup>27</sup> Homer was rendered into Latin Saturnian verse by **Livius Andronicus**, a third-century poet with whom Virgil was also familiar.

Quintus **Ennius**, too, is a vastly important Virgilian model, particularly for the *Aeneid*. In 204 BC Ennius came from Calabria with Cato the Elder to Rome. His production was diverse, including drama (primarily tragedies), satires, panegyric (a poem of praise, in this case honoring Scipio), didactic (*Hedyphagetica* on gastronomy), and epos. In this last category Ennius distinguished himself with the *Annales*, the definitive Roman epic before the *Aeneid*. In its opening, Ennius claims that Homer revealed him to be a reincarnation of the Greek poet. Aeneas is a character in Ennius' *Annales*, though the focus is not, as Skutsch demonstrates in the opening note of his commentary, the central focus. Rather, Ennius merely includes Aeneas' wanderings and exploits in Italy. Even from the comparatively few fragments of Ennius that remain (e.g., Skutsch xvii, *Est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant*, "there is a place which mortals were calling Hesperia"; cf. *Aen.* 1.530 and 3.163) one can see how indebted Virgil was to his epic forebear.

Closer to Virgil's own time, a group of poets dubbed *neoterici* ("new poets" or "neoterics") by Cicero (*Ad Atticum* 7.2.1) developed into an influential literary movement in Rome. One such poet was Gaius Valerius **Catullus** (ca. 85–late 50s BC). Roughly in the middle of Catullus' collection, which may not have been assembled by him, lies an epyllion (a small epic poem) that treats the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, a sea goddess, the parents of the epic hero Achilles. Within that narrative Catullus places a vignette describing Theseus and Ariadne, a love story that would provide an important impulse for *Aeneid* 4. One cannot overstate the importance of Catullus and other neoterics to all of Virgil's poetic production. In particular, Virgil embraced the neoteric penchant for Alexandrian allusion, often alluding to Catullus.

Virgil was conversant with other neoteric poets as well. Gaius Licinius **Calvus** (fl. 50s BC) wrote an *Io* to which Virgil alludes in the *Eclogues*. This poem, of which only fragments remain, can be viewed as representative of neoteric epyllion, characterized by a delicate and highly allusive style. Though that style characterizes all of Virgil's work, the tone and content of the *Io* would have been far removed from the *Aeneid*, comparable in tone and form to Catullus' Peleus and Thetis narrative (c. 64), discussed above, or the Aristaeus epyllion of the fourth *Georgic*. Another

poem in this vein would have been the *Dictynna* of Publius **Valerius Cato**, a leader among the neoterics. Helvius **Cinna** (ca. 90–44 BC), alluded to in Catullus 95 and in Virgil's ninth *Eclogue*, wrote a mythological epyllion entitled *Zmyrna*. Others include those who wrote invectives; Quintus **Cornificius** was also known to Virgil, though we know him only from a reference in Catullus 38. The coterie around Valerius Cato, if he really was a leader among those poets, was likely substantial.

We know but little about the life of Titus **Lucretius** Carus, a contemporary of Catullus, though we are fortunate to have his magnum opus, the *De Rerum Natura*, a lengthy didactic poem in which Lucretius puts forth in dactylic hexameters the natural law of the universe in the tradition of Greek philosophers who wrote “on nature” (*peri physeos*). In this work he vigorously espouses the tenets of Epicurean philosophy. To say that Lucretius had a profound impact on Virgil would barely scratch the surface. Though Virgil reveals his most obvious debt to Lucretius in the *Georgics*, Lucretius' influence is nevertheless also important for the *Aeneid*, as the studies of Hardie, Dyson, and Kronenberg have amply demonstrated.

While some of Virgil's characters reveal that he was interested in Epicurean notions, Virgil is not likely to have embraced Epicurean philosophy wholeheartedly. Nevertheless, Virgil was not infrequently in the company of Epicurean friends such as **Philodemus** of Gadara (ca. 110–ca. 40 BC), at whose villa in Campania he spent a good deal of time. If Virgil was in Rome between 49 and 46 BC, he also may have come to know the Pythagorean philosopher **Nigidius Figulus** (ca. 98–45 BC). Though Virgil does not seem to have subscribed to Epicurean or Pythagorean beliefs, his poetry does show some debt to both.

Finally, let us consider one other poet important to Virgil. Writing after the height of the neoteric movement to which he was indebted, Cornelius **Gallus** (b. 70 BC), one of Virgil's closest poetic colleagues, was Rome's first elegist. Like Calvus, Gallus was both a poet and a military commander. Octavian commissioned him to settle affairs in Egypt. Having contravened Augustus' sovereignty, however, he was recalled to Rome and tried for treason. A senate decree condemned him to loss of property. Convicted, he committed suicide in 26 BC, an event that undoubtedly moved Virgil deeply.

These poets, along with other prose writers not discussed above, such as Theophrastus, Varro, Cicero, and Cato the Elder, are among the rich field of literary sources that Virgil engaged through poetic allusion.

## Virgil's Allusive (and Imitative) Style

In the case of the classical manner of reference discussed above, a poet such as Pindar binds his work to that of his predecessor to establish his own place in the poetic tradition. The Alexandrian style of allusion can have a similar effect but does so in a self-conscious and learned way. This type of allusion invites the reader to play the role of insider, who can appreciate the author's manipulation of the poetic code.

We saw earlier that Virgilian allusion, though consistent with Alexandrian practice, also has "classical" features. The opening line of the *Aeneid*, which begins with the famous *arma uirumque cano* ("Arms and the man I sing," 1.1), alludes to the opening lines of the two Homeric poems, with *arma* approximating the theme of "wrath" with which the *Iliad* begins and *uirum* actually translating the introductory word of Homer's *Odyssey*. Richard Lansing has recently suggested that the forty-eight words of Virgil's prologue (*Aen.* 1.1–7) correspond to the number of books of both Homeric epics, while also doubling precisely the length of Apollonius' prologue.

Yet Virgil's allusions are sometimes not so obvious. In *Georgic* 1, Virgil picks up a thread from one of his poetic forerunners Aratus, mentioned in the previous section. When alluding to Hesiod in the second line of his *Phaenomena*, Aratus employs the adjective *arreton* (unspoken) in an apparent paronomasia on his own name. Later in that poem Aratus fashions an acrostic, beginning with a code word for refined poetry, *lepte* ("slender," *Phaenomena* 783); the first word of each of the four subsequent lines begins with a letter from that adjective, a word that aptly characterizes Aratus' style not only in this passage (783–7) but throughout the *Phaenomena*.<sup>28</sup>

Virgil does something similar in *Georgic* 1 when he describes certain astral phenomena. I cite here the most relevant section of the Latin text (1.429–33), which is translated more extensively and somewhat freely to preserve the acrostic, below:

*maximus* agricolis pelagoque parabitur imber;  
 at si uirgineum suffuderit ore ruborem,  
*uentus* erit: uento semper rubet aurea Phoebes.  
 sin ortu quarto (namque is certissimus auctor)  
*pura* neque obtunsis per caelum cornibus ibit.

(But if you will look back upon the swift sun and  
 moons that follow in order,  
 never will the morrow's time deceive you,



nor will you be captured by the calm night's treachery.  
 As soon as the moon collects her *back-turning* fires,  
 if she shall enclose the black sky within her darkling horn,)
 **MA**ssive rain will be furnished to farmers and those on the sea.  
 Yet if she shall spread a *maidenly* blush over her face,  
 there will be  
**VE**hement wind; Golden Phoebe always blushes at the wind.  
 But if at the fourth rising – for that is *the most certain author* –  
**PU**re she will pass, with horns not obscured, through the sky ...  
 (The sun, too, both when it rises and when it buries itself in the waves,  
 will give signs; *the most certain signs* will follow the sun.)  
 (1.424–33, 438–9)

Virgil's description of the sun, moon, and constellations immediately identifies this text with that of Aratus. The second half of Aratus' poem is known as the *Prognosis dia semeion*, of which the final word is the Greek equivalent of the Latin word *signa*, which is itself a plausible rendering of the Greek title *Phaenomena*. To reveal to the attentive reader that he refers to Aratus *qua* author, Virgil puns not only on the title of the work but also on the author, who is represented here by the moon's fourth rising as the "most certain author" (i.e., indicator), the same adjective that will describe the "most certain signs" (*signa*, i.e., *phaenomena*), in the lines that follow.

In lines 393–423 that precede this section, Virgil had employed an interesting rhyming pattern, first noticed by Ewald, to alert the reader to look for something special. Virgil conflates the self-identification of the *Phaenomena*'s opening and the acrostic pattern that Aratus had employed with the first letters of *lepte*. In a reverse acrostic, indicated by the capital letters at the beginning of lines 429, 431, and 433, Virgil alludes to a retrograde abbreviation of his own name, Publius Vergilius Maro.<sup>29</sup>

Though it is difficult to say why Virgil does this in a retrograde fashion – as other Hellenistic poets, such as Nicander, had more obvious self-identifying acrostics (e.g., *Theriaca* 345–53) – there are hints, such as the phrases, "if you will look back" (425) and "back turning/returning fires." Furthermore, Virgil places in his text the word "pure" in the same position as the word of that meaning (*kathare*) in Aratus' text (*Ph.* 783). We read in the ancient biography of Virgil (VSD 36–7) that his Neapolitan nickname was "Maiden" (*Parthenias*), which in Latin is *uirgineus* ("maid-only," 430), fittingly associated with purity.

I began this chapter by stating that Virgil wrote in code. That code is steeped in the Hellenistic tradition that before the Augustan period had

Alexandria as its intellectual seat. As we saw in the case of the citation of book and verse by Ovid, such allusion presupposes a reader able to interpret the code. Still, Virgil's allusions can function on more than one level at once, which Karl Galinsky has dubbed "polysemous," a term that Thomas extends further in his *Harvard Studies* article (2000). However far one pushes the tone, it is clear that Virgil has great range in his depth of allusion. Such intertextual repartee will not be discovered by every reader but it has a special richness for the one who recognizes it.

Yet it is also important to note that such cleverness is adornment to the universal human issues that Virgil seeks to address in his texts. These issues align themselves with the major themes of dialogue, wisdom, and mission outlined in this chapter, and it is through his organization of these themes and adornment of them via Alexandrian erudition that Virgil establishes his niche within the epic tradition. Thus, the *Aeneid* is also quite different from the works of Virgil's Roman epic predecessors, as seen in neoteric poetry such as Catullus' sixty-fourth poem or didactic epic such as Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil encompasses aspects of each of these, especially in terms of diction and style, but he does not fully adopt the neoteric epyllion format of Catullus or the didactic format of Lucretius. Nor does he write in a year-by-year (annalistic) format, as had the third-century prose author Quintus Fabius Pictor, who composed in Greek, or the great Latin epicist, Ennius. Indeed, Catullus' playful reference to the *Annales* of a certain Volusius as "fecal folios" may indicate that the old annalistic genre, unless done well, could be less than popular in the middle to late first century BC.

Instead, Virgil looks back to Homer as no one else had. Though Ennius may fancy himself as Homer reincarnated, Virgil's relationship to Homer might more aptly be so described. Accordingly, although thoroughly Alexandrian, Virgil is different from poets like Calvus, Cinna, or Valerius Cato, whose epyllia seem to have been more along the lines of Catullus 64 and of the style encapsulated briefly in Virgil's sixth eclogue, which alludes to such poetry but is obviously not an epyllion in and of itself. Even Virgil's Aristaeus epyllion in *Georgic* 4 anticipates Ovid's *Metamorphoses* more than it heralds Virgil's own *Aeneid*. The *Aeneid*, though not flatly irregular, represents a somewhat surprising development within the epic genre; remove the *Aeneid*, and the road to Ovid, passing through the brief cosmological poem of Silenus in *Eclogue* 6 and the Aristaeus epyllion of *Georgic* 4, is in some ways more easily paved.

To sum up thus far: Virgil practices both classical reference and Alexandrian allusion. In the *Aeneid*, in particular, he imitates Homer,

not merely to show debt but also to reinvigorate the tradition that stems from Homer as the first and greatest epic poet. Virgil's imitative, "classical" references comprise a new text based on Homer. But he goes beyond this with Alexandrian reference, the more sophisticated form of textual connection that enjoys a polysemous quality. Thus, while Alexandrian learnedness need not suggest such fanciful connections or secret messages in the text as Brown's *The Da Vinci Code* purports that the "Last Supper" contains, Alexandrian allusion does function similar to Giovanni Pala's interpretation of that same painting: in *La Musica Celata* (2007), Pala claims to detect a musical scale encoded in the arrangement and size of the disciples as they are seated around the table with Christ. Should Pala's theory be correct, his analysis would offer an artistic parallel to the Alexandrian learnedness to which Virgil adheres.

### Telling Themes: Virgil and Story

In his articulation of universal human issues Virgil employs Alexandrian allusion to accentuate the central themes that stay with the reader well after he or she has finished reading. We have seen that the notions of dialogue, wisdom and mission are the three principal themes through which the poet connects his text with those of his predecessors and his subthemes also support these principal features. One often finds the dialogic juxtaposition of good and evil, joy and sorrow, mercy and brutality. His poetry is marked by wistful glances back to a lost golden age; a struggle for control when chaos abounds; the discovery of community and peace in the midst of discord and strife; duty to country and family over personal gain; the value of history balanced with future hope; and a sense of purpose and destiny in the face of harsh adversity. Such dualism may be indebted to the Pythagorean proportion of opposites. Yet Virgil is not "Pythagorean" per se but rather merely generally indebted to this kind of thought, as can be seen especially in his *Eclogues*.

Let us take a single example of Virgil's technique as a storyteller to illustrate this point. In *Eclogue* 1, the goatherd Tityrus, whose property was to be confiscated for military compensation, speaks of his trip to Rome, where he appealed that ruling. Given his low social status, his holdings should naturally be meager. Nevertheless, Tityrus speaks to Meliboeus, another displaced goatherd, about the result of his journey to the city where he had encountered a "god":

It was not possible for me to ... recognize elsewhere the gods that were so present there. Meliboeus, I saw there that young man for whom our altars smoke twelve days every year; there when I asked him he first gave me an answer: "Lads, feed your oxen as you did before, put your bulls under the heifers." (40–5)

Free from foreign contagions, Tityrus will have real pastureland by the rivers he has known (51). Though Meliboeus notes that Tityrus will enjoy the beauty of rustic life where gardeners sing (56), Meliboeus reveals a bleaker destiny for himself and other displaced goatherds who will have to go as far away as Africa, Scythia, or Britain. He emotively predicts his own homecoming, when he will see his "realm" that a callous soldier, a foreigner (71), will then possess. "Behold," Meliboeus cries, "to what end discord has driven wretched citizens" (72). He then sarcastically enjoins himself to put his vineyard in order, bidding his goats move on; no longer will he sing (77).

Tityrus responds, inviting Meliboeus to share his table, which is as humble as that of the *Georgics'* Tarentine rustic, whom we shall consider shortly. Tityrus does not share in the imagined vision of barbarian confiscation but has hope for community, suggested in the poem's final vista: "the high roof peaks of villas smoke, and greater shadows cascade from lofty mountains" (82–3). There is, in short, a distinct ebb and flow reflected in the banter and fortunes of the poem's two principal characters. Such dualism and dialogue will characterize this collection.

Virgil's second body of poetry, the *Georgics*, is characterized by wisdom derived from the earth's goodness. Such uncomplicated wisdom can be seen in a somewhat mysterious character who appears near the beginning of *Georgic* 4. After a lengthy description of civil strife in the community of bees, Virgil moves the locus to warmer climes than even Paestum, coming suddenly to Tarentum, a southern Italian city. The narrator states that he saw there an old man who possessed an impoverished parcel of land:

And I recall now that beneath the turrets of the Oebalian citadel where the dark Galaesus moistens the golden farmland, I saw an old man from Corycia, who had but a few acres of an abandoned farm, its land neither fit for cattle nor suited to flocks nor good for the vine. (125–9)

It is unclear why Virgil describes this man as Corycian, a label that could possibly indicate his origin from Corycia in Cilicia or serve as a reference to a cave of nymphs on Mt. Parnassus. Whatever his background, the aged fellow regards his humble circumstances as worthy of kingly wealth (132), near a city and yet a world away. Every evening he returns home

and loads his table with homegrown produce (134–5); he was the first to plant according to seasons, first to abound in bees, and first to squeeze honey from combs. His elms are separated into proper rows (144), his pears planted, and his thornbushes grafted with plums (146). His mode of living is wise and simple.

The fact that he is unnamed gives the reader pause. The detail about his beekeeping is strange, for Aristaeus, the character that will figure prominently later in the fourth *Georgic*, is the beekeeper par excellence.<sup>30</sup> Other details add to the aura of mystery about him, suggesting he is not a single individual but an amalgamation of several characters associated with wisdom. Though not a philosopher per se, he shows that he has a contemplative outlook on life, for he lives humbly and tends to everything in due season.

For this sage figure, life is not merely about labor for its own sake, nor is it about political connections and the vain striving of the city. Rather, his *joie de vivre* and inner satisfaction are found in mere satiety; he experiences contentment rather than greed. Informed by the character of Cato as portrayed, for example, in Cicero's *De senectute*, and within that treatise by the southern Italian philosopher Archytas, Virgil's farmer stakes his own claim in the southern Italian soil: his wisdom and contentment are simple and earthy. An important aspect of Virgil's mission in the *Georgics* is to convey such wisdom.

Let us turn now to Virgil's magnum opus, which, though it is thoroughly mission-charged, also has the characteristics of dualism and wisdom that we see in the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*. In *Aeneid* 1, after a sea storm has scattered the Trojan fleet, Aeneas spends time in Carthage with Dido, who falls in love with him. In his fourth book, Virgil recounts that Jupiter sends Mercury to redirect the hero to his journey. The messenger god recites Jupiter's questions: why is Aeneas, playing the role of a husband, building another city's walls? He addresses Aeneas' lack of memory of his mission ("alas, you who are forgetful of your own realm ...," 4.267), charging him to have regard for the destiny owed to his son Ascanius. Aeneas' subsequent hesitation results in a second appearance of Mercury. As he sleeps on the deck of his ship, Aeneas has a vision of the god, who urges quick departure (562, 569) and warns him that Dido is resolved to die (564). Aeneas now responds swiftly, explaining the vision to his men (574).

Both appearances of Mercury are charged with a sense of mission. Though Aeneas may need to be admonished, it is nevertheless also clear that he is cognizant of his mission, for Virgil describes him as "resolved to leave" (554) even before the god's second epiphany. Mercury's words,

which repeat Jupiter's own wise Olympian counsel, admonish Aeneas not to be uxorious toward Dido and to recall his mission. We see also an internal dialogue in which Aeneas engages after the first epiphany of Mercury, when Aeneas debates in his own mind the best course of action (283).

This internal dialogue gives rise to the possibility that the other of Virgil's "two voices" might question the premises of Aeneas' mission. Such gloominess is consistent with the point of view that Virgil attributes to Meliboeus, who loses his property in *Eclogue* 1, and with the psychological effect of the devastating plague that closes the third *Georgic*. Such "dark readings" are sometimes credited to the so called Harvard school of Virgilian criticism. A "positive" view of Virgilian criticism is known as the European school, so-called because it tends to be predominant among continental scholars.

Mercury's instruction reveals the text's complex nature: Aeneas' true calling is set in opposition with his personal desire to remain in Carthage. The passage thus features dialogue, wisdom and mission: as he confronts his own internal conflict, Aeneas must rely on wisdom to extricate himself from his diversion from his mission. The mission of Virgil's Model Reader – the reader who wishes to pick up and read the codex and begin to crack its code – is not to settle the tension between the European and Harvard schools, but to accept that tension as an important contour in the Virgilian landscape, valuing the ebb and flow that characterizes Virgil's text.

Just as the emphasis of each of Virgil's works is different, so are his principal goals. We shall never know how Virgil came to these goals or to what extent his own experience of the world shaped his work. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to consider what we can know of that experience, one that encompassed the dualism of republic and empire, required wisdom to understand the dramatic changes of late republican times, and found itself in the midst of mission-driven imperial Rome. Let us now turn to that world and the events that shaped Virgil's worldview, for though we have few particulars of Virgil's life, we know a good deal about the world in which he lived.

## Notes

- 1 Cf. Giancarlo Abbamonte and Fabio Stok, "Intuizioni esegetiche di Pomponio Leto nel suo commento alle *georgiche* e all' *Eneide* di Virgilio," in Carlo Santini and Fabio Stok (eds.), *Esegesi dimenticate di autori classici* (2008), 135–210, esp. 176–201. Cf. also M. Geymonat, "The Transmission of Virgil's Works in Antiquity and the Middle Ages," in

- Nicolas Horsfall (ed.), *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (Leiden, 2nd edn., 2000), 305.
- 2 My transcription agrees with that of Alexander Riese, *Anthologia Latina sive Poesis Latinae Supplementum, Pars Prior: Carmina in Codicum Scripta* (Leipzig, 1869); see also notes in F. Schoell, *Histoire abrégée de la littérature romaine* (Paris, 1815) and A. H. M. Jones, J. R. Martindale, and J. Morris, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1980), 173; Ralph W. Mathisen, *People, Personal Expression, and Social Relations in Late Antiquity: Selected Latin Texts from Gaul and Western Europe* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2003), 18–21; on Turcius Apronianus, cf. Michele Renee Salzman, *The Making of a Christian Aristocracy: Social and Religious Change in the Western Empire* (Cambridge, MA, 2002), 74–81; for the Latin *fratris*, “(of my) brother,” see Jones et al. (1980), 173. On the spelling of *sed* (but), cf. W. M. Lindsay, “The Lost ‘Codex Optimus’ of Nonius Marcellus,” *CR* 10 (1896), 16, n. 2. This translation, and all translations in this book, are my own unless otherwise indicated.
  - 3 I.e., the manuscript was copied before April 21, AD 494. Cf. M. Geymonat, “Codici,” in *Virgilio: Enciclopedia Virgiliana* (Rome, 1984), 832; Carolus Zagemeister and Guilemus Wattenbach, *Exempla Codicum Latinorum Litteris Maiusculis Scriptorum* (Heidelberg, 1876), 3. Cf. also H. R. Fairclough, “Observations on Sabbadini’s Variorum Edition of Virgil,” *TAPA* 63 (1932), 223.
  - 4 See James L. Butrica, “Propertius on the Parilia (4.4.73–8),” *CQ* 50 (2000), 473, n. 4. See also A. T. Grafton and N. M. Swerdlow, “The Horoscope of the Foundation of Rome,” *CP* 81 (1986), 148–53.
  - 5 K. J. Shelton, “The Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence,” *AJA* 89 (1985), 148–51; Alan Cameron, “The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure,” *AJA* 89 (1985), 144.
  - 6 Does “brother” indicate a fellow Christian or merely a close friend and admirer of Virgil? Cf. L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford, 1968; 3rd edn., 1991), 41.
  - 7 Gian Biagio Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*, ed. Charles P. Segal (Ithaca, NY, 1986), 30.
  - 8 So Mathisen (2003), 20.
  - 9 J. K. Newman, *The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry* (Brussels, 1967); see Stephen Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford, 2007), 22–33; Niklas Holzberg, *Vergil: Der Dichter und Sein Werk* (Munich, 2006), 24f. See also Wilhelm Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (1924), 202–24. On imitation, cf. Arno Reiff, “*Interpretatio, imitatio, aemulatio*. Begriff und Vorstellung literarischer Abhängigkeit bei den Römern,” Diss. Köln, 1959.
  - 10 Seminal works on allusion include Conte (1986) and Richard Thomas, “Virgil’s *Georgics* and the Art of Reference,” *HSCP* 90 (1986), 171–98.

- Cf., earlier, Rudolf Pfeiffer, "The Future of Studies in the Field of Hellenistic Poetry," *JHS* 75 (1955), 69.
- 11 Cf. Peter Bing, "A Pun on Aratus' Name in Verse 2 of the *Phainomena*?" *HSCP* 93 (1990), 281; for a similar playful allusion, cf. Mario Geymonat, "Spigolature Nicandree," *Acme* 23 (1970), 137–43.
  - 12 R. A. Smith, "Pindar's *Olympian* 14: A Literal and Literary Homecoming," *Hermes* 127 (1999), 261–2.
  - 13 M. R. Mezzabotta, "Jason and Orpheus: Euripides *Medea* 543," *AJP* 115 (1994), 48; also, Philip Vellacott, *Ironic Drama: A Study of Euripides' Method and Meaning* (Cambridge, 1975), 23–52 and 106–13.
  - 14 James J. Clauss, "Vergil and the Euphrates Revisited," *AJP* 109 (1988), 309–20.
  - 15 Ruth S. Scodel and Richard F. Thomas, "Virgil and the Euphrates," *AJP* 105 (1984), 339.
  - 16 Joseph Farrell, *Vergil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic: The Art of Allusion in Literary History* (Oxford, 1991), 165–6; see also Thomas, *Georgics*, vol. 1, ad 509; cf. also Richard Jenkyns, "Virgil and the Euphrates," *AJP* 114 (1993), 115–21.
  - 17 On the tension between the Hellenistic style of Apollonius vis-à-vis Callimachus, see Damien Nelis, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius* (Leeds, 2001), 393–5; also see Philip Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford, 1986), 50.
  - 18 R. A. Smith, "Ov. *Met.* 10.475: An Instance of 'Meta-allusion,'" *Gymnasium* 97 (1990), 458–60; see also Stephen M. Wheeler, "Ovid's Use of Lucretius in *Metamorphoses* 1.67–8," *CQ* 45 (1995), 200–3; Reinhold F. Glei, "Der interepische poetologische Diskurs: Zum Verhältnis von *Metamorphosen* und *Aeneis*," in Hildegard L. C. Tristram (ed.), *New Methods in the Research of Epic: Neue Methoden der Epenforschung* (Tübingen, 1998), 89; Llewelyn Morgan, *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil's Georgics* (Cambridge, 1999), 226, n. 17; Smith (1997), 71–4.
  - 19 Thomas (1986), 171–98.
  - 20 Cf. Reiff (1959), *passim*; also Conte (1986), 34.
  - 21 Adam Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Arion* 2 (1963), 66–80.
  - 22 R. O. A. M. Lyne, "*Scilicet et tempus ueniet*. ... Vergil G. 1.463–514," in his *Collected Papers on Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 2007), 58; cf. Karl Galinsky, rev. of M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Poem of the Earth: Studies in the Georgics*, *CP* 76 (1981), 329.
  - 23 I thank Sophia Papaiaonnou for fruitful discussion of this point.
  - 24 E.g., Michael von Albrecht, *Vergil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis, Eine Einführung* (Heidelberg, 2006), 86.
  - 25 D. M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven, CT, 1983), 227. Halperin distinguishes



between Virgil's use of Hesiod and Homer, regarding Virgil's debt to Hesiod as being largely due to epic inversion, allusion by which epic themes are made quasi-comical: "Hesiod seemed to have anticipated Alexandrian aesthetic ideals" (246).

- 26 Geymonat (1970), 137–43, esp. 139f.; Brown (1963), 111.
- 27 Gordon Williams ( *OCD*, 2nd edn., 1970), 720, discusses the possibility that fr. 23 of Morel, *Fragmenta poetarum Latinorum epicorum et lyricorum praeter Ennium et Lucilium* (Leipzig, 1927) reflects such content. See the lengthy discussion by A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus* (Cambridge, MA, 1935), 18–23. Cf. Gian Biagio Conte, *Latin Literature: A History*, tr. Joseph Solodow (Baltimore, MD, 1994), 45.
- 28 Bing (1990), 281–85; Kathryn Gutzwiller (Malden, MA, 2007), 42f. The word λεπτός is rendered in Latin as *tenuis*; cf. David O. Ross, *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy and Rome* (Cambridge, 1975), 26f., 76. J.-M. Jacques, "Sur un acrostiche d'Aratos," *REA* 62 (1960), 48–61; cf. Farrell (1991), 81–3. D. C. Feeney and D. Nelis, "Two Vergilian Acrostics: Certissima Signa?" *CQ* 55 (2005), 644–6, take this phrase to be a self-reference rather than an allusion to Aratus. See the intelligent discussion of Thomas, ad loc. For a more skeptical view, see M. Hendry, "A Martial Acronym in Ennius?" *LCM* 19 (1994), 7f.
- 29 Cf. 393–423; cf. Owen M. Ewald, "Virgilian End Rhymes (*Geo.* 1.393–423)," *HSCP* 93 (1990), 311–13; see Alexei Grishin, "*Ludus in undis*: An Acrostic in *Eclogue* 9," *HCSP* 104 (2008), 237–40, for similarly clever acrostic. Further, see Edwin L. Brown, *Numeri Vergiliani. Studies in "Eclogues" and "Georgics,"* Coll. Latomus 631 (Brussels, 1963), 102–3; cf. R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics I* (Cambridge, 1988), ad 1.427–37; more recently, Feeney and Nelis (2005), esp. 645, n. 8.
- 30 Cf. Eva Crane, *The World History of Beekeeping and Honey Hunting* (London, 1999), 204.