

THEMES OF DEATH IN ROMAN RELIGION AND POETRY

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IN
ROMAN RELIGION AND POETRY

By
GEORGE THANIEL, M.A.

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AUTHOR: George Thaniel, B.A. (National and Capodistrian
University of Athens, Greece)

M.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISOR: Dr. A. G. McKay

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ABSTRACT

The thesis investigates certain themes relating to death and after-life in the poetry of the late Republican and early Imperial ages within the wider context of Roman literature and religion. The emphasis on the evidence of literature rather than on that of epigraphy and art was prompted by the fact that the latter are by nature more static and formalized than the former. The investigation has suggested that the Roman poets register and enlarge, as a rule, the ideas on death and after-life current in their time and thus promote a tradition which can be traced back, through the Greek classical age, to Homer and Hesiod. Although genuine Roman concepts and feelings persist, the general impression is that we have to do with a body of Hellenistic ideas. The concept of the Di Manes seems to preserve something of the early Roman feelings of respect and fear towards the souls of the deceased, but it is found enriched with new and varied connotations. We can hardly speak of native Roman divinities of the underworld, with the exception perhaps of Orcus. Instead, the Greek figures of Dis (Pluto), Proserpina (Persephone), and Hecate, are very prominent in Roman poetry. This applies also to the demonic figures of Hades like Charon, Cerberus, the Erinyes (Furies) and others. Nor could the Latin authors ignore the imaginative topography of the Greek lower world. Vergil gives to the

traditional theme of catabasis, the descent of a hero to Hades, some Roman colouring in Aeneid 6, but on the whole the descent of Aeneas is simply the fullest example of a motif popular with Greek and Latin authors. Roman poetry also reflects most of the ancient ideas about the destiny of the human soul after death. Moreover, hero-worship and divine honours paid to mortals seem to have found a fertile soil in the traditional Roman concept of the holy ancestors (Di Parentes). The fusion of Greek and Roman elements in this area is best expressed in the works of Vergil. In sum, the investigation confirms the impression of the fluency and mobility of religious ideas in the Roman-Hellenistic world of the first century B.C.

PREFACE

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate certain themes which relate to death and after-life in the poets of the Roman Republic and early Empire, especially Vergil. The emphasis on poetic evidence rather than on epigraphy and archaeology has been motivated by the fact that it is mainly poetry which shows us the ancient concepts and sentiments on death and after-life in evolution. The general field of investigation is so vast that a selection of topics has been inescapable. Within the limited frame of my investigation, however, I have tried to balance the evidence of the poets with the broader evidence of Roman religion and theological speculation; for, although the artistic impulse underlying a certain poetic utterance on death may be a poet's own, the religious motive behind the same utterance can only be viewed in the wider context of the poet's time and contemporary religious feelings. In other words, I am interested in what the poets say about death but also in their special motives for doing so. I am also trying to point out, wherever this is possible, Roman elements in what seems to be in general a body of Hellenistic concepts and ideas.

The organization of the thesis has been motivated by a desire for symmetry besides clarity: the first and the last chapters each start with a genuine Roman concept (Di Manes, Di Parentes); chapter two and chapter six treat the two main classes

of the underworld inhabitants (Di Inferi, ghosts of the dead); the reason for giving a central position to the theme of underworld topography with chapter four is obvious, and chapter five, treating the theme of catabasis, precedes chapter six for almost the same reason for which chapter three follows chapter two: in the hierarchy of the underworld the gods stand above the demons and monsters, similarly the hero who descends to Hades and returns to earth alive stands above the unsubstantial shades of the dead. The principle of compositional symmetry does not regulate the position of the three appendices.

Some religious aspects of the subject of death and after-life in antiquity have received good treatment in several scholarly works. Rohde's Psyche and Dieterich's Nekyia are still very valuable; and so are the broad comparative canvases of Frazer and Cumont. Much basic information on individual topics is found in the lexica of Roscher, Daremberg-Saglio, Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, and Hastings. To these may be added relevant parts of histories of Greek and Roman religion written by Nilsson, Altheim, Bailey, Rose, Latte, Guthrie, the great commentaries of the Roman poets composed by Bailey, Norden, Pease and others, as well as numerous articles of varying depth and length found in the classical journals. The use of the subject in poetry, however, has not been investigated with as great thoroughness or completeness, especially in North America, and this thesis is meant to correct the situation and to provide an up-to-date critical summary of old and

new theories and propositions concerning the themes under investigation.

The preparation of this thesis would have been very difficult if not impossible without the guidance and advice of my supervisors, Dr. A. G. McKay and Dr. J. B. Clinard, to whom I therefore extend my sincerest thanks. I am also grateful to Dr. W. J. Slater for many helpful suggestions in regard to the content and bibliography of the thesis, to Miss K. Dyck for her generous advice in matters of typing and presentation, and to my wife, Kathryn Thaniel, who did some of the typing.

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INTRODUCTION

Sir James George Frazer presents in his books much evidence that belief in the immortality of the soul, or better, in an after-life has been universal with mankind.¹ The chief motive behind the creation of a religion of the soul which we can observe among peoples of all ages of history and of widely diverse geographical areas, is to be sought in man's deep-rooted need to find some meaning in what happens to him after death.² The Romans of the late Republic and early Empire were no exception. The remains of their religion, literature and art suggest that they were vividly interested in eschatological questions, and my purpose in this thesis is to investigate a series of themes associated with death and after-life, as they have been recorded in Roman religion and poetry.

One way of introducing my investigation³ would be to attempt first a brief survey of the evidence of scepticism and disbelief in an after-life found in the epigraphical and literary remains of the aforementioned period, and then give a concise

¹See, especially, The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead (London, 1913-1924), I-III; The Fear of the Dead in Primitive Religion (London, 1933-1936), I-III.

²See, in general, Martin P. Nilsson, Religion as Man's Protest against the Meaninglessness of Events (Lund, 1954).

³See pp. 11-12.

summary of the topics to be examined more fully in the thesis.

Scepticism and disbelief in an after-life have been noted now and then in the testimonies of many peoples of the past, and it is certainly of interest to know how the Romans of the age of Cicero and Vergil fared in this respect. My mind goes first to the epitaphs which cut through the strata of society and seem, therefore, to be particularly suited for investigation.¹ The testimony of the epitaphs, however, is not as easy to assess as some may think. First, most Republican epitaphs are comparatively bare of any expression which would indicate the views of the deceased or those of his relatives as to the post-mortem state of man.² Second, even when we have some view expressed (and this happens mainly in the epitaphs dating from Imperial times), it is not always clear what is meant. Third, apart from the problem of interpreting a given view in the literal or metaphorical sense, we have to solve the problem of the authorship and the authenticity of the inscription, that is, to decide whether the inscription can be assumed to reflect the mind of the deceased or to have been

¹ See, in general, Richmond Lattimore, Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs (Urbana, Ill., 1942), 16. For bibliography on the study of Latin epitaphs see ibid., 10-12 and 342-354. See also A. B. Purdie, Latin Verse Inscriptions (London, 1935), and J. W. Zarker, Studies in the carmina latina epigraphica (Princeton, 1958).

² See the material cited by Lattimore, Themes, 15ff., and E. H. Warmington, Remains of Old Latin (London, 1940), IV, 2-55.

copied from somewhere else.¹

We have several Roman funerary inscriptions which plainly deny belief in immortality,² and seem to recall Lucretius in thought, if not in diction. Disbelief in the survival of the soul after death is indirectly expressed by the use of the carpe diem motif and by the presentation of death as a complete rest from the toils of life. The finality of death is stressed by such terms as aeterna mors, perpetuus sopor, aeternum tempus, aeternum silentium, aeternus somnus, perpetuus tumulus.³ We also find various formulations of the jingle non fui, fui, non sum.⁴

The problem of poetic influence on Roman funerary inscriptions is an important one but goes beyond the scope of this

¹The untrustworthiness of ancient epitaphs is also recognized by W. K. C. Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods (Boston, 1955), 260.

²See Lattimore, Themes, 79-82. One epitaph from Rome, of uncertain date but satis antiqua, according to Bucheler, runs as follows: Nihil sumus et fuimus mortales. respice lector, / in nihil ab nichilo [sic] quam cito recidimus (CE 1495).

³On the metaphorical identification of sleep and death cf. Lucr. 3.909-910; Catull. 5.5-6; Hor. Od. 1.24.5-6, 3.11.38-39. Verg. Aen. 10.745-746 (=12.309-310) recalls Hom. Il. 11.241. Cp. the following epitaph from Aquitania (CE 481): hic iacet aeterno devinctus membra sopore with Lucr. 4.453-454: denique cum suavi devinxit membra sopore / somnus et in summa corpus iacet omne quiete. See, in general, M. B. Ogle, "The Sleep of Death", MAAR, 11 (1933), 81-117.

⁴See Lattimore, Themes, 59ff., for epitaphs expressing doubt about the existence of an after-life. See also, in general, F. A. Sullivan, Ideas of After-life in the Latin Verse Inscriptions (Johns Hopkins University, 1936).

thesis.¹ Here I am only concerned to point out that not all epitaphs showing disbelief in an after-life need be attributed to the influence of Latin poets like Lucretius.² Apart from the absence in antiquity of any religious dogma about the after-life,³ we may assume that the contradictory statements of philosophers and literary men on this matter encouraged scepticism, apathy, and even despair in the simple man, and that these attitudes may have motivated several epitaphs independently of any direct influence from poets or particular philosophical systems.⁴ Many

¹ On this problem see B. Lier, "Topica Carminum Sepulcralium Latinorum", Philologus, 62 (1903), 445-477, and 63 (1904), 54-65; R. Ilewycz, "Über den Einfluss Vergils auf die carmina latina epigraphica", WS, 40 (1918), 138-149, and 41 (1919), 46-51, 161-166; E. Lissberger, Das Fortleben der römischen Elegiker in den Carmina Epigraphica (Tübingen, 1934).

² See E. Galletier, Étude sur la poésie funéraire romaine d'après les inscriptions (Paris, 1922), 15.

³ See William W. Fowler, The Religious Experience of the Roman People (London, 1911), 387; Franz Cumont, The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism (Chicago, 1911), 37.

⁴ Apart from the Epicureans, the Stoics and the Peripatetics denied any belief in the survival of the individual man. The Peripatetics were mainly concerned with the empirical world of senses, while there were divergent views on the subject of after-life among Stoic philosophers. Panaetius denied belief in any personal immortality; the sage, a god on earth, could hope to gain nothing from an after-life (cf. Cic. Tusc. 1.32.79). The official Stoic doctrine was that the soul joined the cosmic fire from which it had sprung. The eclectic Stoicism of Posidonios admitted belief in a celestial immortality, although it denied belief in the reality of a traditional Hades. No belief in the survival of the individual is found in later Stoics like Cornutus and Epictetus. See, in general, L. Friedländer, Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms (Leipzig, 1923), III, 305ff., and the second chapter of Cumont, Lux Perpetua (Paris, 1949), 109ff.

educated Romans displayed formal reverence for traditional religious beliefs while professing scepticism in private.¹

The extremely scanty evidence for notions of an after-life in the Roman sepulchral epigraphy of the first century B.C. may be partly supplemented by the testimony of Cicero. The Roman philosopher and his interlocutor of the Tusculan Disputations (1.6.11) agree that the popular stories concerning an underworld of mythical figures and monsters were only wondrous fictions of poets and painters (poetarum et pictorum portenta) disbelieved by everybody. This and similar statements found in Seneca and Juvenal² should not, I think, be taken literally but should be viewed in their proper contexts. The first book of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, for example, where the statement is made, is not merely a survey of the main beliefs in regard to an after-life current in Cicero's time; it is a book with an argument, namely that, whether one assumes the Epicurean or the Platonic theory, death is a deliverance from the toils of life. Cicero obviously thought that he had to cast behind the popular

¹Cf. Polyb. 6.56.6ff. See, in general, Friedländer, Darstellungen, III, 316ff.

²Sen. Ep. 24.18: nemo tam puer est ut Cerberum timeat et tenebras; Juv. 2.149-152: esse aliquos manes et subterranea regna / et contum et Stygio ranas in gurgite nigras / atque una transire vadum tot milia cumba / nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur; cf. also Juv. 13.49ff.; Plin. HN 7.55. See Lattimore, Themes, 48.

tales of Greek mythology about Cerberus, Charon, and the terrors awaiting mortals in Hades, if his discussion were to develop on a purely philosophical basis. I suggest, then, that the emphatic dismissal of underworld stories as incapable of impressing anybody is not so much the recording of an undisputed fact as a rhetorical exaggeration intended to prepare the reader for a higher sort of contemplation of the theme of after-life. Cicero certainly has in mind the educated classes of the late Roman Republic, but I suspect that many of the ordinary people took the stories of an underworld literally and that they were both entertained and awed by the prospect of a post-mortem journey to the nether regions. In fact, it was to combat this and other popular beliefs that Lucretius wrote his De Rerum Natura.¹

Among the Latin poets Lucretius is of course the very embodiment of disbelief in an after-life. His position, based on the authority of Epicureanism, was that the popular belief in an after-life and the fear of death and of future punishment in the realm of Hades were the cause of man's great misery (3.31-93). Without realizing it, men had projected their anxieties and superstitions, and their passions and illusions, into an imaginary world peopled by malevolent spirits who tormented the dead (3.978-1023), while they should have taken relief from the blessing of their own mortality (3.830-977), the prospect of

¹See Cyril Bailey, Lucretius. De Rerum Natura (Oxford, 1950), II, 164; John Ferguson, The Religions of the Roman Empire (London, 1970), 133.

their complete annihilation.¹ Death overcomes all men, even the most illustrious, and it is wise to accept it with equanimity (3.1024-1094).²

Lucretius spoke, as observed, with the authority of an Epicurean philosopher. Yet, even Epicurus had asked in his will that his birthday should be commemorated every month, and one of the reasons for which Lucretius wrote his poem was certainly his ambition to immortalize himself in the memory of posterity, an ambition which was shared, *mutatis mutandis*, by all classes of ancient people, both the humble and the prominent.³

¹ Cf. Cornelia's cum ego non sentiam in Nepos fr. 15 P. and see on this p. 224. Cf. also Sall. Cat. 51: De poena possumus equidem dicere, id quod res habet, in luctu atque miseriis mortem aerumnarum requiem, non cruciatum esse; eam cuncta mortalium mala dissolvere; ultra neque curae neque gaudio locum esse; Cic. Cat. 4.4.7.

² On Lucretius and death see pp. 18-19, 30, 47, 142, 192, 218; see also p. 10, n. 3. In general see E. E. Sikes, Lucretius, Poet & Philosopher (Cambridge, 1936), 124ff.; Bailey, Lucretius, II, passim; Pierre Boyance, Lucrèce et l'Epicurisme (Paris, 1963), 143ff.; B. Farrington, "Form and Purpose in the *De Rerum Natura*", and D. E. Wormell, "The Personal World of Lucretius", in D. R. Dudley, ed., Lucretius (London, 1965), 19ff. and 35ff.; P. H. Schrijvers, Horror ac divina voluptas: Etudes sur la poetique et la poesie de Lucrèce (Amsterdam, 1970), 282ff.

³ The phrase memoriae aeternae was frequently put on tombstones, and the building programs of Roman political leaders and emperors were motivated to a large degree by their desire to gain the praise of coming generations.

Horace seemed to believe firmly in this kind of survival, if not in any other, and undertook to immortalize in his poetry those who had lived or died with distinction, like the heroic benefactors of mankind,¹ the defenders of the patria,² and even an enemy of the Roman people, Cleopatra, worthy to be noted for her defiant resolve to die.³ Horace's own immortality, he was confident, would be secured by his own poetry.⁴

Otherwise, Horace sounds like an Epicurean⁵ who did not manage to accept the fact of physical annihilation brought by death. As we read his Odes we often find a resigned sorrow, almost Stoic, breaking in upon his mirth and enjoyment of life. While life is brief, death is inevitable and universal. The recurrent blooming and decay of nature is contrasted with man's one life and one death; and the immortal thoughts and grandiose undertakings of the philosopher Archytas sadly suggest the ordinary lot of his death (Odes 1.28). Like cinis and favilla in the

¹Cf. Od. 3.3 and 3.14. See pp. 211-212, 241ff.

²Cf. Od. 3.2.13: dulce et decorum est pro patria mori.

³Cf. Od. 1.37.29: deliberata morte ferocior.

⁴Cf. Od. 2.20 and 3.30.

⁵ On the whole Horace does not adhere to any given philosophy. He is the prototype of a poet, a man of moods. Cf. Epist. 1.1.14-15 nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri / quo me cumque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes. The playful passage of Epist. 1.4.16: Epicuri de grege porcum should not be taken literally. Cf. A. G. McKay and D. M. Shepherd, Roman Lyric Poetry. Catullus and Horace (London, 1969), 53.

elegists,¹ the words umbra and vana imago which Horace uses in reference to the souls have a special ring, as if they were meant to be colourful ways of representing "nothingness".²

Similarly, Horace's underworld motifs do not suggest a literal belief in such things but simply a perceptiveness for the literary and symbolic values of these traditional features, which were part of the poetic tradition and could not be avoided.

The essence of Horace's philosophy of life in the face of inevitable death is contained in his admonition to Leuconoe

(Odes 1.11.6-8):

sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida
aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.³

¹On the Roman elegists and death see pp. 20-21, 31-33, 47, 78-79, 100, 106, 113-114, 133-134, 217-218.

²See p. 219.

³For the views of Horace on the universality and inevitability of death cf. Od. 1.11.1ff., 28.4ff.; 2.3.25ff., 14.1ff., 18.19; 3.29.29f. Cp. Od. 2.14.21ff. and Lucr. 3.894ff. For the contrast between man and nature cf. Od. 1.4. and 4.7, and see J. Commager, The Odes of Horace: a Critical Study (New Haven, 1962), 265ff.; E. Fränkel, Horace (Oxford, 1957), 419ff.; R. G. M. Nisbet and Margaret Hubbard, A Commentary on Horace. Odes, Book 1 (Oxford, 1970), 60f. See, in general, J. F. D'Alton, Horace and his Age (New York, 1962), 237ff.; K. J. Reckford, Horace (New York, 1969), 85ff.; A. O. Hulton, "The Death Theme in Horace", Orpheus 11, 1 (1964), 19-23. See also pp. 21-22, 33, 47-48, 57, 79-80, 106-107, 133-134.

We have sufficient evidence that Vergil, probably following the fashion of his time, was attracted to Epicureanism, at least during his early life,¹ and it may well be that Lucretius' recidere ad nilum, that is, the belief that life is but a brief interlude between two stages of nothingness, was his intimate belief throughout his life. Such a sentiment could possibly be underlying Anna's words to Dido (Aeneid 4.34): id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?² We cannot be sure, however; Vergil seems to go beyond Lucretius in the matters of death and after-life,³ and although Aeneas' catabasis to the realm of souls, as narrated in Aeneid 6, may be interpreted as a dream or an allegory of human feelings, wishes and aspirations,⁴ it would be perhaps a narrow and elusive task to try to present Vergil as just another Epicurean who played a clever game of poetic dissimulation.⁵

¹See Tenney Frank, Virgil (London, 1922), pp.47ff., 77ff.; A. G. McKay, Vergil's Italy (New York, 1970), 196ff.

²See Arthur S. Pease, Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus (Darmstadt, 1967), on Aen. ad loc. See p. 37.

³See pp. 38, 184, 198. See B. Farrington, "Vergil and Lucretius", AClass, 1 (1958), 48ff.

⁴See pp. 162ff.

⁵See pp. 199, 209ff.

My brief survey of the evidence of scepticism and disbelief in an after-life or at least in a mythical underworld has suggested, I believe, that, whereas such sentiments find direct expression in writers like Cicero and in some of the epitaphs, they are conveyed by hint and suggestion in most of the poets, with the exception of Lucretius whose poem has a clear-cut credo. I shall tackle more of the colourings which Roman religious motifs relating to death and after-life assume when conveyed by the poets in my investigation of individual themes. On the whole, most of the Roman poetry of the late Republic and early Empire presents a vast wealth of concepts, images, and motifs, some more akin to popular belief and mythology, some more akin to philosophy and abstract theological thought, which show an intense preoccupation with the problems of death and after-life.

Of the numerous themes which this "eschatological" structure suggests I will first examine the notion of the Di Manes, an essentially Roman or Italic notion which, like so much else in Roman religious thought, was gradually contaminated by Greek ideas.¹ Then, I will investigate certain native Roman divinities and figures of a certain or believed Chthonian nature like Orcus, Veiovis, Libitina and Tarpeia, before dealing

¹The concept of the Lemures and Larvae rarely found in poetry I will treat in Appendix 1: Lemures and Larvae, pp. 266ff.

with the imported figures of the Greek underworld like Pluto and Persephone, Hecate, and the demons and infernal monsters, among which we can discern some Roman figures like Cacus, and Italicized Charon and the Furies.¹ Then, I will examine Vergil's Aeneid 6 from three different angles: first, from the point of view of underworld topography;² second, from the point of view of a catabasis, that is, a story of a hero's journey to Hades; and third, from the point of view of Vergil's belief in the destinies of souls and their classification in an after-life. My investigation will be supported also by the evidence of the other Roman poets earlier than or contemporary with Vergil. Lastly, I will treat the Roman concept of the Di Parentes and its relations to Greek hero-worship and Hellenistic ruler-cult.

¹This part of the thesis may be read in conjunction with Appendix 2: The Etruscan Hades and the Romans, pp. 275ff.

²The related topic of Roman Mundus will be examined in Appendix 3: The Mundus, pp. 290ff.

CHAPTER ONE

DI MANES

1. The Concept of the Di Manes

The religious concept of the Di Manes is, according to modern scholars, our best evidence for the Roman belief in the immortality of the soul.¹ The origin of this concept lies in darkness; still, it is generally assumed to be genuinely Roman,² unlike other notions in Roman ritual and thought which can be traced back to the religions of other peoples.

The etymology of the word Manes³ intrigued even the ancients. The popular theory in the linguistic and religious speculation of antiquity was that Manes was associated with an old Latin adjective manus which meant "good".⁴ Thus Manes meant "the good ones" or "the mild spirits"; that is, it was a euphemistic appellation for the dead who were in reality thought to be fearful and noxious. This meaning of Manes has inspired the epitaph (CE 1164): Di Manes, manes sitis. Another theory

¹See Georg Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer (München, 1902), 238; Lattimore, Themes, 95.

²For possible but, in my view, doubtful connections of Manes with the Etruscan religion see K. O. Müller and W. Deecke, Die Etrusker (Graz, 1965), II, 97ff.; Franz Altheim, A History of Roman Religion (London, 1938), 163f.

³See Walde-Hofmann, s.v.

⁴Cf. Varro Ling. 6.4.

connected Manes with (e)manare, "to flow".¹ The first explanation of Manes as a derivative of manus is not without problems,² but, in general, it is more convincing than the second.

The term Manes occurs sometimes alone, as in the phrase en manom from the Duenos inscription which probably dates from the fourth century B.C., and in such authors as Cicero, Livy and Macrobius.³ The ordinary formula in Imperial epitaphs is Dis Manibus. The use of Dei or Di with Manes is, however, older; Deum Manium is found in the dedicatory inscription from Hispellum,⁴ and Livy records the forms Di Manes and Dis Manibus in his formula of devotio (8.9.7; 10.28.13). The antiquity of the concept of the Di Manes is suggested not only by the fact that it has been preserved in Livy's formula of devotio but also by the statements of Livy (1.20.7) and Macrobius (1.13.3) that it was the legendary king Numa who initiated the cult of the Manes. It is generally held that Manes originally meant the undifferentiated mass of the dead, and that it was a vague collective term,⁵ which later acquired additional connotations.

¹Cf. Festus p. 146.20ff., and Paul. Festus pp. 147.7ff., 151.4ff. L.; Serv. Aen. 4.490; Isid. Orig. 8.11.

²See Kurt Latte, Römische Religionsgeschichte (München, 1960), 99, n. 3.

³Cf. Cic. Top. 23.90; Livy 1.20.7; Macrobius 3.9.10.

⁴CIL 1.1410.

⁵Cf. Cic. Leg. 2.9.22 cited on p. 225.

In the formula of devotio found in Livy, however, Di Manes seems to represent the divinities of the underworld in contrast to the celestial gods.¹

Considering the fact that a more or less concrete picture of the underworld was a Greek, not a Roman, creation, we may suppose that at a fairly early date Greek influence broadened the concept of the Manes so that it could signify all the inhabitants of the nether world, divinities of death and spirits of the dead. The shift in meaning of Manes is, on the other hand, not very striking in view of the fact that the Romans considered all their dead as sacred. Apart from the evidence in Cicero² we have the testimony of Plutarch (Roman Questions, 14) that among the ancient Romans no distinction was made between the dead who had been good and those who had been bad during their lives; they were all divi.³

¹Cf. also Paul. Festus, p. 109.4ff. L.; Isid. Orig. 8.11. In Prudent. c. Symm. 1.190-191 the infernal Manes correspond to the Greek ἡρώες. The statement of Paul. Festus, p. 147.7f. L. that Manes meant for the augurs not only the Di Inferi but also the Di Superi is strange and of doubtful authority.

²Cf. also Cic. Leg. 2.22.55: nec vero tam denicales...quam ceterorum caelestium quieti dies feriae nominarentur, nisi maiores eos, qui ex hac vita migrassent, in deorum numero esse voluissent. But Cicero is not entirely consistent in his use of religious terms. We read in Leg. 2.11.27: Quod autem ex hominum genere consecratos, sicut Herculem et ceteros, coli lex iubet, indicat omnium quidem animos immortalis esse, sed fortium bonorumque divinos. Here we have a modification of the basic Roman concept of the Di Manes to accommodate the essentially Greek concept of the deification of heroes. See pp. 244ff.

³Cf. also August. De Civ. D. 3.26.

The basic divinity of the dead¹ from which, judging by Varro (On the Latin Language 6.24: sacrificium...diis Manibus servilibus), not even slaves were excluded made easy the confusion, conscious or unconscious, of the Manes with the Di Inferi, the divinities of the lower world.² However, it may be misleading to assume that this broader meaning was fully accepted or became popular with the public at large.³ I am rather inclined to agree with Latte who thinks that the basic meaning of Di Manes remained that of the "good spirits" in reference to the dead.⁴

Beginning with the Augustan period Di Manes was also used occasionally to indicate the family dead, the Di Parentes.⁵ But this particularization is not as striking as the phenomenon of designating by the terms Manes or Di Manes an individual soul or spirit. Dis Manibus followed by the name of the deceased in the genitive or the dative case is very frequent in Imperial epitaphs, the earliest recorded example being Dis Manibus L. Caecilii Rufi dating from the end of the first century B.C.,⁶

¹One can speak of the immortality, sacredness, and divinity of the dead, that is, use terms which are seemingly different, and still signify the same thing, namely that the dead are free from the limitations of the body and thus closer to the gods.

²See pp. 39ff.

³Cf. W. F. Otto, Die Manen (Darmstadt, 1962), 70f.

⁴Römische Rel., 100.

⁵See p. 225, n. 2.

⁶CIL 14.2464.

and one wonders whether this grammatical paradox of the plural form Manes designating a singular thing¹ could be explained as a development peculiar to the Latin funerary inscriptions. This is improbable as the use occurs in literature earlier than in the epitaphs. Cicero applies the term to a group of individual souls,² and the employment of Manes in cases of single spirits³ becomes customary with the writers of the Augustan age.⁴

It was noted above that Di Manes is our best evidence for the Roman belief in the survival of the soul or (collectively) souls after death. In this sense Manes, "spirit", is contrasted with cinis, cineres, or ossa, "corpse". It is, then, surprising to find in Livy (31.30.5) the phrase omnium nudatos manes which, judging by its context, means "dead bodies". Yet, this can be perhaps understood in that for the ancients "soul" or "spirit" was not conceived as something entirely immaterial, but simply as an ethereal substance which continued the corporeal essence of man in an after-life. Thus it was intelligible to see the

¹We have no evidence that Manes was ever a singular form, grammatically speaking, of the type of aedes; for, while we find early use of Di Manes and the cases Manibus and Manium, we do not have clear singular forms like manem and mani. The formulation Manis deus is only found in the philosophical speculation of a later period. Cf. Apul. De deo Soc. 15.153.

²Pis. 7.16: coniuratorum Manes.

³Cf. Otto, Die Manen, 71f.; Jean Bayet, Histoire Politique et Psychologique de la Religion Romaine (Paris, 1957), 74.

⁴Cf. Livy 3.53.11: manes...Verginiae; 21.10.3: non manes... eius conquiescere viri.

corpse or its remains as the symbolic representation of the spirit.¹ The opposite use, that is, cineres in place of Manes is found in epitaphs.²

2. Manes in Roman Poetry

The wide range of evolution of the concept of Di Manes appears in the usage of Augustan poets, especially Vergil. Manes or Di Manes is not found in the remains of early Latin poetry and drama. This may be accidental but a possible explanation is that some words, such as Manes, set in religious formulas to be used at certain rituals, were avoided in actual life and in literature as ominous.³ This view could also partly explain the general absence of terms designating the soul in the early Roman epitaphs.

The phrase manibu' divis of Lucretius 3.52: et nigras mactant pecudes et manibu' divis / inferias mittunt is probably a poetical transference for Dis Manibus.⁴ The Latin poet

¹On the ethereal nature of the soul see L. B. Paton, Spiritism and the Cult of the Dead in Antiquity (New York, 1921), 71; Otto, Die Manen, 73. See p

²Cf. CIL 6.7261, 11233, 12108, 12315. See p. 21.

³See Latte, Römische Rel., 100.

⁴See Bailey, Lucretius, II, note ad loc.

who discusses here the superstitious practices of men in fear of an underworld, may mean the undifferentiated mass of the dead, the divinities of Hades or both in the sense "realm of the dead", although the word parentant of the previous line, strictly taken,¹ would refer manibu' divis to the family dead. The phrase manibus...divis of another passage in Lucretius (6.759) may be safely identified with the Di Inferi, whereas the Dei manes of 6.764 who are said to lead the souls through the gates of Hades to Acheron may be the infernal "conductors" of souls, like Hermes and the Furies, or the older dead who serve as guides to the newly dead.

In Vergil Aeneid 8.241ff., Hercules reveals the interior of the cave of Cacus² by throwing down its barrier of stone. The "hellish" hideout of the monster is invaded by the light which makes the Manes shiver with fright (246: trepidant immisso lumine Manes). Here we may have the primitive use of Manes for the collective dead, unless Vergil employs the term as an imaginative way of saying "Hades". This latter use is clearer to see elsewhere in Vergil.³ Manes seems to signify the deities of the lower world in contrast to the Di Superi in Vergil Georgics 4.489 (scirent si ignoscere manes; cf. 4.467) and

¹See p. 221.

²See pp. 119-120.

³Cf. Aen. 4.387 (=11.181): manis...sub imos; Aen. 12.384: manis...ad imos; G. 1.243: Manes...profundi. Cf. also Aen. 3.565; Ov. Met. 5.116; Val. Fl. 3.386; Sil. It. 2.296.

Aeneid 10.34 (quae superi manesque dabant; cf. 10.39). It is to these Manes that Turnus addresses a pathetic appeal for assistance or clemency when it appears that he has lost the support of heaven: vos o mihi, Manes, / este boni, quoniam superis averas voluntas (Aeneid 12.646-647). This may also be the meaning of manes in Aeneid 6.896: falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes.¹

It is worthy of note that the term Di Manes never appears in Vergil's works; but we find it in Horace Epodes 5.94: quae vis deorum est manium, where the poem seems to concern the spirits of those who died violently. The dead are also signified by several uses of Manes in Tibullus and Propertius. The witch of Tibullus 1.2 has the power, inter alia, of raising the dead from their tombs and funeral pyres (45-46: manesque sepulcris / elicit et tepido deuocat ossa rogo).² Propertius introduces an elegy with an acknowledgement of the reality of spirits (4.7.1: Sunt aliquid Manes: letum non omnia finit). The form Manis which he uses elsewhere (1.19.1) may mean "ghosts" or "Hades".

More frequent is the use of Manes in reference to an individual soul. Vergil uses the term to designate the spirit of Polydorus (Aeneid 3.63: stant manibus arae), of Hector (3.303-304: libabat cineri Andromache manisque vocabat / Hectoreum ad tumulum), of Eurydice (Aeneid 6.119: si potuit

¹See pp. 152ff.

²See pp. 86ff.

manis accersere coniugis Orpheus), and of Deiphobus (6.506: et magna manis ter voce vocavi). The spirit of Anchises is referred to as patrii manes and Anchisae manes (Aeneid 10.524 and 534).¹ Similar usages are found in Tibullus (3.2.15: ante meos manes animamque recentem) and Propertius (2.8.19: exagitet nostros Manis), where reference is made to the poet's spirit in case of a hypothetical death, and (4.5.3: nec sedeant cineri Manes), where the poet curses the soul of the dead procuress so that she may not find peace.²

In some cases "ashes" and "spirit" are put in contrast. The sepulti manes of Sychaeus are contrasted with his cinis (Aeneid 4.34; cf. 4.427: nec patris Anchisae cineres manisve revelli). Cineres instead of Manes is found in Aeneid 2.587: cineres satiasset meorum.³ By analogy with the plural Manes we find the peculiar formulation of Aeneid 5.81: cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.⁴

¹Cf. Ov. Met. 14.105: et ad manes veniat per Averno paternos.

²Cf. also Ov. Met. 13.448: placet Achilleos mactare Polyxena manes! Pont. 3.1.109: si comes extincti Manes sequerere mariti.

³See p. 18, n. 1.

⁴See R. D. Williams, P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quintus (Oxford, 1960), note ad loc.; Jean Bayet, "Les Cendres d'Anchise: Dieu, Héros, Ombre ou Serpent? (Vergile, Énéide, V 42-103)", in G. Radke, ed., Gedenkschrift für G. Rohde (Tübingen, 1961), 43ff. See p. 236.

There are two intriguing uses of Manes in Horace and Vergil which require special attention. In Horace Odes 1.4.16: iam te premet nox, fabulaeque Manes, the key word fabulae admits both a literal and a metaphorical interpretation. Taken literally fabulae Manes refers to the spirits of tradition, of myth, of popular report. In view of Horace's disbelief in an underworld, however, the same phrase may be translated "the fictitious, non-existent spirits".¹

Still more controversial is Vergil Aeneid 6.743: quisquis suos patimur manes which forms part of Anchises' speech on the immortality of the soul.² Servius explains the cryptic statement in two different ways. On the one hand, he takes Manes to mean "punishments" (supplicia) which mortals have to endure in Hades for sins committed in the body. On the other hand, Manes is taken to allude to the two Genii, the "good" and the "bad" which, as Servius remarks, are allotted to each man at birth. The latter view is not consistent with the Roman belief in a single Genius,³ but it has been accepted by some modern scholars on the assumption that the poet probably thinks here of the Greek concept of the

¹See RE, 14. 1055, s.v. "manes"; McKay and Shepherd, Catullus and Horace, and Nisbet and Hubbard, Horace: Odes, Book 1, note on Hor. Od. 1.4.16. Cf. also Pers. 5.152: cinis et manes et fabula fies.

²See pp. 214ff.

³See Latte, Römische Rel., 103-104; RE, 7A, 1155ff. s.v. "genius". See pp. 246-247.

δαίμων who corrects and purifies the soul to which he is attached.¹

This latter interpretation has been challenged and, I think, justly. Bailey points out that Servius is probably trying to explain the plural Manes by speaking of the two Genii. Manes, however, need not be explained outside Vergil's use of the word. It would not be unnatural to accept the first interpretation of Servius and translate "we each of us suffer for his own dead spirit" or "we each of us suffer our existence as spirits".² This would be consistent with the Orphic-Pythagorean eschatology of Aeneid 6. It is also noted that Manes carries the connotation Genius nowhere in the language or thought of the Augustan age and that Manes and Genius are also regularly distinguished in epitaphs.³ Moreover, I would suggest that the first explanation of Servius, which seems to be the more obvious, was also probably the accepted one among the Vergilian readers in Servius' time. Servius does his duty in citing first the common view, then he offers a more "scholarly" and occult opinion, in which he himself seems to believe, if we judge by the word verius which he uses to contrast it with the former.

¹See Eduard Norden, P. Vergilius Maro: Aeneis, Buch VI (Stuttgart, 1957), 33; RE, 14, 1057-1058; J. P. Jacobsen, Les Manes (Paris, 1924), II, 210.

²Cyril Bailey, Religion in Virgil (Oxford, 1935), 278.

³Cf. CIL 5.246: Manibus et Genio. See Otto, Die Manen, 272. On Vergil's verse see also H. J. Rose, "Quisque suos patimur manes", HTHR, 37 (1944), 45-48. See p. 215, n. 2.

The overall impression which comes from the investigation of the use of the term Manes in the Roman poetry of the Augustan age is that, whatever the variations of context and meaning, the term was always associated with the idea of death and after-life. In the religious and philosophic speculation of the learned the concept of Manes was at times confused with other notions of Roman religion, such as the Lares and the Genius.¹ But for the poets as well as for the ordinary people (if we can judge rightly from the Imperial epitaphs) Manes alluded generally to the divinity of the dead, and evoked feelings of reverence, fear, awe, and sometimes love and tenderness. It must be further noted that some of the adjectives, like gelidus, dirus, impius, maestus, which, in the plural, go with Manes in Imperial epitaphs, suggest that the original meaning of the word, "good spirits", had yielded, at least in the minds of some, to the plainer "ghosts".²

3. The Form and Character of Ghosts

Manes or Di Manes was only one way of speaking of an individual ghost, which could also be called anima or umbra. The term anima, which meant in general "wind" or "breath",³ was particularly suitable for suggesting the fine transparent

¹See G. Radke, Die Götter Altitaliens (Münster, 1965), s.v.; Latte, Römische Rel., 90ff. See p.22, n. 3, and pp. 246f.

²See Roscher, II, 2319.

³See OLD; Walde-Hofmann, s.v.

nature of the soul. The identification of soul and breath appeared in the Roman colloquial expressions agere animam, "giving up the ghost", and efflare animam, "expiring".¹ Life and breath vanish or seem to vanish simultaneously; so they were thought to be identical. Also, the soul was believed to be normally invisible, just as the wind or breath are.²

The description of the soul, however, as a colourless and invisible wind did not lend itself to the popular imagination or to poetry. So, ghosts were charged with colourful attributes which gave vivid expression to their various associations with the worlds of the dead and of the living. In connection with the darkness of the grave or the imagined gloominess of the lower world,³ the souls, especially the noxious souls, were called "black", and received dark offerings, dark plants or fruits, and black beans at the festival of the Lemuria.⁴ This apotropaic festival was also performed at night, as it was mainly at this time that the ghosts of the dead visited the living.⁵ The night shadows being the most terrifying, the souls were also called

¹Cf. Cic. Tusc. 1.9.19.

²Cf. Cic. Sen. 22.79.

³See pp. 117-118.

⁴See pp. 366ff.

⁵According to Serv. Aen. 11.142-143 and D.H. 4.40.5, night was also the proper time for burial in early Roman times.

umbrae. The simulacra or imagines of souls appearing in dreams and visions, as we shall see later, were light, fleeting, impossible to grasp.¹ In such cases the dead usually kept the form which they had at death or burial.² Some would appear shrouded in a white tunic and some as mere skeletons.³ A bird-like ghost was also a frequent representation in ancient literature and art.⁴

Other attributes went beyond the "form" factor to denote the mood or attitude of ghosts. Sorrow usually accompanies death; so, the souls were thought of as sad or gloomy. Mundus cum patet, deorum tristium atque inferum quasi ianua patet, says Macrobius (1.16.18),⁵ probably referring to both the souls of the dead and the Chthonian divinities.⁶ And although it was only certain classes of souls who were thought to be specially

¹See in general O. Waser, "Über die äussere Erscheinung der Seele in den Vorstellungen der Völker, zumal der Griechen", ARW, 16 (1913), 360ff.

²See pp. 35, 205.

³Cf. Plin. Ep. 7.27.13; Sen. Ep. 24.18; Petron. 34.8ff.

⁴See in general G. Weicker, Der Seelenvogel in der alten Literatur und Kunst (Leipzig, 1902); Waser, "Über die äussere...", 337ff.; Norden, Aeneis VI, 224.

⁵See p. 290.

⁶Cf. also Tac. Ann. 16.31; August. De civ. D. 2.11; Arn. 7.20.

ill-disposed towards the living,¹ I imagine that many people had a general fear of ghosts.

Fear is plainly suggested, I think, by most references to ghosts in Roman literature, a fear which one has about things unknown or vaguely perceived. The universality of orderly burial of the dead in early Italy is not inconsistent, as Fowler thinks, with a general belief in the dead as spirits capable of being hostile.² On the contrary, fear besides affection may have motivated such orderly burial. This fear of the dead evident in the literature of late Republican and Imperial times may have something to do with the influence of Etruria on Rome.³ But it is probable that it was native, a relic of primitive times, as it is found in the religion and folklore of most other peoples around the world.⁴ However close was the presence of the dead in their daily affairs, the Romans instinctively felt that death had drawn a sharp line between the living and the deceased.⁵

¹See p. 201.

²Religious Experience, 109.

³See pp. 275ff.

⁴See in general the works, already cited, of Frazer (p.1, n. 1), Cumont (p.4, n. 3), Otto (p.16, n. 3), Paton (p. 17, n. 5); also Erwin Rohde, Psyche (New York, 1966), I-II, passim.

⁵Cf. Franz Cumont, After-Life in Roman Paganism (New York, 1959), 3 and 44ff.

This is suggested by the double aspect of the adjective funestus. A familia funesta is one "in mourning" but also defiled by death and needs purification; such a family is not "clean" (pura).¹

The dead who appeared in dreams and visions were thought to be real and powerful.² Having been deprived of sweet life they were considered to be unhappy, and hence malevolent. The stirring up of malevolent ghosts was a standard practice in magic associated with death.³ It may be that in later times the tales about punishments in the underworld had lost much of their grip on the minds of people;⁴ the instinctive fear of ghosts, however, must have lingered on.⁵ The state may have tried to put a check on the beliefs in mischievous ghosts,⁶ but neither the state's intervention nor science and philosophy

¹Cf. H. Wagenvoort, Roman Dynamism (Oxford, 1947), 133f.; see in general J. M. Toynbee, Death and Burial in the Roman World (London, 1971), 48ff.

²Cf. Cumont, After-Life, 3-4.

³See pp. 86ff.

⁴See p.5, n. 2.

⁵Cf. Suet. Ner. 34.4 and Calig. 59.

⁶Cf. Fowler, Religious Experience, 85.

seem to have managed to reduce it greatly in Imperial times.¹
 The eerie presence of a ghost must have been an ever present possibility for a Roman walking alone at night.²

4. Ghosts in Roman Poetry

The "haunted house" motif used in Plautus' Mostellaria (490ff.) probably did not strike the Romans of Plautus' time as something unusual. Moreover, the exploitation of such devices by the writers of comedy and tragedy in Rome must have contributed much to the dissemination of the belief in ghosts and their power of intervention in human affairs.³ The fragmentary state of Ennius' Annals does not allow us to see how the ghost of Homer was described or if it was described at all in the poet's dream on Mount Helicon.⁴ But we have a revealing description of another dream in the Annals, one which is usually attributed to Ilia and which would refer to the apparition of Aeneas after his death (fr. 28 V.). The girl is frightened out of sleep and in tears; the reality of her dream has almost paralysed her. The image of her holding out her hands in order

¹Cf. E. A. Strong, Apotheosis and After Life (London, 1915), 117.

²U.E. Paoli, Rome: its People, Life and Customs (London, 1963), 279.

³Cf. Cic. Tusc. 1.44.106 for the impact which the appearance of a "plaintive" ghost on stage might have on the Roman audience.

⁴Cf. H. R. Steiner, Der Traum in der Aeneis (Bern, 1952), 9ff.; see p. 191.

to prolong the sight of her father's ghost and the futility of her gesture are reminiscent of the analogous scenes described in Vergil.¹ Cassandra's vision of the dead Hector in Ennius' Alexander (fr. 9 V.) foreshadows again Aeneas' dream of a haggard-looking Hector in Aeneid 2.² Catullus does not seem to have any "ghost" preoccupations; death for him is an eternal sleep.³ Lucretius, true to his belief that the soul is corporeal and is dissolved together with the body, attempts to show that the simulacra of the dead which terrify in sudden apparitions not only sick but also sober men (Cf. 1.132ff.; 4.53ff.) are not real but simply innocuous remains from the projections of the living bodies, which stay in the air after the death of these bodies and create false impressions. It is important that, unlike Catullus, Lucretius admits the possibility of such "ghost" apparitions, although he believes that these can be explained rationally.

The theory which claimed that ghosts appeared in dreams was not, indeed, an easy one to combat. Like other favourite hypotheses it was beyond the range of verification; but for

¹See pp. 36, 181.

²See p. 35. The ghost of Polydorus appearing in the prologue of Ennius' Hecuba frs. I-II V. must also have looked pitiful; cf. E. H. Warmington, Remains of Old Latin (London, 1936), II, pp. 238-239 for the ghost of Deiphilus, the false Polydorus, brought onto the stage, in Pacuvius' Iliona.

³Cf. 5.5-6: nobis cum semel occidit brevis lux, / nox est perpetua una dormienda.

the same reasons it was also removed from the danger of disproof.¹ The poets of the late Republic and early Empire continued to speak of ghosts, sometimes by simply acknowledging the popular belief, and sometimes by using "ghost" scenes in order to enhance the dramatic atmosphere of their works and convey spiritual messages.

Tibullus believes or appears to believe that his future ghost will be endowed with sensation; Delia must be careful not to harm it by overdoing her grief for her lover's death (1.67-3: tu manes ne laede meos, sed parce solutis / crinibus et teneris, Delia, parce genis). Elsewhere we are told that the "pale throng" (pallida turba) of the dead wandering in the underworld have kept the appearance they had at death (1.10.37-38: illic percussisque genis ustoque capillo / errat ad obscuros pallida turba lacus); But the idea of the ghost's "unsubstantial shade" is also found in Tibullus (3.2.9) as well as the concept of the neglected spirits sending to the living 'bad dreams' (mala somnia; 2.6.37).

Propertius deals with ghosts more extensively than Tibullus. The gloomy spirits do not terrify him, though, as much as the idea that together with life he may lose Cynthia's love. He believes that his corpse (funus) will still be in need of love (1.19.2ff.) and he cites the example of Protesilaos, whose shade, yearning to meet his wife, flew home. Similarly, the ghost of Propertius, although in Hades, will continue to belong to his mistress (1.19.11: semper tua dicar imago). It is Cynthia

¹Cf. F. Granger, The Worship of the Romans Viewed in Relation to the Roman Temperament (London, 1895), 33.

who dies first, however, if we judge by a later poem (4.7), "a macabre elegy worthy of Poe or Baudelaire", as Gilbert Highet aptly characterizes it.¹ Cynthia's ghost appears to Propertius in a dream and scolds him for his faithlessness. The ghost is the ghastly shade (lurida...umbra) which escaped from Cynthia's funeral pyre (2) but preserved the appearance of the woman's corpse (3ff.):

Cynthia namque meo visa est incumbere fulcro,
 murmur ad extremae nuper humata viae,
 cum mihi somnus ab exsequiis penderet amoris,
 et quereretur lecti frigida regna mei.
 eosdem habuit secum quibus est elata capillos,
 eosdem oculos: lateri uestis adusta fuit,
 et solitum digito beryllon adederat ignis,
 summaque Lethaeus triuerat ora liquor.
 spirantisque animos et uocem misit: at illi
 pollicibus fragiles increpuere manus.

The poet here makes good use of the popular motifs about ghosts and their appearances with the probable aim of portraying his uneasy conscience. The idea that night is the time of wandering spirits is confirmed by Cynthia herself (4.7.89: nocte vagae ferimur, nox clausas liberat umbras).

Another poem of Propertius, the elegy of Cornelia (4.11), is a very good specimen of his ability to take and exalt the popular belief in the reality of ghosts and the interest these are supposed to take in the living. The belief ceases to be a superstition and becomes the vehicle of tender and humane sentiments. Cornelia's ghost is not malevolent; it is rather

¹ Poets in a Landscape (New York, 1965), 94.

the protecting shade of a virtuous Roman mother and wife, whom death has snatched prematurely. Cornelia is a real dea Parens.¹ But the poem is interesting from another point of view; it testifies to the freedom of language and the variety of terms which a Roman could employ in reference to the soul. The spirit of Cornelia is identified with her "ashes" (14: sum, quod digitis quinque legatur, onus), her "bones" (20: ossa), her "shade" (18 and 91: umbra), and her "image" (83: simulacrum). She also visits her husband at night (81-82: sat tibi sint noctes, quas de me, Paulle, fatiges, / somniaque in faciem credita saepe meam).²

The child to be tortured to death by the witch Canidia in Horace Epodes 5 threatens that his ghost will haunt her when he dies. The description of the ghost as a bird of prey (91-96):

Quin, ubi perire iussus exspiravero,
nocturnus occurram Furor
petamque voltus umbra curvis unguibus,
quae vis deorum est manium,
et inquietis adsidens praecordiis
pavore somnos auferam.

suits well the folk belief of a malevolent spirit.³ It may also be a parody of the same belief, just as the entire poem may be a parody of witchcraft.⁴ References to ghosts in the Odes seem to have a sort of studied ambiguity. Odes 1.24.15: vanae... imagini may simply allude to an "incorporeal ghost", but it

¹ See pp. 220ff.

² See Highet, Poets, 99ff.

³ See works cited on p.27, n. 4.

⁴ See p. 87.

may also point to an "unreal" or "nonexistent spirit". Other expressions concerning death found in Horace like finis (Odes 1.11.2), nox (1.4.16), perpetuus sopor (1.24.5), aeternum exsilium (2.3.27-28) are reminiscent of Catullus' nox perpetua¹ and may be taken literally or as poetic ways of showing the drastic separation from the living which death brings. For Horace there seems to be only one certain way of survival, that is, fame.²

The dead play a major part in the development of Vergil's Aeneid. Ghosts come and go throughout the epic; they terrify but mostly enlighten the living; in any case they cannot be ignored. The form and the circumstances under which they make their appearances in the Aeneid are standard.³ We first have the restless shade (imago) of Sychaeus visiting Dido at night to reveal the circumstances of his death and advise her about the future (1.353-356):

ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago
coniugis ora modis attonens pallida miris;
crudelis aras traiectaque pectora ferro
nudavit, caecumque domus scelus omne retexit.

In somnis makes it clear, I think, that Sychaeus visits Dido in a dream. He also appears in the state in which he died.

¹See p.30, n.3.

²See p.8.

³See Richard Heinze, Virgils epische Technik (Stuttgart, 1957), 313ff. See, in general, E. R. Dodds, The Greeks and the Irrational (Berkeley, 1951), 102ff.

Vergil's description of the dream combines brevity with force.¹

Like Sychaeus Hector appears to Aeneas in the state in which he died or rather in the state his corpse acquired after its maltreatment at the hands of the Achaeans (2.270-273):

in somnis, ecce, ante oculos maestissimus Hector
visus adesse mihi largosque effundere fletus,
raptatus bigis ut quondam, aterque cruento
pulvere perque pedes traiectus lora tumentis.

The ghost feels and behaves like a human being. Its appearance is that of Hector as Aeneas last saw him (cf. Aeneid 1.483-484).² The expression tumentis, "swelling", suggests that Vergil may have adopted a version of the story in which Hector was still alive when dragged at Achilles' chariot-wheels.³ In somnis suggests, I think, that we again have a dream (cf. 2.302: excutor somno).⁴

¹See John Conington, P. Vergili Maronis Opera (London, 1884), II, notes on Aen. 1.353-356; Steiner, Der Traum, 23ff.; cf. ibid., 44ff.

²See R. G. Austin, P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Secundus (Oxford, 1964), notes on Aen. 2.270-273.

³See Austin, ibid., note on Aen. 2.273. Sophocles Ajax 1029-1031 echoes the same version, which has an enhanced dramatic value.

⁴See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note on Aen. 2.270. See Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 25ff.; Steiner, ibid., 29ff.; Austin, ibid., 129ff. The theme is developed in Ov. Met. 12.269ff. See, in general, I. B. Stearns, The Dream in Latin Poetry (Princeton, 1924).

However, we must view Creusa's appearance to Aeneas later in the same book as a clear-cut vision, since the hero is not asleep at the time (2.771-774):

quaerenti et tectis urbis sine fine ruenti
infelix simulacrum atque ipsius umbra Creusae
visa mihi ante oculos et nota maior imago.
obstipui, steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit.

Creusa's shade which is larger than life-size¹ is referred to by a variety of forms (simulacrum, umbra, imago). The apparition has a great impact upon Aeneas; he is petrified. Creusa of course reveals herself not to terrify but to instruct, like Hector. And when the proper revelations have been made to Aeneas her "thin" shade recedes off into the air and disappears (2.790-794):

haec ubi dicta dedit, lacrimantem et multa volentem
dicere deseruit, tenuisque recessit in auras.
ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia circum;
ter frustra compresa manus effugit imago,
par levibus ventis volucrique simillima somno.

The image of the unsubstantial ghost that cannot be grasped is frequently used in Vergil² and is meant to impress upon his readers the incorporeal character of the dead.

The ghost of Polydorus reveals itself by means of a

¹ Austin, Aeneid 2, note on Aen. 2.273, observes that Creusa's appearance has a touch of apotheosis with the superhuman stature of her ghost and cites parallel passages in Ov. Fast. 2.503; Suet. Claud. 2; Tac. Hist. 4.83.1 and Juv. 13.220ff.

² Cf. G. 4.499-502; Aen. 5.740, 6.292-294, 700-703. The archetype is found in Homer Il. 23.99-101 and Od. 11.206-209. On Creusa's appearance see Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 57ff. and Austin, Aeneid 2, 278-279, 286.

prodigy: blood coming out of the bush roots under which Polydorus is buried (Aeneid 3.26: horrendum et dictu...mirabile monstrum), which makes Aeneas shudder and congeals his blood. The ghost is not visible but speaks from inside the tomb, reveals the past and directs the Trojans as to what they should do. The ghost is honoured with a new and proper funeral, the setting up of an altar, and appropriate sacrificial offerings, the purpose being to appease and mollify its misery.¹

An exceptional note in Vergil's Aeneid, Anna's question of whether the dead really care about things on earth,² finds its answer in the epic itself, and this answer is a firm yes. It is not only Dido who is troubled by dreams (Aeneid 4.9: quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!), probably featuring the ghost of her late husband Sychaeus; Anchises' shade (imago) also visits his son at night and, as the hero himself admits, puts him in a fright (Aeneid 4.351-353):³

me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris
nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago.

At another crucial moment of the epic the shade of Anchises (facies) descends, with Jupiter's sanction, from heaven at night to reassure and guide his son (Aeneid 5.721ff.).

¹See B. Grassman-Fischer, Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis (München, 1966), 92ff.

²See p. 10.

³See Steiner, Der Traum, 47f.

Dido's curse on Aeneas is based again on the belief in ghosts. She threatens to pursue the hero from her grave in the form of an ever-present malevolent ghost (Aeneid 4.385-386: cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, / omnibus umbræ locis adero).¹ We meet Dido again in the underworld, with the signs of her suicide still visible on her body (Aeneid 6.450: recens a vulnere), her rage subdued but her rancour persisting.²

The typical attributes of ghosts, which were briefly enumerated earlier and illustrated in some of the passages quoted, are found again in Vergil's description of the shades of the dead in Hades.³ On the whole, Vergil's ghosts are presented in the forms which must have appealed to the popular imagination, but have been retouched by his poetic genius and made more impressive and ethereal. The nature and meaning of his "ghost" scenes are intricately bound with the design of his works and his philosophy of death, matters which admit a variety of interpretations.⁴ Unlike Lucretius, however, whose voice is nevertheless echoed often in Vergil's works, the latter poet's ambition appears to be to rescue the common beliefs in ghosts to a higher plane, that is, use them as vehicles of spiritual messages.

¹See p. 33.

²See pp. 174-175.

³See pp. 199ff.

⁴See pp. 162ff.

CHAPTER TWO

DI INFERI

PART ONE

The phrase Di Ineri¹ is usually employed by ancient writers to designate the divinities of the underworld in contrast to the celestial gods, the Di Superi. Terence gives us an expressive example of this use (Phormio 687-688): ut tequidem omnes di deaeque-superi ineri- / malis exemplis perdant!² It is, however, also found as a synonym for, as well as a complementary adjective of, Di Manes and Di Parentes. Di Ineri is found to accompany both Manes and Parentes in epitaphs in the meaning "spirits of the dead".³ In general the term Di Ineri or simply Ineri seems to correspond to the Greek terms οἱ κάτω, οἱ ἑνερθε, οἱ χθόνιοι, ὑποχθόνιοι, καταχθόνιοι, which may be interpreted as either the dead, the Chthonian divinities, or both. Deus Inferus or Infernus may have been originally meant to translate the singulars of the above Greek terms, just as Dis Pater may be a translation

¹See Walde-Hofmann; Ernout-Meillet, s.v. "inferus".

²Cf. Liv. Andr. Od. 31-32 (in Warmington, Remains, II): Inferus / an superus tibi fert deus funera?; Cic. Lael. 3.12: ...ut ex tam alto dignitatis gradu ad superos videatur potius quam ad inferos pervenisse; Livy 1.32.10: dique omnes caelestes vosque terrestres vosque inferni, audite; CIL 9.5813: Di superi et iferi [sic].

³Cf. CIL 2.4424, 10.138: Dei manes ineri; CIL 2.238, 2464: Dei ineri manes.

of the Greek form Πλούτων.¹ In their references to the Di Inferi the early Latin poets may indeed follow a literary tradition, probably initiated by Livius Andronicus, of adapting Greek religious terms to the Latin.²

The late Republican age shows a considerable variety in the usage of inferus. Cicero Tusculan Disputations 1.5.10: apud inferos seems to mean "in Hades", while Cicero Against Vatinius 6.14: inferorum animas obviously refers to the "souls of the dead".³ Livy 26.32.4: si ab inferis existat rex Hiero is reminiscent of Cicero Against Catilina 2.9.20: Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus. In both passages an allusion to the "realm of the dead" is, I think, meant.

Vergil appears to prefer infernus to inferus, probably for metrical reasons. We have Aeneid 3.386: inferni...lacus (in reference to the lake Avernus);⁴ 5.731-732: Ditis...infernas ...domos;⁵ 6.106: inferni ianua regis;⁶ 6.138: Iunoni infernae

¹See p. 76.

²See p. 77.

³Cf. also Tac. Ann. 2.28: infernas umbras; 13.14: infernos Silanorum Manis.

⁴See p. 123.

⁵See pp. 118ff.

⁶See pp. 122ff.

(in reference to Proserpina); 7.325: infernus...tenebris; 8.244: infernus...sedes (in reference to the cave of Cacus).¹ In Aeneid 12.199, Latinus invokes in prayer, among other powers, the underworld as the embodiment of infernal force and as the temple of severe Dis (vimque deum infernam et duri sacraria Ditis). The notions "hellish" and "Chthonian" are also rendered, in Vergil, by the use of the superlative imus: e.g., Georgics 4.471: Erebi de sedibus imis; Aeneid 6.404: imas Erebi...ad umbras.²

Infernus colours also some of the underworld images of Propertius and Ovid. Propertius 3.5.14: inferna...rate refers to Charon's boat,³ and 1.9.20: infernae...rotae alludes to Ixion's wheel,⁴ while the Styx is poetically expressed by the phrase palus inferna in Ovid Fasti 2.610.⁵

Di Inferi or Inferni of the Augustan poets seem to mean no longer the vague divinities of early Roman religion, that is, the mass of Chthonian spirits or the undifferentiated totality of the dead, if in fact the term was ever used along with Manes for such a purpose. They mostly allude to the concrete figures of the Greek Hades, whom we know partly from Homer and who seem

¹See p. 120.

²See p. 39, n. 3.

³See p. 101.

⁴Cf. Prop. 4.11.23: Ixionis orbis.

⁵See pp. 134ff.

to have been imported into Rome from Greek lands. The Roman Hades of classical times may indeed be identified with the Greek Hades depicted in the literature and iconography of earlier centuries.

The question arises whether the Romans themselves had a native concept of the underworld, that is, of a common abode of the dead, which can be discerned under the superstructure of Greek and possibly Etruscan elements; whether there were any native Roman Chthonian divinities whom we can name, and whether the primitive type of deification which we find in the cases of the Roman Di Manes and Di Parentes¹ ever made special allowances for particular dead before the intrusion of Greek hero-worship.²

Claims of connection with death and the underworld have been made for the Lares and the Genius, but I do not find them very convincing.³ I would moreover be hesitant to group together such disparate figures as Dis Pater, Larentia, and Veiovis, and to see in them the collective powers of the underworld, which the early Latins supposedly designated by the term Manes.⁴ Of the

¹See pp. 220ff.

²See pp. 241ff.

³See Cyril Bailey, Phases in the History of Roman Religion (Berkeley, 1932), 50, 103-107; Otto, Die Manen, 74ff. See pp. 22, 24, 46, 246-247.

⁴Cf. Bailey, ibid., 102.

various masculine and feminine representations of genuine or believed Italic underworld divinities, however, I have chosen to examine for their special interest Orcus, Veiovis, Libitina, and Tarpeia.

1. Orcus

Granted that Dis Pater is a translation for the Greek Pluto¹ the only masculine representation of a Roman underworld divinity seems to be Orcus. There is, in fact, no doubt that Orcus, whatever his original nature, was essentially associated with the dead. The identification of Orcus with either the ruler of the underworld or the underworld itself is found in many prose authors of the classical period and after.² The evidence from poetry is earlier. We have the phrase Orchi traditus thesauro in the famous epitaph of Naevius preserved in Gellius (1.24.2).³ In his Andromacha Ennius speaks of the Acherusian temples or regions of Orcus (Scenica 107 V.: Acherusia templa alta Orci), uses in his Annals Orcus in the meaning "death" (Incerta fr. 73 V.: nam me gravis impetus Orci / Percutit in latus), and in his Euhemerus he makes the revealing statement that for some Romans

¹See pp. 40, 44, 76.

²Cf. Varro Ling. 5.66; Cic. Nat. D. 3.43-44, Verr. 2.4.111; Apul. Met. 3.9 and 8.12; Hyg. Fab. 139.1; Paul. Festus p. 115.6 L.; August. De Civ. D. 7.16. As late an author as Macrobius uses the term Orcus when he speaks of the Thanatos figure of Euripides' Alcestis (5.19.4: in scaenam Orcus inducitur gladium gestans). Orcinus was called the ex-slave who had gained his freedom at his master's death. See in general Walde-Hofmann, s.v. "Orcus".

³Cf. Ennius Scen. 245 V.: Mortis thesauri.

Orcus corresponded to Greek Pluto (Varia 78 V.: Pluto Latine est Dis Pater, alii Orcum vocant). Orcus seems to be a popular figure in Plautus and in most cases it is the god of the underworld rather than the underworld itself that is meant. We have Pseudolus 795: Orcus recipere ad se hunc noluit; Captivi 283: nunc uiuatne necne, id Orcum scire oportet scilicet; Asinaria 606: apud Orcum te uidebo.¹

Ennius and Plautus, however, may not refer to the original Orcus, the Italic Orcus, if we assume that there was one; and this hypothetical Orcus may not have been a divinity but a representation of the "abode of the dead" or something similar. The origin of Orcus is indeed an open question. Was the name Orcus originally the name of a place or of a deity?² On the evidence of Vergil Georgics 1.276-278: Ipsa dies alios alio dedit ordine Luna / felicitis operum. quintam fuge: pallidus Orcus / Eumenidesque satae where, as in Hesiod Works and Days 802-804, the farmer is advised to avoid the fifth day of the month as unlucky because Orcus was born on that day, Wissowa thinks that the Latin Orcus must have originated in the Greek Horcos, the god of oaths.³ This is possible⁴ and we should not dismiss it

¹ Cf. also Plaut. Most. 499, Poen. 344, Bacch. 368.

² See H. Wagenvoort, Studies in Roman Literature, Culture and Religion (Leiden, 1956), 104.

³ Religion und Kultus, 310.

⁴ See Latte, Römische Rel., 156.

as a word-game, as Dumézil does;¹ but even if we assume that Vergil echoes Hesiod, still we have no proof that Orcus originated in the Greek Horcos.²

As a key for determining the original character of Orcus Wagenvoort considers the expression Orci fauces, which he takes to be a survival from early Roman times.³ We have various literary examples of the expression fauces (Vergil Aeneid 6.273: primis in faucibus Orci; Apul. Met. 7.7: me...mediis Orci faucibus...evasi) which are reminiscent of the fauces of a Roman house, that is, the interval between the vestibulum and the atrium, the "jaws" or "throat" of the house entrance.⁴ Disregarding this technical relationship between the term fauces Orci and the Roman domus Norden, commenting on the Vergilian passage cited above, thought that fauces Orci alluded to a popular concept of the ruler of Hades as a wild animal with terrible jaws, and to support his argument he cited Lucretius 1.852: leti sub dentibus ipsis. Our evidence of an

¹La religion romaine archaïque (Paris, 1966), 362, n. 1.

²Wagenvoort, Studies, 105; T. E. Page, P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica (London, 1898), notes on Verg. G. 1.277: "There is no connection between Ὀρκος and Orcus but Virgil clearly treats them as the same word, and the link which joins their different meanings in his mind may be some recollection of the fact that the Styx was the great oath of the gods".

³Studies, 109ff.

⁴See in general Erik Wistrand, "Virgil's Palaces in the Aeneid", Klio, 38 (1960), 146-154. See pp. 90, 128, 149.

animal-type death in Roman literature is non-existent, although we know of Cerberus and we have a reference to the jaws of Cerberus in Apuleius (Met. 4.20: faucibus ipsis hiantis Cerberi).¹

Wagenvoort's own explanation of the original Orcus is partly based on the existence in the ancient world of caves, crevices, and other places held to be entrances to the underworld, and to the plastic representations in ancient literature of Hades as a sort of space resembling a vessel with a narrow neck like the pitcher of the same type, which the Romans called orca. Thus, argues Wagenvoort, we may relate Orcus and orca etymologically,² further relate both to arcere, and recall the Greek pithoi which are found in relation to death.³ He concludes that Orcus may be a word parallel to orca, like the pairs capsus-capsa, portus-porta, where the -us form means the larger and stronger, while the -a form means the smaller and weaker,⁴ and in this sense Orcus must have been originally not the name of a god, but of a place, the underworld imagined as a great pitcher with a narrow neck.⁵

¹Wagenvoort, Studies, 110. See pp. 103ff.

²Cf. Isid. Orig. 8.11.42.

³There is a particular Attic tomb lekythos which shows Hermes in his role of conductor of souls and a pithos or jar, out of which souls, naked winged figures, are floating. See J. E. Harrison, Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion (Cleveland and New York, 1959), 43. See p. 82, n. 4.

⁴Cf. animus-anima, where animus stands for the spiritual or rational principle of life in man, opposed to anima, the principle of physical life.

⁵Wagenvoort, Studies, 129.

Wagenvoort's discussion of a non-personal original Orcus is scholarly and ingenious; yet, apart from the fact that Norden's contention of an animal-type original Orcus should not be entirely dismissed, the relationship of Orcus to orca, the main prop of Wagenvoort's theory, is not proven, and we have other explanations of Orcus in association with the words urgere and oriri.¹

The origin of Orcus being very difficult to elucidate we can only note more examples of its double application, in the meanings "ruler of Hades" and "underworld", in the poetry of the late Republican and early Imperial times. Lucretius 1.115: tenebras Orci...vastasque lacunas as well as 6.762: ianua...Orci most probably allude to the lower world, while 5.996: horriferis accibant vocibus Orcum must refer to Pluto. Catullus 3.13-14: malae tenebrae Orci probably uses Orcus in the sense "underworld", although the passage is also a poetic way of speaking of the "nothingness of death". Tibullus 3.3.38: diues in ignaua luridus Orcus aqua aptly combines the ideas of the darkness and inanity of the lower world with the idea suggested by the Latin Dis (dives=rich) and the Greek Pluto. Propertius 3.19.27: Minos... arbiter Orci recalls Horace Odes 2.18.34: satelles Orci (that is, Charon), and Vergil Georgics 4.502: portitor Orci (Charon, again) and Aeneid 8.296: ianitor Orci (that is, Cerberus). Orcus is here the sovereign of Hades who is assisted by Charon and the dog of the underworld in their respective roles of ferryman and

¹See Radke, Die Götter, s.v. "Orcus".

gate-keeper. Orcus as the "abode of the dead" is found in Horace Odes 1.28.10-11: Panthoiden iterum Orco / demissum; 3.11.28-29: seraque fata / quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco, and Vergil Aeneid 2.398: multos Danaum demittimus Orco. Aeneid 9.785: iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco? suggests a god capable of feeling.

In conclusion it should be noted that Orcus seems never to have been an object of cult and to have had no sanctuaries. Compared, however, to the rather abstract notions of Mors, Morta, and Fatum, in their meaning "death", Orcus strikes us in his occurrences in literature and epigraphy¹ as something very real and vivid.²

2. Veiovis

The oldest form of the name Veiovis which intrigued Cicero (On the Nature of the Gods 3.62: in multis enim nominibus haerebitis. Quid Veiovi facies?) is Vediovis, if we judge by the notices of the calendars.³ Veiovis is an obscure figure. He is nowhere mentioned in Roman poetry with the exception of Ovid, who, presumably following the Roman calendar, records in his Fasti the name Vediovis twice and supplies us with valuable,

¹Cf. CIL 2.488, 3.3624, 10.3003.

²See Pease, Aeneid 4, 248-249 and 534-535.

³See Latte, Römische Rel., 43. Mart. Cap. 2.166 records also the name Vedius, which A. von Blumenthal, "Zur römischen Religion der archaischen Zeit", RhM, 90 (1941), 313, takes to be the original form of the god's name.

though ambiguous, information on the nature and the cult of the god (3.429-448):

Una nota est Marti Nonis, sacrata quod illis
 templa putant lucos Vediovis ante duos.
 Romulus ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,
 "quilibet huc" dixit "confuge, tutus eris."
 O quam de tenui Romanus origine crevit!
 turba vetus quam non invidiosa fuit!
 ne tamen ignaro novitas tibi nominis obstet,
 disce, quis iste deus, curque vocetur ita.
 Iuppiter est iuvenis: iuvenalis aspice voltus;
 aspice deinde manum, fulmina nulla tenet.
 fulmina post ausos caelum adfectare Gigantes
 sumpta Iovi; primo tempore inermis erat.
 ignibus Ossa novis et Pelion altius Ossa
 arsit et in solida fixus Olympus humo.
 stat quoque capra simul: nymphae pavissee feruntur
 Cretides; infanti lac dedit illa Iovi.
 nunc vocor ad nomen. vegrandia farra colonae
 quae male creverunt, vescaque parva vocant.
 vis ea si verbi est, cur non ego Vediovis aedem
 aedem non magni suspicer esse Iovis?

Ovid informs us that the seventh day of March was formally registered as the anniversary of Vediovis' temple consecrated at the site of the Asylum on the Roman Capitol. He admits the obscurity of the name Vediovis (novitas, curve), which he tentatively explains as "Small Jupiter" on the analogy of vegrandis, "small", and vescus, "weak, small".¹ The identification of the cult statue of the god with the representation of a youthful Jupiter, still lacking the thunderbolts (which he only assumed after the Giants had dared to challenge him) and accompanied by a female goat which Ovid takes to be Amalthea of

¹ Vē- is a particle which either negates or strengthens the word with which it is compounded: e.g., vesanus and vecors, "senseless" or "insane", vepallidus, "very pale"; see Lewis-Short, s.v. In this sense Vediovis (Ve+diovis, Greek δίογ) could mean not "Small Jupiter" but "Anti-Jupiter".

the myth, also appears to be tentative, if not fanciful.

We find Veiovis connected or confused with Jupiter also in Livy. Under the year 200 B.C. Livy (31.21.12) refers to the vowing of a temple to Jupiter (deo Iovi, according to the MSS.), by the praetor Lucius Furius Purpurio during the Gallic war. This temple is said to have been dedicated six years later by Gaius Servilius on the Tiberine island (Livy 34.53.7). No trace of this temple has been found. Then, under the year 192 B.C. Livy (25.41.8) informs us that two temples to Jupiter (aedes...duae Iovi) were dedicated on the Capitol by the duumvir Quintus Marcius Ralla, and that of these two temples one had been vowed by Lucius Furius Purpurio in his capacity of praetor during the Gallic war, and the other by the same man under his consulship. We have no remains of two or even one temple to Jupiter on the Capitol in addition to the great temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, nor any other literary evidence in support of this fact. On the contrary, a temple of Ve(d)iovis on the Capitol is mentioned by Vitruvius (4.8.4) besides Ovid, and excavations in 1939 confirmed the information. The remains of the temple date from its restoration in 78 B.C., when the Tabularium was built, and were found behind that building. Under the podium there exists an earlier temple from the middle of the second century B.C. and also traces of the original temple, which may be concealed under the phrase aedes...duae Iovi of Livy, to be probably amended to aedes Diiuvi. On the other hand the idea of a temple to Jupiter on the Tiberine island is also

supported by the evidence of Ovid, who places it beside one to Aesculapius (Fasti 1.293-294), and Vitruvius (3.2.3), where the temple is mentioned together with one to Faunus. The calendars, however, speak of a sanctuary to Vediovis on the Island,¹ and in view of the lack of any traces of the Island Jupiter temple and of the amended passage of Livy concerning the temple on the Capitol one is tempted to amend Livy's text in the other two places as well from deo Iovi to Vediovi. After all, Lucius Furius Purpurio is mentioned in all three instances.² The matter will remain unresolved, however, as we have no remains of a temple, or temples from the Tiberine island.

The excavation of the Veiovis temple on the Capitol also yielded the god's statue, partly broken, which resembles the Apollo Belvedere.³ One wonders whether Ovid was wrong in

¹ See Latte, Römische Rel., 82, n. 1; cf. NSA, 18 (1921), 83: Aesculap [io] Co [ns] o, Vediove.

² Thus Jean Gagé, Apollon Romain (Paris, 1955), 89, assumes that Veiovis had at least two sanctuaries, one on the Capitol and another on the Island. Louise A. Holland, Janus and the Bridge (Rome, 1961), 183, thinks that rather than amend the texts of Livy, Ovid and Vitruvius it is better to face the apparent fact of a temple to Jupiter on the Island associated with that of Aesculapius; the observances of the calendars need not be associated with a real temple (aedes), but with a simple shrine, perhaps an altar (ara).

³ See Ernest Nash, Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome (London, 1968), II, 495. Plin. HN 16.216 mentions that the statue of Veiovis was made of cypress wood but, obviously by mistake, he places it on the Arx.

interpreting Veiovis as a youthful Jupiter rather than as an Apollo-type god, a harmful Apollo, as he figures in Gellius' description of Veiovis' statue (5.12.11):

simulacrum igitur dei Vediovis, quod est in aede, de qua supra dixi (5.12.2-3), sagittas tenet, quae sint uidelicet partae ad nocendum. Quapropter eum deum plerumque Apollinem esse dixerunt; immolaturque ritu humano capra eiusque animalis figmentum iuxta simulacrum stat.

The association of Veiovis with Apollo may be also inferred from the Republican inscription from Bovillae (CIL I 2² 1439): Vediovi patri gentiles Iulii lege Albana dicata, which suggests that the Iulii were united in the gentile cult of Veiovis, in the same way in which they appear to have been associated with the cult of Apollo.¹ On these grounds Louise A. Holland is inclined to think of Veiovis as a type of Hellenistic Apollo. She moreover offers a new hypothesis, that ve- of the name is probably the stem, not a prefix, and that it may be connected with Veii and Veientes.²

The prevailing view among modern scholars, however, has been that Veiovis is a Chthonian divinity. Evidence for this comes from rather late authors. Gellius (5.12.4ff.) attempts to explain the names Veiovis and Jupiter from iuuare, "help", and assigns to Veiovis destructive powers on the basis of the ve- which he takes to negate the rest of the word; so Veiovis has the power to harm, not to help (non iuuandi potestatem, sed

¹ Cf. Serv. Aen. 10.316; see Robert W. Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind at Work (Oxford, 1946), 1ff.

² Janus and the Bridge, 184ff.

uim nocendi). In Macrobius (3.9.10) Veiovis is found along with Dis Pater and the Manes.¹ Further, we have the information in both Ovid and Gellius that a she-goat (capra) was standing by the statue of the god, and we know that this animal had Chthonian associations. Gellius adds that a she-goat was the ordinary sacrifice to Veiovis, administered in the fashion reserved for humans.² Finally we may see a hint of Chthonian connexion in Pliny's statement that the statue of the god was made of cypress wood.³ It is obvious, however, that none of these pieces of evidence can be conclusive.⁴

No modern scholar, as far as I am aware, has been able to solve the enigma of Veiovis. Several hypotheses have been proposed: e.g., that Veiovis was an old Latin volcanic god who later fell into obscurity;⁵ or, that he was an Etrusco-Roman version of the overthrown predecessor of Zeus, Saturn, "a congener

¹Mart. Cap. 2.166 identifies Vedius with Pluto, Dis Pater, and Veiovis; cf. Myth. Vat. 3.6.1.

²That is, according to the sacrificial ritual in honour of the dead. Cf. Paul. Festus p. 91.24 L.: humanum sacrificium dicebant, quod mortui causa fiebat. But see p. 55.

³See p. 51, n. 3.

⁴See p. 55.

⁵See A. L. Frothingham, "Vediovis, the Volcanic God", AJPh, 38 (1917), 370-391.

of Kronos, Salmoxis, Salmoneus, and Kasmilos", and that he originally came from the land of the Kabeiroi near Samothrace.¹ Jean Gage has attempted to make a synthesis of the various pieces of evidence on Veiovis. He thinks that the primitive element in Veiovis is Apolline, but that he was associated in time with Jupiter, probably by the influence on his cult of Zeus Kretogenes, young Zeus born in the holy caves of Crete and worshipped according to the Palaikastro hymn as sacred Kouros. The Faliscans had known analogous cults including rites of passage or transition from puberty. An Italian type of Zeus Kretogenes may have allied itself to the type of Apollo Archegetes and united a beneficiary power of protection to an infernal and harming one.²

In recent years Latte, besides Louise A. Holland, has reviewed the problem.³ Basing his argument on the traditional etymology of Veiovis (prefix vē-, suggesting something negative or undesirable, and stem iov-, from Jupiter), Latte concludes that Veiovis can only refer to a Jupiter who acts against the wishes of his worshippers. Veiovis was at an early date another side of Jupiter that later became independent. This would explain the confusion in Livy's text of the references to temples of Jupiter and Veiovis. We find no strong association of Veiovis

¹See G. W. Elderkin, Kantharos: Studies in Dionysiac and Kindred Cult (Princeton, 1924), 123-133; cf. 135ff.

²Apollon Romain, 39ff.

³Römische Rel., 81ff.

with the underworld. The nones of March, the day sacred to Veiovis, is marked in the Roman calendar as "holy" (fastus), not "unholy" (nefastus), as one would expect for a Chthonian divinity. The cypress wood of the cult statue mentioned in Pliny need not have underworld associations;¹ also, the she-goat associates Veiovis with Apollo rather than with the underworld gods.² Macrobius' formula of devotio is probably apocryphal,³ and Gellius' information about the sacrifice of a she-goat to Veiovis was probably made up to explain the presence of the animal by the statue of the god. The fictitious character of Gellius' statement, according to Latte, is also suggested by his reference to the "human rite" (humanus ritus) which Gellius arbitrarily takes to mean "Chthonian" in general.⁴

On the whole, Veiovis, the "Small Jupiter" of Ovid,⁵ and "Anti-Jupiter" of Gellius, the god whom Varro (On the Latin Language 5.74) lists among the believed imports into early Rome of the king Titus Tatius, appears to be as enigmatic to us as he

¹Cf. Livy 27.37.12 on the two likenesses of Juno Regina made of cypress wood.

²Cf. Livy 25.12.13; Macr. 1.17.20.

³This may also be the case in the Martianus Capella passage. See p.53, n. 1.

⁴See p.53, and n. 2.

⁵Cf. Paul. Festus p. 519.21-23 L.: Ve...syllabam rei parvae praeponabant, unde Vediovem parvum Iovem...dicebant.

was to the ancients.¹

3. Libitina

Libitina, like Veiovis, poses first of all a problem of etymology. Varro derives the name from lubere (libere) and considers it to be an epithet appropriate to Venus.² This, however, may be nothing more than the popular etymology of the word in Varro's day. The name Libitina was also associated with Etruscan lupu, "dead", and with libare (Greek λεῖβω).³

Dionysius of Halicarnassus (4.15.5) refers to a prescription of Servius Tullius by which a fee should be paid to the treasury of Juno Lucina for every child born and one to the treasury of Venus Libitina for everyone who passed away. The "grove" (lucus) of Libitina, which, according to Dionysius, contained the treasury has been tentatively located by archaeologists on or near the Esquiline hill.⁴ A register of deaths seems to have been kept at that place,⁵ where were also preserved the requisites for burials and given out for use on payment.⁶ This last piece of

¹See in general Radke, Die Götter, s.v. "Veiovis".

²Cf. also Serv. Aen. 1.720; August. De civ. D. 4.8.

³See Walde- Hofmann; Ernout-Meillet, s.v. "Libitina".

⁴See Radke, Die Götter, s.v. "Libitina".

⁵Cf. Suet. Ner. 39; Oros. 7.711: ratio Libitinae.

⁶Cf. Phaedrus 4.21.26; Plut. Quaest. Rom. 23.

information is indirectly confirmed by Livy,¹ and by the expressions: Libitinam facere (Dessau 6085), Libitinae quaestus (Hor. Sat. 2.6.19), and Libitinam exercere (Val. Max. 5.2.10). Moreover, the funeral undertakers were called Libitinarii,² and we hear of a porta Libitinensis in the Flavian amphitheatre, through which the bodies of dead gladiators were dragged out.³

All this evidence suggests that Libitina stood in direct relation to death. In fact, sometimes Libitina stands, by metonymy, for "death": e.g., Horace (Odes 3.30.6-7): non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei / vitabit Libitinam; Juvenal (12.122): si Libitinam evaserit aeger; Martial (8.43.4): una duos ut Libitina ferat.⁴ The problem is whether Libitina was thought of as an independent divinity, a goddess presiding over burials, a funereal side of Venus, or perhaps nothing more than the name of a place, that acquired in time funereal associations and was somehow personified.

¹Cf. 40.19.3: Pestilentia... tanta erat ut Libitina funeribus vix sufficeret; also 41.21.6.

²Cf. Sen. Ben. 6.38: dissignatores... libitinarios; Dig. 14.3.8: libitinarius. The word is post-Augustan. Cf. Cic. Leg. 2.24.62; scholium of Acron on Hor. Epist. 1.7.6. Libitinarius is found in CIL 6.9974, 33870 etc.

³Cf. H. S. A. Commod. 16.7.

⁴In the Martial passage Libitina may be naturally translated by "bier" (Latin feretrum).

The problem of Libitina's associations with Venus is not easy to solve.¹ Plutarch (Numa 12) refers to Libitina as a divinity who presides over the religious observances relating to the dead (τὰ περὶ τοὺς θνήσκοντες ὅσια), and tentatively identifies her with Persephone, and (in conformity with the prevailing view among Roman scholars) with Venus. Elsewhere (Roman Questions 23) Plutarch, true to his love of finding analogies between the Greek and Roman religions, compares Libitina with the Greek Ἀρροδία, Ἐπιτυρία. We suspect that there is some amount of personal religious speculation in the passages of Plutarch, but we do have the explicit statement of the official, or at least learned, opinion in Rome of Libitina as a kind of Venus of the dead, and we have no reason to doubt the sincerity of the statement.

Such a type of funereal Venus has not been attested in Latin literature outside the case of Libitina.² Some people have thought, however, that the connection of Venus with Libitina is an original and fundamental one. So Hild, who derives the name from libitum, "desire", attempts to explain the obvious contradiction between the term and its death associations by assuming either an "antiphrasis" of the case of Manes, "the good

¹See H. Wagenvoort, "De Deae Veneris Origine", Mnemosyne, 17 (1964), 59-60, for criticism of some modern scholarship on the subject.

²Tib. 1.3.57-58: sed me.../ ipsa Venus campos ducet in Elysios, should not be taken as evidence of a belief in a Venus Libitina, a conductress of souls to the Beyond, but as a poetic reflection of the ancient popular idea that any god might lead his favourite souls to their permanent abode. See Rohde, Psyche, II, 544, n. 146.

spirits", or the working of an idea, frequent in ancient literature, which associates the joy of life with the sorrow for death's finality.¹ The suggestion, I think, is acceptable only if Libitina derives from libitum, but this is not certain. On the same grounds it is hard to see how one could speak of representations of Venus Libitina in art.²

Wissowa has thought that there was originally a goddess Libitina who was later confused with Venus Lubentia, Lubentina, and Libentina,³ and was made a Venus by deriving her name from lubere, lubido, together with the other names, and who probably belonged to the Di Novensides. The cult of Libitina must have early fallen into neglect, argues Wissowa; that is why the learned men like Varro confused Libitina and Venus.⁴ Latte also thinks that originally Venus had nothing to do with Libitina, and that it was religious speculation which confused them.⁵ He notes that

¹Dar.-Saglio, III, 1221. For the idea see p. 8.

²A. Grenier, Les Religions Étrusque et Romaine (Paris, 1948), 53, 64, 154; Wissowa in Roscher, II, 2035.

³Religion und Kultus, 245; cf. Grenier, Les Religions, 111.

⁴In Roscher, II, 2034.

⁵Römische Rel., 185, n. 2.

the term Venus Libitina is actually found only in Dionysius of Halicarnassus,¹ and Placidus,² that the name Libitina seems to have an adjectival provenance, like the names of other divinities of particular places, and that Libitina must have indeed been originally the divinity of the grove named after her. He adds, I think rightly, that we cannot know why burials were connected with Libitina. It may be that Libitina already had associations with death, or that her grove was picked as a suitable place for an office combining the funeral home with a civic death register.

I am inclined to accept the hypothesis which considers Libitina to have been the nymph or the goddess of the grove called after her, and that the confusion with Venus, as Radke suggests,³ originated in the fact that at a particular time a shrine or temple to Venus was built in that grove.⁴ This position conforms to the views of Wissowa and Latte. It should be pointed out, however, that nowhere do we find a reference to a temple or a cult of Libitina. The term *θησαυρός*, which Dionysius of Halicarnassus uses, means simply "treasury", a store-place for

¹See p. 56.

²In Gloss. Lat., 4 p. 26.

³Die Götter, s.v. "Libitina".

⁴Cf. Festus p. 322.17ff. L.: Veneri templa sunt consecrata, alterum ad Circum Maximum, alterum in luco Libitinensi, quia in eius deae tutela sunt horti.

money (aerarium), and Plutarch's στέμνον (Roman Questions 23) stands, I think, for the Latin lucus, "grove". Neither do we find a reference to a goddess Libitina in Roman literature or elsewhere. In view of this I consider it far-fetched to speak of Libitina as one of the divinities of specialised function (indigitamenta),¹ or one of the imported deities (Di Novensides),² or a goddess whose cult went back to the time of Servius Tullius.³ Libitina may have originally been merely the name of that grove, or at the most the name of the nymph or divinity of the place. This nymph or spirit who was later invested with funereal associations and confused with Venus for the reasons discussed above seems to have never assumed the status of a goddess of death to be worshipped, prayed to, and placated. Still, as we saw, Libitina might mean by metaphor "death", and such a metaphor must have been so commonplace, as Latte suggests,⁴ that it was avoided in higher poetry with the exception of Horace (Odes 3.30.7).⁵

¹Fowler, Religious Experience , 159.

²See p. 59.

³Radke, Die Götter, s.v. "Libitina".

⁴In RE, 13, 113.

⁵See p. 57.

4. Tarpeia

There are many versions of the story of Tarpeia¹ in the ancient tradition, but in almost all of them Tarpeia is a Roman traitress, who betrays the Capitol to the enemy and is crushed to death under the enemy's shields. The historian Lucius Calpurnius Piso, however, deviated from the general pattern of the myth by denying the treachery of Tarpeia, since this seemed to him inconsistent with a religious custom by which the grave of Tarpeia on the Capitol was honoured annually with libations, presumably similar to those made at the festival of the Parentalia in February.² A grave of Tarpeia is also mentioned in Varro (On the Latin Language 5.41), Plutarch (Romulus 18), and Servius (on Aeneid 8.348).³ Livy (1.11.6) refers to Tarpeia as "virgin" (virgo), which may well mean "Vestal".⁴ In Varro Tarpeia is a "Vestal virgin", and Plutarch (Numa 10) names a Tarpeia among the first Vestal virgins.

On this evidence we may wonder whether there was another good Tarpeia, a Vestal, to be distinguished from the traitress.

¹The subject has been discussed by many modern scholars. See H. A. Sanders, Roman Historical Sources and Institutions (London, 1904), 1; Radke, Die Götter, s.v. "Tarpeia".

²See D.H. 2.40.

³Cf. Festus p. 464.3-5 L.: (Sa)xum Tarpeium appell...tis, qui ob sepultam Tarpeiam...; Prop. 4.4.1-2: Tarpeium nemus et Tarpeiae turpe sepulcrum / fabor...

⁴Cf. Hor. Od. 3.30.8-9: dum Capitolium / scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex; cf. Prop. 4.4.92 and Ov. Fast. 4.639.

Tarpeia of the myth, and who was honoured with yearly offerings at her grave, at least in Piso's time. The idea of a "noble" Tarpeia is also supported by Propertius (1.16.2: ianua Tarpeiae nota pudicitiae), and Festus (p. 496.22ff. L.) who mentions a statue of Tarpeia in the temple of Jupiter built by Metellus, but refers it to the Tarpeia of the myth.

On these grounds, that is, on the fact that a customary yearly offering to Tarpeia's grave is mentioned in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and that various hints of an "honourable" Tarpeia exist in Roman writers, Mommsen thought that the notice in the calendar of Philocalus on the thirteenth of February: Virgo Vestalis parentat must refer to a public offering to the dead at the tomb of Tarpeia, and it was by such an offering made by the Vestals that the festival of the Parentalia began.¹ Sanders accepted Mommsen's conjecture and further surmised that Tarpeia was the earliest Vestal whose name had been handed down, and that the annual libations to her tomb were administered by the chief Vestal under the direction of the Pontifex Maximus.² The statue of Tarpeia mentioned by Festus might be viewed in this context as a representation of the Vestal Tarpeia and should be distinguished from the coins of the Titurian and Petronian families of early Imperial times, which relate to the traitress

¹CIL 1 p. 309 and 386.

²Roman Sources, 40. Sanders wants to connect Hor. Od. 3.30.8-9 (see p. 62, n. 4) with the alleged offering to the grave of Tarpeia; but here Horace has probably no specific ritual in mind; see A. Kiessling and R. Heinze, Q. Horatius Flaccus (Berlin, 1955), I, note ad loc.

Tarpeia. Further, Sanders argues that the name of the Tarpeian cliff, from which the Romans used to throw criminals, especially traitors, most probably took its name from the family of the Tarpeii, which would account for the presence of a grave of Tarpeia there, a grave which would have come from very early times before the regulations of the Twelve Tables which prohibited burial within the city walls (pomerium), and assigned a common burial ground for all Vestals.¹ The traitress Tarpeia of the myth was probably an invention to explain the name of the Tarpeian rock and the grave of Tarpeia at a time when the real events had been forgotten, and the capture of the Capitol by the Sabines had to be accounted for.

Most scholars after Mommsen seem to have accepted his conjecture which combines Piso's information of an annual offering of libations at the grave of Tarpeia with the notice of the calendar of Philocalus on the thirteenth of February.² But they differ as to what the Tarpeia thus honoured represented. Otto makes her the patroness or ancestress of the Gens Tarpeia.³ Wissowa thinks of Tarpeia as the patroness or family-goddess of an old gens, whose original nature was in time forgotten; Tarpeia thus remained in memory only as the heroine of the well-known

¹Roman Sources, 46.

²So William Warde Fowler, Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic (London, 1899), 306.

³"Römische 'Sondergötter'", RhM, 64 (1909), 465.

aetiological story of the capture of Rome by the Sabines.¹

Jackson Knight appears somewhat more original in his view of Tarpeia as a divinity associated with that class of myths found in various peoples, which connects the virginity of certain city-goddesses with the unbroken defence of a city.² Grenier who thinks of Tarpeia as a gentile divinity like Hostia and Feronia also separates her from the legendary figure of Latin historiography, with whom, as he thinks, she has nothing more in common than the sepulchral mound, the heaping up of shields in which she was supposedly buried.³ Finally, Radke conjectures that Tarpeia may have been a foreign importation to Rome,⁴ whose cult was in time forgotten and reduced to a yearly offering at her alleged tomb.⁵

As far as I am aware, it is only Frazer, who, while accepting Mommsen's conjecture, does not distinguish between Tarpeia of the myth and Tarpeia to whom the Vestals made an offering. He thinks that the libations of the Vestals were

¹Religion und Kultus, 233.

²Vergil: Epic and Anthropology (New York, 1967), 237-238; see also 279, n. 44.

³Les Religions, 54 and 118; cf. Bayet, Histoire politique, 74; Dumézil, La Religion romaine, 80.

⁴Tarpeia is not a pure Latin form: see Walde-Hofmann, II, s.v.

⁵Die Götter, s.v. "Tarpeia".

intended to placate the perturbed spirit of the traitress Tarpeia, in other words, these libations had an apotropaic character.¹ The suggestion is interesting in view of the fact that the festival of the Parentalia does not appear to be wholly free of fear.² Frazer's argument, however, like the arguments of the other scholars, rests on the assumption that Mommsen had conjectured well, which is not certain. So at least Latte claims.³ Latte does not dispute the notice of the calendar of Philocalus, although it comes from a later age and is not attested elsewhere. In fact, this notice must indicate a public offering of some kind in correspondence to the private cult of the Parentalia, an offering which in very early times was probably made to the Di Parentes of the Roman king; yet, we do not know to whose Parentes it was made in later times or where exactly in Rome this was performed.

Regardless of whether Tarpeia was a Vestal or not Mommsen's conjecture cannot be accepted unquestionably. Piso's single statement of a yearly offering to the grave of Tarpeia, may not record a fact. In view of the moralising tendencies which the remains of his history display, we may think that he probably made up the statement in order to rehabilitate Tarpeia.

¹The Fasti of Ovid (London, 1929), II, 435.

²See pp. 226ff.

³Römische Rel., 111.

Moreover, claims Latte,¹ there could be no grave on the Capitol, and Tarpeia could not be the parent of anyone; so, she could have no parentatio.

Some of Latte's argument can be, I think, contradicted. For example, Piso's probable desire to see a heroine in Tarpeia does not exclude the existence of a yearly offering to the tomb of a Tarpeia, who, as observed above, need not be identified with the traitress Tarpeia of legend. Piso may have simply confused the two; neither is his statement of the yearly libations something which is easily invented. Also, the possibility of a Tarpeian grave on the Capitol, dating from prehistoric times before the Capitol was included in the Roman pomerium and before the institution of the Twelve Tables, is not to be rejected. On the other hand, parentatio in classical times has a broad meaning and often indicated a general offering to the dead, any dead, not necessarily the Parentes of anyone in particular.² In this sense Tarpeia could qualify as the recipient of a parentatio, especially if we suppose that she was the first Roman Vestal, or even the ancestress of the Tarpeian gens. Latte's caution, however, in regard to Mommsen's conjecture is, I think, sound. In fact, we have no grounds for speaking of Tarpeia as a Chthonian divinity, or sufficient evidence for making her a "heroized" early Roman figure, who, although not worshipped

¹Römische Rel., 111, n. 2.

²See p.233, n. 1.

as a goddess, was regularly honoured in the sacrificial fashion reserved for mortals (humano ritu).¹

PART TWO

Our investigation so far has suggested a primitive type of Roman underworld with vague or doubtful divinities. This picture is consistent with Varro's claim (in August. De civ. D. 4.31) that the early Romans did not feel the need of imagining their gods as concrete figures.² There is no evidence of a Roman Olympus, a common abode of the Di Superi; likewise there was no concept of a kingdom of the dead modelled on the notion of an organised society here on earth.³ Such a concept, however, may be expected to come naturally to man, when he observes his life in society, the need and the normalcy of being there.⁴ The belief in an underworld appears in the religions of most Mediterranean peoples. So, we may assume that the Romans themselves could have developed this belief on their own if they had been given time. As it happened, however, the new concept was an importation from Greece, and not a normal outgrowth of Roman religion.

Once the Greek ideas of Hades reached the great mass of

¹See Franz Bömer, Ahnenkult und Ahnenglaube im alten Rom (Leipzig, 1943), 78, n. 2; see p. 15.

²Cf. also Cato Agr. 139; Serv. Aen. 2.351. See Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, 32; Fowler, Religious Experience, 145ff.

³See Louisa Banti, "Il culto dei morti nella Roma antiquissima", SIFC, 8 (1929), 186ff.

⁴Nilsson, Religion as Man's Protest, 32.

Romans they must have made a lasting impression on them, judging by the eagerness with which the Roman poets utilized the underworld figures and images of Greek poetry. Roman literature did a lot to perpetuate the iconography of Pluto's kingdom, long after the belief in Hades had lost credence among educated people at least.¹ It is true that at the time of its importation (probably around 300 B.C.) to Rome the Greek belief in an underworld had run a long course, had been used and elaborated by poets, reviewed and often criticized by philosophers. It still possessed, however, a lot which could appeal both to the ordinary man and the reflective mind. The Homeric concept of a sad abode of the powerless shades² had been fertilized in the meantime by the teachings of the Orphics and Pythagoreans, and expanded by the connections with the Mysteries and the hope of immortality and blessedness.³ The theme of the judgment of souls, vague and perhaps nonexistent in Homer, had become an essential element of stories relating to the underworld. The subject will require our attention later.⁴ Now I propose to deal with the Di Inferi par excellence of the Roman underworld, Dis Pater and Proserpina, who are essentially the Greek infernal couple Pluto and Persephone.

¹See p. 5.

²See p. 117.

³See pp. 190ff.

⁴See pp. 207ff.

1. Dis Pater and Proserpina

A significant date for Rome's contacts with the Greek underworld is the year 249 B.C., when the first Secular Games were allegedly held.¹ Under the pressure of the first Punic war and after a series of prodigies the Roman senate authorized the Decemvirs to consult the Sibylline books. The result of this consultation was the performance of the Ludi Tarentini in honour of Dis Pater and Proserpina.² The festival marking the end of a saeculum (a period of about one hundred years) in the history of the city involved nocturnal sacrifices (hostiae furvae) to the two infernal deities on three consecutive nights at the Tarentum area of the Campus Martius near the Tiber. The idea of a saeculum seems to be Italic, possibly Etruscan.³ The cult of Dis and Proserpina, however, is likely to have been introduced to Rome from Magna Graecia (South Italy and Sicily), and this introduction was enacted by decree of the Roman state; it was not due to an initiative taken by any particular Roman family.⁴

¹ See in general Nilsson's article "Saeculares Ludi" in RE, 2nd Ser., 1B, 1696ff.; Grenier, Les Religions, 175ff. and 183ff. The Ludi Taurii allegedly established by Tarquinius Superbus (Varro Ling. 5.154; Festus p. 479 L.) are said to have honoured the Di Inferi, but this may mean no more than the deified dead of Roman religion.

³ See Wagenvoort, Studies, 194ff.; Latte, Römische Rel., 246, n. 3; G. Karl Galinsky, Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome (Princeton, 1969), 160f.

⁴ See Latte, Römische Rel., 246, n. 2.

For the first time the Roman cult of the dead was supplemented by a ritual presupposing the idea of a Chthonian realm of the dead presided over by a ruler. This was of the greatest importance for the subsequent development of Roman eschatology.¹

There are two problems relating to the Ludi Tarentini of 249 B.C. which are closely linked: the problem of whether the cult of Dis and Proserpina was introduced to Rome from some particular city of Magna Graecia, and the question connected with the etymology and history of the place Tarentum of the Campus Martius, where the first Ludi were performed. For the form Tarentum, which is attested by several ancient authorities, three explanations have been advanced: either that the name echoes the name of the Greek city of Tarentum in South Italy, or that it contains a pre-Indoeuropean root ta found in many place-names, especially of rivers, or that it contains an Etruscan root ta which is also found in the name Tarquinius.² If it could be determined that the Roman cult of Dis and Proserpina originated in the city of Tarentum, as Nilsson claims by pointing to examples of Tarentine representations of funeral feasts in which Pluto and Persephone seem to lie together,³ the identification of Roman Tarentum with Greek Tarentum would be highly

¹Altheim, Roman Religion, 287.

²See Valerie M. Warrior, The Development of the Augustan Region IX until 7 B.C. (McMaster University, 1962), 7-8.

³"Saeculares Ludi", 1706; cf. Latte, Römische Rel., 247, and 248, n. 1; Radke, Die Götter, s.v. "Dis".

probable. After all Livius Andronicus, who may have played an active part in the Ludi Tarentini of 249 B.C., came to Rome from the Greek colony of Tarentum. There is a problem, however; the form Tarentum, which designates the most westerly part of Campus Martius near the Tiber, seems to be older than the relations of Rome with the Greek city of Tarentum.¹ The Campus Martius was also known in antiquity as ager Tarquiniorum (Livy 2.5.2), and a Vestal Tarquinia or Gaia Taracia is said to have lived there.² Now, the name Gaia Taracia may be no more than a Latinized form of the Greek Γαῖα Ταρκινία, a possible translation of the ager Tarax, signifying a piece of land which Acca Larentia allegedly bequeathed to the Romans (Cato in Macrobius 1.10.16). The area Tarentum of the Campus Martius, whose name may be a derivative form of Tarax, probably had early Chthonian associations when it was selected as the site of the first Secular Games in 249 B.C. In Seneca's Apocolocyntosis Mercury drags the dead emperor Claudius across the Campus Martius and down to Hades somewhere between the river and the "Covered Road" (via Tecta) which should probably be identified with the excavated remains of a street that seems to have linked the area of Tarentum with the Forum. One wonders whether there was an entrance to Hades somewhere in Tarentum, although the evidence in Seneca is rather late and vague.³ Seneca

¹See Warrior, The Development of Region IX, 7-8.

²Cf. Plut. Popl. 8; Gell. 7.7.9.

³Warrior, The Development of Region IX, 9, and n. 27.

may have thought of the Mausoleum of Augustus in which Claudius was buried.¹ This is a reasonable hypothesis in view of the popular idea that apart from certain fixed entrances to Hades² the tombs provided a link between the worlds of the dead and of the living.

The Campus Martius had, however, other associations with the dead.³ It contained of old a cemetery of dignitaries,⁴ where Sulla, Hirtius, and Pansa were buried by special decree of the Roman senate. Also, the goddess Feronia who received a temple in Rome in 217 B.C. was, according to some glosses,⁵ at least partly a Chthonian divinity (dea agrorum, seu inferorum).⁶ Wagenvoort goes further in the matter of the Campus Martius' Chthonian connections in making Mars, to whom the Campus was dedicated, a god of the dead on the evidence of some Etruscan monuments.⁷ He thinks that the Ludi of 249 B.C. were not the

¹Warrior, The Development of Region IX, 9, n. 28.

²See pp. 122ff.

³See Wagenvoort, Studies, 206ff.

⁴Cf. Strab. 5.3.8; Sil. Ital. 13.659; Dio Cass. 48.53.6.

⁵Cf. D.H. 3.32.1; Gloss. Lat. 5 p. 247.

⁶See Altheim, Roman Religion, 255 and 262.

⁷Studies, 207ff.

first Games ever held at Tarentum but simply a reorganized version of such ceremonies in which the two chief new elements were the association with the concept of the saeculum and the substitution of Dis Pater and Proserpina for Mars.¹ The hypothesis is not unreasonable, but it could be equally reasonable to suppose the existence at Tarentum of the Campus Martius of a cult of Dis and Proserpina prior to the year 249 B.C., or of an early vegetation and regeneration cult of the Earth, which was later personified in the two Chthonian deities.²

The first as well as the second Secular Games which were celebrated in 146 B.C.³ marked the "burial" of two saecula, two particularly trying periods of about one hundred years each in the history of the city, and had purificatory purposes. The third Secular Games, splendidly celebrated with some delay in 17 B.C., gloried rather in the new happy era that came to Rome with the reign of Augustus. In the new celebration the nocturnal sacrifices to Dis and Proserpina were kept as before but the festival on the whole was dissociated from the two infernal divinities and put, under the protection of the then chief gods of the Roman state,

¹Wagenvoort, Studies, 231-232.

²See Warrior, The Development of Region IX, 9-10. There is also the story (cf. Val. Max. 2.4.5; Zos. 2.3-4) that the underground altar at Tarentum was built on supernatural guidance in mythical times before the war of Rome with Alba Longa, believed to be fictional. See on this Wagenvoort, Studies, 196ff.

³Cf. Liv. Per. 49; Censorinus 17.11. See Latte, Römische Rel., 248, n. 3. On the saeculum as a religious rite see L. R. Taylor, "Varro's De Gente Populi Romani", CP, 29 (1939), 221-229.

Jupiter, Apollo, Diana, the beneficent powers of nature, and Mother Earth.¹ This is obvious in Horace's Carmen Saeculare, the special hymn written and sung for the occasion. The Secular Games of 17 B.C. symbolized the fulfilment of the expectation at the time of the Roman civil wars of a new Golden age of peace and prosperity. Vergil's fourth Eclogue may be summing up these late Republican feelings and anticipating the new content of Augustus' Secular Games.

With the exception of the Secular Games Dis Pater and Proserpina seem to have played no active part in Roman private or public cults. Dis Pater allegedly possessed a small shrine or chapel (sacellum) at the foot of the Capitol in Rome in connection with the temple of Saturn. This allegation has been disputed, rightly I think, by Wissowa. Also, the temple of Dis (aedes Ditis patris) which the Notitia Urbis lists in Region XI (Circus Flaminius) seems to be the same as the temple of Summanus in the area of the Circus Maximus.² In fact, with the exception of the subterranean altar in the Campus Martius, supposed to open only for the sacrifices connected with the Secular Games, Dis Pater appears to have never had a temple

¹ See Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, 309 and 431; Altheim, Roman Religion, 403; Latte, Römische Rel., 248. The Sibyllinum which the Quindecemvirs composed for the Games (Cf. Macr. 3.7.5.4) fixed the saeculum at 110 years, as the longest life period a man could attain, and included the fiction that Secular Games had been performed on four previous occasions, the years 456, 346, 236 and 126 B.C.

² See Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, 201ff., 310ff.

or even another ara in Rome. On account of his Chthonian connections, however, Dis was brought in time into contact with other Italic deities of a real or believed infernal character, like the god of Soracte (Serv. Aen. 11.785) whom Vergil calls Apollo, the Etruscan Charun, the Etruscan Mantus,¹ Veiovis,² and Orcus.³

Ennius' passage on the identity of Pluto in the Euhemerus⁴ suggests that the form Dis is an equivalent of the Greek form Πλούτων.⁵ This is supported by Cicero (On the Nature of the Gods 2.66): Terrena autem vis omnis atque natura Diti patri dedicata est: qui Dives, ut apud Graecos Πλούτων, quia et recidant omnia in terras, et oriantur e terris. It is also interesting that Dis is not invoked in the old formula of devotio (Livy 3.9.7) along with the Di Manes,⁶ although he is found in Macrobius's formula of devotio (3.9.10) said to have been recited at the fall of Carthage in 146 B.C.⁷ Proserpina is also thought to be

¹See pp. 280, 287-288.

²See pp. 49ff.

³See pp. 43ff.

⁴See p. 44.

⁵See p. 40, and Radke, Die Götter, 108-109.

⁶See pp. 14, 44.

⁷See pp. 14-15, 53, 55, 289, n. 2.

a Latin adaptation of the Greek Περσεφόνη, although Varro (On the Latin Language 5.68) traces the name to proserpere, "come forth".¹ Cicero considered the goddess Proserpina to be of Greek origin and attempted to interpret her function by comparing her to the Italic Libera.² The oldest literary occurrence of Proserpina is in Naevius (The Punic War, fr. 24): Prima incedit Cereris Proserpina puer,³ which Cichorius has referred to the Ludi of 249 B.C.⁴ Livius Andronicus himself may have adapted the form Περσεφόνη to Proserpina in the style of other adaptations like Μοῖρα-Morta, Μνημοσύνη-Moneta, Μοῦσα-Camena.⁵ The formal adoption in 249 B.C. of the cult of Dis Pater and Proserpina by the Roman state may be viewed as an admittance of the increased Greek influence on Rome in matters concerning the underworld and after-life, a sort of legitimizing of a situation. This, if true, emphasizes by contrast the vagueness of the native Roman concept of the undifferentiated mass of the Di Manes.

The earliest allusion to Dis Pater as the ruler of Hades in Roman epigraphy is found in an epitaph of the early first century B.C. (CE 55.19): Ditis aeterna domu. We also find Dis Pater in

¹Cf. Arn. 3.33; August. De civ. D. 4.8, 7.20.

²Cf. Verr. 4.106ff.; Nat. D. 2.66.

³See Warmington, Remains, II, p. 58.

⁴Römische Studien (Leipzig, 1922), 47-48.

⁵See Radke, Die Götter, 265.

a cursing tablet of a late Republican date.¹ Other examples in epitaphs are obviously made in the Greek style and use imagery made popular by the poets.² We do not know how great a grip the figures of Dis and Proserpina had on the Roman public in general.³ Also, the fact that there is no mention of Dis and Proserpina in Plautus, while we find there Acheruns and Orcus⁴ may mean that the names of the two imported divinities were considered, together with the term Di Manes, too formal to be used on stage in those early times.⁵

An echo of Dis (Greek Pluto) is certainly found in Naevius' Orchi traditus thesauro and Ennius' Mortis thesauri.⁶ Lucretius, who deals with the mythological Hades in order to refute the argument of its reality, does not mention Dis or Proserpina. Later poets, however, with the exception of Catullus, do employ these figures in their proper contexts. In Tibullus we hear of "the pale water of Dis" (3.1.28: pallida Ditis aqua) and of "the infernal kingdom of Dis" (3.7.67: inferno Plutonis ... regno). The "black

¹CIL I² 1012. See Latte, Römische Rel., 248; Radke, Die Götter, 267.

²See Lattimore, Themes, 89.

³See p. 6.

⁴See pp. 44, 132.

⁵Latte, Römische rel., 156; see also p. 18.

⁶See p. 43.

animals" (nigrae pecudes) which a sacrifice to Dis requires (Tibullus 3.5.33) remind us of the "dark offerings" (hostiae furvae) administered to the infernal couple at the Secular Games of 249 B.C. and of the black sacrifices made to the Chthonian divinities in Vergil.¹ As the personification of death, Proserpina "announces the dark hour of death" (Tibullus 3.5.5: nigram denuntiat horam) to the dying young man. Propertius presents in general more underworld images than Tibullus, but his references to Dis Pater and Proserpina are brief and casual. If he dies, Propertius will be satisfied not by an elaborate funeral but by simply carrying down to Hades with him, as a present to Proserpina,² his poetry booklets (2.13.25-26: sat mea sat magna est, si tres sint pompa libelli, / quos ego Persephone maxima dona feram). Elsewhere the poet prays to Persephone and her unnamed husband to spare his sick mistress (2.28.47ff.)

Horace who has a special capacity for using mythology in an unexpected context presents colourful and interesting references to the sovereigns of Graeco-Roman Hades. The ghost of Teiresias is made to conclude a particularly jocose speech in Satires 2.5 with an eloquent allusion to the character of the queen of hell: sed me / imperiosa trahit Proserpina.³ The witch of Epodes 17.2

¹See p. 85.

²See pp. 82, 172.

³Cf. Hom Od. 11.47, 213.

summons help for her malevolent designs by calling upon the "realm" (regna) of Proserpina, that is, hell. The "stern" (saeva) queen claims all souls and neglects none (Odes 1.28.19-20). Here again we have a general allusion to the inevitability of death personified by Proserpina.¹ The epithets which accompany the name of Pluto in Greek poets stress mainly his power or implacability.² The god of the underworld in Horace is likewise "unmoved by tears" (Odes 2.14.6-7: illacrimabilis) and "pitiless" (Odes 2.3.24: nil miserans).³ A passage of the Epistles (2.2.178-179: metit Orcus / grandia cum parvis, non exorabilis auro) reminds one of a statement in Cicero (Tusculan Disputations 3.59): vita omnibus metenda ut fruges.⁴ Both Pluto and Proserpina are unlovable, inexorable; and their home is "cheerless" or "ghostly and insubstantial" (Odes 1.4.17: domus exilis Plutonia).⁵

¹The passage, on which see Nisbet and Hubbard, Horace: Odes, Book 1, ad loc., may also allude to the idea that Proserpina claimed a lock of hair from the head of a dying person with the probable meaning that the dead was thus made a sacrificial victim to the powers of hell. Cf. also Eur. Alc. 74; Verg. Aen. 4.698, and note of Pease, Aeneid 4, ad loc. See A. van Gennepe, The Rites of Passage (Chicago, 1960),

²See Roscher, I, s.v. "Hades".

³Cf. Hom. Il. 1.158; Hes. Th. 156; Sen. Herc. Fur. 582.

⁴Cf. Eur. Hyps. fr. 757 N.

⁵See Nisbet and Hubbard, Horace: Odes Book 1 ad loc. Cf. Verg. Aen. 6.269: domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna. See pp. 116ff.

Like Horace, Vergil presents several references to Dis Pater and Proserpina but never does he give a full or detailed description of either of them. Proserpina seems to fare better than Dis in this respect, as Bailey has already observed.¹ The ruler of the underworld is called Pluto only once (Aeneid 7.327: et ipse pater Pluton) for metrical reasons, and Dis several times in reference to his abode.² The line (Aeneid 6.127): noctes atque dies patet atri ianua Ditis is reminiscent of the Greek notion of Hades as a potentate who entertains all comers.³ The kingdom of the underworld rather than its sovereign is obviously meant by the use of Dis in other Vergilian passages: e.g. Aeneid 6.541: Ditis magni sub moenia; 7.568: saevi spiracula Ditis. Dis is also called Stygius Jupiter (Aeneid 4.638), Stygius rex (6.252) and Stygius frater of Jupiter (Aeneid 10.113).

Proserpina is referred to as the daughter of Ceres only once in Vergil (Georgics 1.39). Elsewhere Proserpina is the wife of Dis and queen of Hades. As such she authorizes that Orpheus precede Eurydice on her way to the upper world (Georgics 4.487), dispatches Iris to cut a lock of hair from the head of the dying Dido and thus release her soul (Aeneid 4.698), has a "barren cow" (Aeneid 6.251: sterilis vacca), decrees that the Golden Bough be

¹Religion in Virgil, 250ff.

²See Williams, Aeneid 5, 180 (n. on Aen. 5.731). Cf. G. 467 and Aen. 8.677: ostia Ditis; Aen. 6.269: domos Ditis; 6.379: thalamos Ditis. See pp. 118ff.

³Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note ad loc.

brought to her as a gift (donum), a token of honour for her high status and also a reminder of her beauty.¹ The references to Proserpina are in general more colourful than those to Dis. In fact, a particular passage in the Aeneid (6.402: casta licet patrui servet Proserpinā limen), uttered by the Sibyl, may be said to be sarcastic. Proserpina, in the words of Aeneas' conductress to the underworld, has nothing to fear from the descent of the hero; let her stay in the house of her uncle-husband and serve his interests.² Elsewhere (Aeneid 6.138) Proserpina is called Iuno inferna, a rare appellation which was obviously imitated by later poets.³ In the clearly-defined kingdom of the dead, whose judges are Minos and Radamanthus, whose executioners are the Furies, and whose prison is Tartarus, Dis and Proserpina play the parts of the invisible but all-powerful administrators.⁴

¹See T. E. Page, The Aeneid of Virgil: Books I-VI (London, 1923), and F. Fletcher, Virgil: Aeneid 6 (Oxford, 1955), notes on Aen. 6.137f. See p. 172.

²See Fletcher, Aeneid VI, note ad loc.

³Cf. Ov. Met. 14.114: Iunonis Avernae; Stat. Th. 4.526f.: Stygiae.. Iunonis. The latter form was probably meant as a parallel to Vergil's Stygius Jupiter.

⁴Cumont, After-life, 75. On Dis and Proserpina see in general RE, 19A, 944ff. and 21A, 990ff.; L. R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States (Oxford, 1896-1909), III, 29-288. Mercury as a "conductor of souls" is given only a passing reference in Verg. Aen. 4.242-243: hac (that is, virgā) animas ille evocat Orco / pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit. See Pease, Aeneid 4, ad loc. On Chthonian Hermes see Farnell, The Cults, V, 12-15 and 37-41. Mercury and Proserpina are unique deities as they belong to both the upper and the lower worlds.

2. Hecate

In Vergil there is another divinity connected with the underworld, whose role seems to be fairly broad. This is Hecate, the goddess of sorcery and witchcraft.¹ In Greek classical times Hecate was a prominent figure of folk religion. An image of triple Hecate (combining in herself two other goddesses, Diana and Luna, or rather their Greek equivalents, Artemis and Selene) was often erected before a Greek house,² and Greek women used to pray to her.³

In Aeneid 4.509-511 the enchantress commissioned by Dido summons triple Hecate along with the powers of Erebus and Chaos:

stant arae circum et crinis effusa sacerdos
ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque
tergeminamque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

Dido herself invokes Hecate in a spirit of ill will, along with Sol and Juno, later in the same book (609: nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes).⁴

¹ Hecate, who may have come to Greece from the East is glorified in Hesiod Th. 411-452 and is cited with honour in the Homeric hymn to Demeter. See in general Rohde, Psyche, passim; Farnell, The Cults, II, 501-519; M. P. Nilsson, Greek Folk Religion (New York, 1961), 90f.; Carol M. Mooney, Hekate: Her Role and Character in Greek Literature from before the Fifth Century B.C. (McMaster University, 1971).

² See Nilsson, Folk Religion, 80, 113 and fig. 33 on p. 154.

³ Cf. Ar. Lys. 64 and 700.

⁴ See Pease, Aeneid 4, note ad loc. The sinister character which Dido assumes in her spirit of wounded pride and vengeance may be viewed as the middle stage in her transformation

Tergemina Hecate of Aeneid 4 is the same goddess Trivia whose grove Aeneas crosses on his way to the oracular cave of Cumae.¹ The association of Hecate with Diana is very significant here, as Diana is the sister of Apollo, who presides over the oracle of Cumae. The Sibyl personifies these various connections. As the priestess of Apollo, she is linked with the god's shrine, the oracular cave, and the grove of Trivia-Diana at Cumae (Aeneid 6.35, 42ff, 69). As the priestess of Hecate, she is the overseer of the cavern of Avernus (Aeneid 6.118, 564).² The older cult of Hecate, or at least the cult of the earth-goddess³ later identified with Hecate, was connected with the cult of prophetic Apollo imported by the Greek colonists. Vergil appears to echo the union of the two cults by his account of the Sibyl's functions as both prophetess and guide to Aeneas in the

modelled on the three different sides of the triple goddess whom she invokes. As Gloria S. Duclos, "Dido as 'triformis' Diana", Vergilius, 15 (1969), 33, puts it: "The luminous and virginal Dido-Diana of Book 1 becomes the dark and hunted Dido-Hecate of Book 4, to reappear as the dimly seen Dido-Luna of Book 6". On Dido in Aeneid 6 see pp. 174-175, 205-206.

¹ Aen. 6.13. For the triple nature of Hecate cf. also Apoll. Rhod. 3.1209; Orph. Arg. 974; Ennius Scen. 1.21 V.; CIL 10.3795.

² See Norden, Aeneis VI, 118.

³ There is a small bronze disc unearthed at Cumae with a Greek inscription: "Hera does not allow any further consultation". M. Guarducci, "Appunti di epigrafia greca arcaica", ArchClass, 26 (1964), 136-137, who dates it from the seventh century B.C., thinks that the inscription can only mean that the prophetic cult of Apollo was preceded at Cumae by the cult of a feminine deity, whose existence had already been guessed and to whom the oracular response in the form of a sors, "lot", attributes the name Hera. See also

underworld.¹

The invocation by the Sibyl of Hecate, "mighty in heaven and in Erebus" (Aeneid 6.247: potens caeloque Ereboque)², at the nocturnal sacrifices preceding the descent of Aeneas to Hades results in the epiphany of the goddess (Aeneid 6.255ff.) at which the earth groans, the ridges of the woods quake, and howling dogs are seen through the dark.³ Aeneas' descent to the underworld is moreover sanctioned by sacrificial honours and by prayer to Dis Pater and Proserpina and the "mother of the Eumenides and her great sister" (Aeneid 6.250) under awesome circumstances reminiscent of the scenes of Aeneid 4.⁴ The "mother of the Eumenides" was Night, as Servius notes, recording an established tradition.⁵ Less documented, however, is

- R. F. Paget, In the Footsteps of Orpheus (London, 1967), 171;
A. G. McKay, "The Greeks at Cumae", The Vergilian Digest, 3 (1951), 5-11. See p. 124.

¹See pp. 122, 170-171.

²Cf. Catull. 34.15: potens Trivia.

³Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 3.1212ff.; Hecate is ἐπηχοος (CIG 7321b), ἀνταία (Hesychius, s.v.).

⁴See p. 83.

⁵Cf. Aesch. Eum. 416ff.; Aen. 7.331 and 12.846.

Servius' statement that the "sister of night" was Earth.¹ In any case, these literary terms designating Chthonian forces may be used by Vergil with the purpose of balancing the official Roman element represented by Dis and Proserpina and the folk notion of Hecate.²

The scenes associated with Hecate in Vergil have an essentially magical character.³ Magic involving opera operata, that is, acts which took place of themselves, in contrast with religious practices directed to a greater power and based on the hope for results,⁴ was practised widely in antiquity in both public and private ritual.⁵ The usual claim made by ancient

¹According to Hesiod (Th. 116ff.) Earth and Night were both daughters of Chaos.

²Vergil's special invocation in the epic style of the gods of the dead, of the dead themselves, and of Chaos and Phlegethon (Aeneid 6.264ff.), an invocation intended to help him disclose the secrets of the underworld, also seems to represent his literary and philosophical side. Cf. Latinus' invocation in Aen. 12.197-199. See in general J. Fontenrose, "The Gods Invoked in Epic Oaths: Aeneid XII, 175-215", AJPh, 89 (1968), 20-38.

³See Norden, Aeneis VI, 23, and Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 235 and 284.

⁴The definition is Nilsson's, A History of Greek Religion (Oxford, 1949), 88; see also ibid., 97.

⁵Some of the unearthed "cursing tablets" (tabulae defixionis) actually name well-known historical figures. See Nilsson, Folk Religion, 114. See also Frederick C. Grant, Ancient Roman Religion (The Library of Liberal Arts, 1957), 239-242. Edward T. Salmon, Samnium and the Samnites (Cambridge, 1967), 148, shows that the religion of the Samnites also included magic. See also ibid., 151, 174.

witchcraft associated with death was the power of ghost-raising.¹ Probably neither Vergil (Eclogue 8.98: animas imis excire sepulcris) nor Tibullus², who allude to ghost-raising scenes, believed in the possibility of the resurrection of the dead, especially by sinister practices. The images they draw may therefore be viewed as traditional exercises, and possibly parodies of the popular superstitions of their day.

This may also apply to Horace, who treats the theme of witchcraft in two of his Epodes. In Epode 5 Canidia and her gruesome companions are preparing to torture to death a young boy with the purpose of getting from his liver and marrow a love philter. The witch's special invocation is addressed to "Night" and Diana-Hecate, overseer of ghosts (49-54):

'o rebus meis
non infideles arbitrae,
Nox et Diana, quae silentium regis
arcana cum fiunt sacra,
nunc, nunc adeste, nunc in hostilis domos
iram atque numen vertite!
.....'

In Epode 17, probably a mock recantation of Epode 5, Diana-Hecate is referred to as a divinity whose power (numina) cannot be disturbed with impunity (v.3). This truth can have an ironic

¹See W. Headlam, "Ghost-raising, Magic, and the Under-world", CR, 16 (1902), 52-61.

²See p. 20.

application in the case of Vergil's Dido.¹ She summons the Chthonian powers, including Hecate, for help, and what she finally gains is death.²

¹See p. 83.

²Cf. Michael C. J. Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art (Princeton, 1970), 283: "Death, not unbinding magic is her (Dido's) release".. See Pease, Aeneid 4, note on Aen. 4.487. On Hecate see also T. Kraus, Hekate (Heidelberg, 1960).

CHAPTER THREE

THE DEMONS AND MONSTERS OF VERGILIAN HADES

In Aeneid 6 as well as in other books of his epic Vergil deals with various demonic figures and monsters associated with death and the underworld by combining popular and literary-philosophical elements. We have passing references to the Cyclopes (Aeneid 3.617ff.), the Harpies, Scylla and Charybdis, and the Sirens,¹ figures indirectly connected with the lower world, as well as to the Chthonian monster Cacus.² It is chiefly in the context of Aeneas's catabasis, however, that Vergil gives us a solid, if selective, description of underworld demonic figures and monsters. On the basis of Vergil's narrative we may distinguish three groups of such beings: the personified evils, the mythical monsters, and the Furies. We also have the individual figures of Charon and Cerberus. The first and part of the second of the three groups occupy the antechamber of Hades and may be imagined to be sculptured or painted.³ The Furies are found operating mainly in Tartarus, although other parts of the Aeneid suggest that their field of action is quite broad and includes the upper world.

¹On these see pp. 95ff.

²See pp. 255-256.

³McKay, Vergil's Italy, 144.

1. The Personified Evils

Vergil has placed the personified abstractions which represent the woes and passions of mankind¹ at the very entrance of the underworld (Aeneid 6.273-281):

vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus Orci
Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae;
pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus,
et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,
terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque;
tum consaguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,
ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens
vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

Vergil is not the first to have listed such notions² which seem to be of literary rather than popular provenance, but he may have been the first who placed them at the fore-court of Hades.³ Luctus is plainly the spirit of mourning.⁴ Servius aptly explains the ultrices Curae as the stings of a guilty conscience (conscientiae, quae puniunt semper nocentes).⁵ Homer has already suggested that "Ill-advising Hunger" (malesuada Fames) is a potential source of misfortune.⁶ Interesting is the formulation Letumque Labosque

¹Omnia quae cruciant vivos aut defunctos affligunt, according to Donatus commenting on this catalogue. See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note on Aen. 6.273.

²Cf. Lucr. 3.65ff.; Cic. Nat. D. 3.17.44. The archetype may be Hes. Th. 211ff.

³ See pp. 149-150.

⁴Cf. Aen. 2.368-369: crudelis ubique / luctus, ubique pavor et plurima mortis imago.

⁵Cf. Juv. 13.192ff. See Wistrand, "Virgil's Palaces...", 48.

⁶Cf. Od. 17.286; Plaut. Most. 213.

which echoes Hesiod Theogony 227: Ἀἴθνη τε Ἀλφὼν τε.¹ Norden, commenting on the passage, notes that Vergil seems to have preferred Letum to Mors not only for the alliteration with Labos but also because Letum sounded more personal to the Romans.² Mors is, however, often personified in Latin poetry,³ and the difference between Letum and Mors in this respect can be considered negligible.⁴ By Sopor Vergil probably alludes not to soothing slumber (somnus) but rather to swoon and lethargy.⁵ Sopor, in fact, is called "Death's twin-brother" (consanguineus Leti).⁶ The mala mentis Gaudia are probably meant to represent unwarranted delights bringing death, if we interpret mens by "passion". The "deadly War" (mortiferum Bellum) may echo Hesiod Theogony 228: "Battles

¹Cf. Varro Ling. 7.42.

²Norden, Aeneis VI, 213.

³Cf. Hor. Od. 1.4.13; 3.12.14; Sat. 2.1.58; Tib. 1.3.4; Luc. 6.600; Stat. Th. 4.528. Cf. also Quint. Inst. 9.236 and Serv. Aen. 11.197. See C. Pascal, Le credenze d'oltretomba nelle opere letterarie dell'antichità classica (Catania, 1912), I, 96ff.

⁴See H. E. Butler, The Sixth Book of the Aeneid (Oxford, 1921), note on Aen. ad loc.

⁵See Butler, Aeneid 6, and Fletcher, Aeneid VI, notes on Aen. ad loc.

⁶Cf. Hom. Il. 14.231 and 16.682. Butler, Aeneid 6, 144, notes that Sleep is also "the death of each day's life" and suggests a comparison with Soph. Ant. 606: ὕπνος...ὁ παντογῆρος.

and Manslaughter", children of Eris, daughter of Night. It is Eris herself (Discordia) who concludes Vergil's list, not without purpose. The greater emphasis on the description of Discordia¹ and her destructiveness was most probably motivated by the poet's own experiences from the Roman civil wars.²

An intriguing point in Vergil's list of the bringers of misery is the mention of the "iron chambers of the Eumenides" located at the entrance of Hades. This, however, is not inconsistent with Vergil's reference to the Furies in his account of Tartarus.³ The Furies are extremely mobile creatures; they may well dwell at the antechamber of Hell and work in Tartarus, where they harass the wicked, at the same time assuming any harmful role whatever in the world of the living. It may be, nevertheless, that in his treatment of the Furies Vergil combines more than one tradition, as he probably does also with the monster Hydra,⁴ and is not concerned about

¹In Aeneid 8.700-703 Discordia, pictured as a woman wearing a torn robe, symbol of violence, is given a prominent position amid the other divinities of war: Mars, the Dirae, and Bellona. Cf. the famous verses of Ennius on Discordia preserved in Hor. Sat. 1.4.60-61 (Ennius Ann. 266-267 V.): postquam Discordia taetra / Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit. Cf. Verg. Aen. 7.622, and Hom. Il. 4.440.

²Cf. Viktor Pöschl, The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid (Ann Arbor, 1962), 163: "This emphasis on Discordia reflects the fact that she is by far the most dangerous power in the realm of politics. She relates directly to a main theme of the poem: the taming of furor impius".

³See pp. 111-112.

⁴See pp. 96, 111.

minor inconsistencies that may arise between various sections of the epic.¹

In a separate picture Vergil mentions the vana Somnia perching on the branches of a shady elm tree in the middle of the same "antechamber" (vestibulum) occupied by the personified evils (Aeneid 6.282-284):

In medio ramos annosaeque brachia pandit
ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo
vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.

Vana probably means "fallacious" as well as "unsubstantial".² Servius notes the distinction between the vera Somnia sent from heaven, like the dream of Aeneas of his father (Aeneid 5.722),³ and the vana Somnia inspired by the Di Inferi.⁴ One wonders about Vergil's source in this matter. There are passages in other poets which suggest a belief in bird-like dreams, or at least dreams haunting a tree,⁵ but we have no precise parallel of the picture which Vergil draws. The Latin poet may have combined on his own two different traditions, one of the "haunted tree" and another of

¹See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, 462, and Butler, Aeneid 6, 145.

²Cf. Aen. 8.42: ne vana putes haec fingere somnum; Ov. Met. 11.613. See Conington, ibid.

³See p.p. 37, 168.

⁴See p.p. 152ff.

⁵Cf. Hom. Il. 2.312; Hes. Th. 212; Eur. Hec. 70, Or. 174; Ar. Av. 695.

the Dreams lying half-way between the upper and the lower worlds.¹

2. The Mythical Monsters

With the exception of a passage in Homer (Odyssey 11.634) in which Odysseus expresses fear that Persephone might send from Hades the Gorgon's head to harm him, there is no mention of monsters haunting the underworld in the early Greek epic. We find these, however, in later Greek authors, like Aristophanes and Apollonius Rhodius,² and we might say with certainty that Vergil's Chthonian monsters located at the entrance of Hades (Aeneid 6.285-289) in the following arrangement:

multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum,
Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes
et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernaee
horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricornis umbrae

are essentially of Greek origin, and they belong to a stage of thought much more primitive than that of the personified abstractions.³ Vergil's description of these figures is not too elaborate. He presents them, to use Butler's words, "as grim and picturesque warders of the portals of the underworld",⁴ but does not indulge in an account of their grosser aspects.

¹Cf. Sil. Pun. 13.595 speaking of a yew tree haunted by Harpies and ill omens, in what may be a partial imitation of Vergil.

²Ar. Ran. 143, 277; Ap. Rhod. 2.123. Paus. 10.25 refers to the demon Eurynomos, devourer of corpses, painted in Polygnotus' famous picture of the underworld at Delphi. See p. 283, n. 4.

³See Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 268 and 180.

⁴Aeneid 6, 146.

The Centaurs with whom Vergil begins his list of monsters are found associated with the underworld in other Greek and Latin authors,¹ and this suggests that Vergil may have borrowed the idea from an earlier source. The "Scyllas of double form" may allude to the two Scyllas of Greek mythology, that is, Homer's sea-monster of the straits of Sicily² and Scylla, daughter of Nisus, turned monster.³ The phrase may also allude to a race of Scylla-type monsters, parallel to the race of Centaurs. No other author places Scylla in Hades, although Lucretius, who also seems to consider the Scyllas as a class (4.732), may have viewed them as monsters of Hell. The Scyllas of Lucretius have half-fish bodies girt with savage dogs (5.892-893: rabidis canibus succinctas semimarinis / corporibus Scyllas).⁴ He describes them in order to show how absurd the belief in their existence is. On several Etruscan urns we see

¹Cf. Theog. 542; Ov. Met. 12.436; Apollod. 2.83.

²Cf. Verg. Aen. 3.684. See McKay, Vergil's Italy, 267, figure 55 which shows part of a sculptural group from Sperlonga representing Scylla attacking the ship of Odysseus. On Scylla and Charybdis, the denizens of the Strait of Messina, see ibid., 289f. The writer characteristically views Aeneas' encounter with the monsters in Aeneid 3 "an almost proleptic view of the underworld".

³Cf. Verg. Ecl. 6.74 and G. 1.404.

⁴Cf. Tib. 3.4.89 and 3.7.71.

Scyllas with snakes for feet, brandishing an oar in hand. The motif, also found in the tomb of the Painted Reliefs from Caere, was apparently borrowed from Hellenic art. Vergil may have seen Etruscan Scyllas painted on vases or on the walls of Etruscan tombs.¹

The word centumgeminus attached to Briareus suggests on first view a being of one hundred bodies; this, however, may simply mean "with one hundred heads",² or "with one hundred arms".³ In Homer (Iliad 1.402) the one hundred-armed Briareus is assistant to the celestial gods. In connection with the underworld Briareus is first mentioned in Hesiod (Theogony 617ff.). Hesiod also (Theogony 306ff.) names Hydra, Chimaera, Cerberus, and Orthros (Geryon's dog) as the children of Echidna, a monster lurking in Hades. This establishes the Chthonian origin of Hydra, the water-snake of legend slain by Hercules, which Vergil calls belua Lernaee, and of Chimaera, the fire-breathing monster of Lycia slain by Bellerophon (Homer Iliad 6.179ff.),⁴ whose shape combined the bodies of a lion, a she-goat, and a

¹See F. de Ruyt, Charun, démon étrusque de la mort (Bruxelles, 1934), 220.

²Cf. Verg. Aen. 10.565-566.

³See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, and Butler, Aeneid 6, notes on Verg. ad loc.

⁴Cf. Tib. 3.4.86: flammas uoluens ore Chimaera fero. Hor. Od. 1.27.23-24: vix illigatum te trifor- / Pegasus expediet Chimaera, applies the name allegorically to a betaera particularly hard to conquer. See Nisbet and Hubbard, Horace Odes, Book 1, note ad loc.

snake.¹

The verse Gorgones, Harpyiaequae, et forma tricorporis umbrae² lists two famous groups of female monsters, and also the three-bodied Geryon. As with other demonic figures mentioned above, by Gorgones Vergil may refer either to a whole class of Gorgon-type demons, or simply to the three legendary monsters, Stheno, Euryale, and Medusa, with the snaky hair and the frightful gaze which killed or turned people to stone. A Gorgon or Gorgons are mentioned in association with the underworld in Homer,³ in Aristophanes (Frogs 477) and elsewhere. It is not clear whether the Harpies had an early connection with the dead. In Homer the Harpies seem to be kinds of storm or wind spirits who carry off humans like Odysseus and the daughters of Pandareos.⁴ The episode of the Harpies in Vergil (Aeneid 3.210ff.) which partly echoes Apollonius Rhodius (2.188ff.) does not suggest any connection of the half-woman, half-bird creatures with the dead; it shows them as food-snatchers,⁵ although they are casually said to be

¹Chimaera is also represented as a monster of Hell in Lucian Dial. Mort. 30.1. In Aen. 7.785-786: cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram / sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis, the figure of Chimaera tops Turnus' helmet and probably suggests the Chthonian associations of Turnus. See V. Buchheit, Vergil über die Sendung Roms (Heidelberg, 1963), 110ff. and 127.

²See Fletcher, Aeneid VI, note ad loc.

³See p. 94.

⁴Cf. Od. 1.235ff. and 20.77-78; Paus. 10.30.2.

⁵Cf. Hor. Sat. 2.2.40: Harpyiis gula digna rapacibus.

the offspring of the infernal world (3.215). The Harpies play a general role of purveyors of Hell in the Etruscan monuments.¹ Rohde considers the Harpies to be wind spirits of a peculiarly sinister kind representing a genuine element of folk-lore.² Together with the Sirens, the Gorgons, the Erinyes, Hecate herself, the Harpies may be said to represent various aspects of death.³

Vergil's words forma umbrae applied to Geryon, the three-bodied mythical king of Hesperia slain by Hercules,⁴ suggest the ghostly nature of the demonic figures which the poet places at the entrance of Hades. The unsubstantiality of these figures is confirmed by the docta Sibyl, when Aeneas draws his sword against them (Aeneid 6.290-294). The scene recalls the Homeric incident (Odyssey 11.48ff.), in which Odysseus, on Circe's instructions,⁵

¹See de Ruyt, Charun, 232, and 54, where a winged Harpy with the head of a Gorgon is shown carrying a male nude figure in each hand on a vase from Vulci.

²Psyche, I, 56. Butler, Aeneid 6, on Aen. ad loc., tentatively terms the Harpies "spirits of sudden and inglorious death, involving the disappearance of the victim's body", and views the winged figures from the Harpy-tomb of Xanthus in Lycia as probably "spiritualised Harpies carrying off the souls of the dead".

³See de Ruyt, Charun, 233, and Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 180. The habitat of the bird-maiden Sirens (given a passing reference in Vergil Aen. 5.864-865: scopulos Sirenum.../ difficilis quondam multorumque ossibus albos), who are found in sepulchral art escorting the souls of the dead on their last journey to Hades, was traditionally placed not far from the Campanian Phlegraeon Fields, and this accentuates their Chthonian connections. See McKay, Vergil's Italy, 242-243 and 273; Waser, "Über die äussere...", 332ff.; John Pollard, Seers, Shrines and Sirens (London, 1965), 137ff.

⁴See pp. 256-257.

⁵Cf. Aen. 6.260.

draws his sword to prevent the ghosts from drinking the blood which he has poured into the sacrificial trench. The difference, however, is that whereas Odysseus' sword acts as a real deterrent to the ghosts, Aeneas' weapon can have no effect on the incorporeal shades.¹ In Vergil we may have philosophical overtones in this emphasis on the unsubstantiality of spirits. Geryon's forma umbrae may have a particular reference to the Platonic belief in the archetypes, according to which all beings have their immaterial models in the world of ideas.² Also, the expressions (Aeneid 6. 292-293): tenuis sine corpore vitas, and volitare cava sub imagine formae, may possibly echo the Lucretian notion (3.243) of the vital principle which is so fine that it is impossible to compare it with anything material.³

3. Charon

Greek Charon first appears in a fragment of the epic Minyas, then in Aeschylus (Seven against Thebes 854ff.), in Euripides (Alcestis 254), in Aristophanes (Frogs 185ff.) etc. At a time when the Etruscan Charun plays all sorts of roles in his capacity to personify death, the Greek Charon is still the benign ferryman of Hades who receives and carries the souls of

¹See pp. 24ff.

²See Serv. Aen. 6.289.

³Page, Aeneid I-VI, note on Aen. ad loc. Fletcher, Aeneid VI, ad loc., thinks that the word vita (in the first of the two expressions) is employed by Vergil in a particular sense to suggest the minimum of substantiality.

the dead across the waters of the Styx in his boat.¹ So at least he is represented on the Attic lekythoi of the fourth century B.C.² Charon may have originally been a figure of popular belief, or a literary invention that was later popularized.³ The Greek Thanatos mentioned in Homer⁴ and Hesiod (Theogony 764-766), the winged figure vested in black of Euripides' Alcestis, was originally distinguished from Charon, but in time the two were confused with the result that in modern Greek folklore the figure of Charos represented by a black skeletal horseman brandishing a sword stands for Thanatos.⁵

The figure of Charon found in Roman poetry is essentially the Greek Charon, the ferryman and toll collector of the underworld (Propertius 4.11.7: ubi portitor aera recepit; Tibullus 1.10.36: Stygiae nauita turpis aquae).⁶ Likewise, the apostrophe of

¹For the Etruscan Charun see pp. 283ff.

²See RE, 3, 2178.

³See ibid., 2177; Rohde, Psyche, I, 336f.

⁴See p. 91, n. 6.

⁵de Ruyt, Charun, 242. See in general C. Simonett, Θάνατος: ein kleinen Buch vom Tod (Zürich, 1945).

⁶Cf. Hor. Od. 2.3.26-27: sors exitura et nos in aeternum / exsilium impositura cumbae. For the metaphorical use of the Charon figure cf. also Apul. De mag. 23.50; Plut. Vit. Ant. 15. In general cf. Ov. Met. 10.73; Lucan 3.17, 6.704; Juv. 2.150ff.

Vergil's Charon in Aeneid 6.388 recalls Aristophanes' Charon in the Frogs 180ff., but the description of the ferryman of Hades in an earlier passage of Vergil's epic (Aeneid 6.298-304):

portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
canities inculta iacet, stant lumina flammae,
sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.
ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat
et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,
iam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.

has an Italic flavour. The hideous-looking Charon points to the Etruscan Charun.¹ The frightful roughness of his appearance is enhanced by a grizzly beard,² and flaming eyes.³ He wears a tunic twisted round his left shoulder, an exomis, that is, the ordinary costume of a workman or a pilot.⁴ The word ferruginea employed to describe the appearance of his boat may mean more than "rust-coloured".⁵ It may as well indicate the "murky hue of the infernal boat", to use Conington's words.⁶ There may also be

¹See W. R. Hardie, Lectures on Classical Subjects (London, 1903), 67; Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 254. See pp. 283ff.

²Cf. Petron. 99: barbis horrentibus nauta.

³The expression stant lumina flammae is variously interpreted, depending on whether the emphasis is put on stant or flammae. See Fletcher, Aeneid VI, note ad loc.

⁴Cf. Plaut. Mil. Glor. 1177ff. Norden, Aeneis VI, notes ad loc. that in Theoc. 7.18 the lack of a buckle to hold the garment characterizes the "rustic" man. Vergil's nodus does not necessarily imply a brooch (fibula). See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note ad loc.

⁵Cf. Hom. Il. 15.693.

⁶Vergili Opera, II, note ad loc. Fletcher, Aeneid VI, notes

Roman overtones in the description of Charon as a "harbour-officer" or "exciseman", who guards the passage to Hades.¹ Charon who sails his ship without assistance is called senior, "an old man". As a deity, however, he has a fresh and vigorous old age (cruda deo viridisque senectus).²

The appellation deus probably suggests not that Charon is a divinity to be worshipped and invoked in prayer, but simply that he is immortal. In later times, however, Charon seems to have gained greater status, if we judge by an inscription from Mauretania (CIL 8² 992): deo Charoni Iulius Anabus votum solvit.³ In Roman poetry, nevertheless, the homely figure of Charon continued to designate the colourful ferryman of the underworld, dreaded by the unburied souls. He is thus described in a passage of Juvenal concerning a poor soul accidentally sent to Hades (3.264-267):

at ille
iam sedet in ripa taetrumque novicius horret

that while the form caeruleam, also applied to the description of Charon's boat (Aen. 6.410), seems to denote the colour of the boat, "a dull dark blue", the form ferruginea indicates the tone and means "dusky" or "dingy". Cf. Verg. G. 4.183, Aen. 9.582, 11.172.

¹Fletcher, Aeneid VI, note ad loc. Like a Roman magistrate Charon sternly refuses to let Aeneas cross to Hades before he has seen Aeneas' passport, the Golden Bough. See p. 172.

²Norden, Aeneis VI, in his note ad loc. praises the oxymoron which Vergil's phrase presents. He also notes the effective alliterations of subigit-subvectat, corpora-cumba (scheme aabb).

³Cf. Cic. Nat. D. 3.43; Apul. Met. 6.18. See p. 100.

porthmea nec sperat caenosi gurgitis alnum
infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.¹

4. Cerberus

Cerberus, undoubtedly the most famous animal-monster of ancient Hell, had a more or less fixed place in mythology as the guardian of the inner court of Hades. Consequently Vergil could not place him in the antechamber of the lower world among the other mythical monsters, even if he wanted to do so. As we shall see, however, the Latin poet may have combined two different traditions in regard to the location of Cerberus in the underworld.

In Homer we hear of the unnamed "dog of Hades" carried off by Hercules (Iliad 8.368; Odyssey 11.623). The name Cerberus (Greek Κέρβερος) of unknown etymology² occurs first in Hesiod (Theogony 311ff.), along with other details: Cerberus is the son of Echidna, has fifty heads, a terrible voice, and a savage temper (Cf. Theogony 769ff.). Pindar has allegedly spoken of a Cerberus with one hundred heads.³ The ordinary picture, however, was of a three-headed dog. So Cerberus figures in general in the Etruscan monuments, as on the cover of a sarcophagus from Tarquinia and

¹ Here we also have an allusion to the well-known custom of putting a coin between the teeth of the dead to pay the ferryman Charon. See Rohde, Psyche, I, 18, 162.

² See RE, 11A, 283-284, s.v. "Kerberos".

³ Interpr. Ven. on Hom. Il. 8.368. Cf. Hor. Od. 2.13.34: belua centiceps. On Greek vases Cerberus has three, sometimes two, or even one, heads.

in a stucco relief from Caere, where he is pictured wearing a necklace of snakes.¹

In Vergil's first reference to Cerberus in Aeneid 6 (395-396) Charon speaks of the dog of Hell as the "custodian of Tartarus" (Tartareum...custodem) who was dragged trembling (tremementem) by Hercules from the throne of his master (ipsius a solio regis). The location of the dog by the throne of Dis seems to contradict his placement at the entrance of Hades proper in Vergil's subsequent references to him cited below. To explain the contradiction we may either imagine that Cerberus broke his chain and fled in terror to Pluto before he was captured by Hercules,² or that Vergil has followed here a particular tradition which attached the infernal dog to Pluto's throne.³

In a sarcastic statement (Aeneid 6.400-401) suggesting a sort of philosophical detachment in the handling of traditional mythology on the part of Vergil, the Sibyl refers to the "huge janitor" (ingens ianitor) of Hell, who may go on for ever terrorizing the "bloodless shades" (exsanguis...umbras), undisturbed by the descent of Aeneas.⁴ Cerberus' station is a cave at the thither side of Acheron entering the limbo area

¹See de Ruyt, Charun, 53f.

²Cf. Serv. Aen. ad loc.

³For Norden, Aeneis VI, 238, Vergil has followed in this the lost epic Catabasis of Heracles. See Raymond J. Clark, "Two Virgilian Similes and the Ἡρακλέους Κατάβασις", Phoenix, 24, 3 (1970), 244-245.

⁴Cf. Prop. 4.5.3-4: et Cerberus ultor / turpia ieiunio terreat ossa sono!.

of the underworld.¹ This is where the Sibyl and Aeneas meet him when they have crossed the infernal lake in Charon's boat (Aeneid 6.417-425):

Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci
personat adverso recubans immanis in antro.
cui vates horrere videns iam colla colubris
melle soporata et medicatis frugibus offam
obicit. ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens
corripit obiectam, atque immania terga resolvit
fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro.
occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto
evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.

As with the other monsters of Hell² Vergil ignores in his description the more morbid features of Cerberus,³ whom he pictures in general as the door-keeper of Hades. The monster is "triple-throated", huge (ingens, immania terga), has bristling snakes for hair, barks furiously, and is extremely hungry. A drugged honey-cake thrown to him by the Sibyl is enough to make him harmless,⁴ "buried" in sleep, as the poet metaphorically says.

Cerberus seems to have been a very popular figure with Roman poets. The scholiast Acro has preserved an Ennian reference to the dog of the underworld: "of the snake-shaggy dog" (anguivil-

¹See pp. 151-152.

²See pp. 94ff.

³Cf. Aen. 8.296-297: ianitor Orci / ossa super recubans antro semesa cruento; Hor. Od. 3.11.15ff. cited on p. 107.

⁴Cf. Ap. Rhod. 4.150; Apul. Met. 6.20.

losi canis).¹ Lucretius includes Cerberus in his list of underworld figures whose reality he doubts (3.1011ff.). In Tibullus' famous description of Hades, "black Cerberus" is presented lying outside the bronze gates of Hell and hissing serpent-like (1.3.71-72): niger in porta serpentum Cerberus ore / stridet et aeratas excubat ante fores. The Corpus Tibullianum also presents an expressive description of the dog of Hell (3.4.87-88): canis anguina redimitus terga caterua, / cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput. These are, however, simple decorative uses of the motif.

Propertius and Horace appear to go beyond the trodden path. In Propertius' curse on the remains of the dead procuress, that they be stirred up in terror by the barking of hungry Cerberus,² the dog of Hell assumes the role of "avenger" (ultor) of the crimes committed by the woman on earth; he is the personification of death itself. The savage Cerberus, however, can be calmed down by extraordinary turns in the course of the infernal world, such as the hypothetical trial in Hades of the virtuous Roman matron Cornelia (Propertius 4.11.25-26: Cerberus et nullas hodie petat improbus umbras; / et iacet tacita laxa catena sera),³ or the presence of a god or a hero. In Vergil it is Orpheus Citharodus (G. 4.483: tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora); in Horace it is Dionysus, at whom Cerberus wags his tail and whose

¹See Warmington, Remains, I, 376-377.

²See p. 104, n. 4.

³Cf. Prop. 4.7.90: errat et abiecta Cerberus ipse sera.

feet he licks with his "three-tongued" mouth (Odes 2.19.29-32):

te vidit insons Cerberus aureo
cornu decorum leniter atterens
caudam et recedentis trilingui
ore pedes tetigitque crura.

and Mercury, whose peaceful creativity is vividly contrasted with the savage appearance of the dog of Hades, now subdued (Odes 3.11.13-20):

tu potes tigris comitesque silvas
ducere et rivos celeres morari;
cessit immanis tibi blandienti
ianitor aulae,
Cerberus, quamvis furiale centum
muniant angues caput eius atque
spiritus taeter saniesque manet
ore trilingui.

Not only Lucretius and Cicero¹ but also the Greek epitaphs express disbelief in the reality of Cerberus;² and what Bailey says about Vergil, namely that such monsters as Cerberus and Hydra had no religious significance for him and that they were only the bogies of folk-lore,³ may be true. The menace of Cerberus, however, must have awed many ancient people, especially those in fear of death and of the underworld supplicia,⁴ while

¹See pp. 5ff.

²Cf. G. Kaibel, epig. 646.

³Religion in Virgil, 255.

⁴See Cumont, After-life, 87. See pp. 207ff., 285ff.

In Homer the Erinyes appear to live in Erebus (Iliad 9.571-572 and 19.259) but there are hints that they were also thought of as capable of going about the earth to harass not only the violators of family laws like Orestes and Alcmaeon, but also other offenders.¹ They are even shown silencing the horse Xanthus after he was given temporary power of speech (Iliad 19.418).² Rohde's theory that originally the Erinyes were ghosts of slain persons, as well as Farnell's suggestion that at first they were personified curses,³ may be too restrictive. In classical Greece the concept comprises the noxious Erinyes and the beneficent Eumenides. The transformation of the savage avenging spirits to well-wishing divinities was given its classical expression in the Eumenides of Aeschylus. The cult of the Eumenides is rarely found in Greece,⁴ and was perhaps non-existent in Rome, at least outside the practice of magic and sorcery.⁵ The Erinyes triad: Tisiphone, Allecto, Megaera, featuring also in Vergil as we shall see, is believed to be an Alexandrian invention.⁶

¹Cf. Il. 9.454, 571; 15.204; Od. 11.280; 17.475; Hes. Op. 803-804.

²Cf. Diels, fr. 94.

³Psyche, I, 179; Cults, V, 438-439.

⁴See Farnell, Cults, V, 437ff.; Rohde, Psyche, I, 198, n. 97.

⁵Cf. Hor. Sat. 1.8.32ff., and see pp. 83ff.

⁶But cf. Eur. Or. 408, 434, 1650; Tro. 457. See RE, Suppl. VII, 122, s.v. "Erinys".

Servius' note (on Aen. 1.86) that the Furies were the daughters of Pluto, a unique statement, may simply mean that they were closely related to the infernal ruler.¹

The notion of the Erinyes had run a long course when it reached Rome, where it was probably combined with similar local concepts underlying the Furiae and the Dirae. The problem of the Furies' connection with the old Roman deity Furrina, credited with a festival on the twenty-fifth of July,² has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The very name of this deity, like the name Veiovis,³ was unintelligible to the Romans of Varro's time (On the Latin Language 5.84, 6.19).⁴ Altheim has claimed that Furrina or the Furrinae were identified with the Greek Erinyes, and that the Roman Furies had a double character, beneficent and hellish.⁵ Apart from the obscurity of Furrina or the Furrinae, however, which makes their association with the Furies problematic, it is a general fact that the Furies of Latin literature are more akin to the savage Homeric Erinyes than to the beneficent Eumenides

¹Cf. Aesch. Eum. 72, 416.

²See Latte, Römische Rel., 431ff.

³See p. 48.

⁴Fowler, Roman Festivals, 188, points out the difficulty in determining the nature of Furrina by etymological means. See also Radke, Die Götter, 137.

⁵Roman Rel., 116f.

of classical Greek poetry.¹

Vergil's Furies have a Greek, and possibly Etruscan,² background, but his use of them is fairly personal, as Bailey notices.³ We have seen that he places the "chambers of the Eumenides" in the antechamber of Hades.⁴ He also calls Cocytus the "river of the Eumenides" (*Aeneid* 6.374-375). It is, however, in the account of Tartarus that we get a glimpse of the Furies at work. The arch-Fury Tisiphone dressed in a "blood-stained robe" (*Aeneid* 6.555: *palla succincta cruenta*) guards the entrance of Tartarus day and night. Moreover, acting as a punisher (*ultrix*; cf. *Aeneid* 4.609), she brandishes a scourge in one hand while holding serpents with the other, and hounds along the guilty, calling her sisters to carry them away,⁵ or to assist in the torture. The Sibyl refers to Tisiphone again later as the custodian (6.574: *custodia*) and compares her with the "crueller" Hydra, the monster of fifty heads abiding within the borders of Tartarus.⁶ We hear later of the "greatest of the

¹Cf. Soph. *OC* 486ff.

²See pp. 281ff.

³*Religion in Virgil*, 181.

⁴See p. 92.

⁵Cf. Val. Flacc. 7.149; Stat. *Th.* 1.112.

⁶The Hydra of *Aen.* 6.237 referred to as *belua Lerna*e (see p. 96) is obviously to be distinguished from the monster of Tartarus. Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 473.

Furies" (6.605: furiarum maxima) preventing the Lapiths from taking food. This may be Allecto or Megaera, since Tisiphone is otherwise employed,¹ if indeed Vergil thought of only three Furies.²

Vergil's artistry in regard to the theme of the Furies is more prominent in his Allecto episodes of Aeneid 7. Unlike Homer, Vergil dares to carry the powers of Hell into the action of his epic.³ Allecto, a combination of Eris and Fury, as Heinze calls her,⁴ is an emissary of Juno whose task is to provoke war between the Trojans and the Latins (Aeneid 7.324ff.). Whereas in Aeschylus Eumenides 365-366 the hateful Erinyes are said to be excluded from the company of the celestial gods, here we see a Fury acting as the right hand of a heavenly power, who is none other than the wife of Jupiter.⁵ Allecto is not an unsubstantial shade (vana umbra) but the very image of violence

¹The Harpy Celaeno calls herself the "greatest of the Furies" in Aen. 3.252, but this is probably metaphorical. Serv. Aen. 6.605, however, notes that both occurrences of the phrase allude to "hunger" (Fames).

²Cf. Aen. 12.845-848, which refers to the two Dirae born together with their sister Megaera to their mother Nox, who gave to all three the same kind of snakes and wings; but note Aen. 6.572: vocat agmina saeva sororum; Prop. 4.11.22: Eumenidum...turba seuera. Hordes of Furies are mentioned more often in later authors: cf. Sen. Med. 966; Val. Flacc. 2.228, 3.217.

³Pöschl, The Art of Vergil, 29; see also, ibid., 28ff.; and Brooks Otis, Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry (Oxford, 1963), 323ff.

⁴Virgils epische Technik, 182ff.

⁵Jupiter himself makes use of the Furies in Aen. 12.849ff.

and blind force, a personification of evil.¹

The popularity of the concept of the Furies, which we noted in connection with the drama, is also evident in the frequency and range of references to the Furies in the other late Republican and early Augustan poets. We may distinguish two different categories of uses, the literal and the metaphorical, although one and the same reference may sometimes fall into both categories.

In a picture of black humour Lucilius² presents Tisiphone, whom he calls "the holiest Erinyes of the Eumenides" (Eumenidum sanctissima Erinyes), extracting ointment from the lungs and fat of Tityos. In Catullus 64.192-195 the Furies are called upon by Ariadne to punish the perfidy of Theseus, while Tisiphone is summoned from Hell together with Hecate by the two witches in Horace Satires 1.8.32ff. to help with their magic. The epiphany of the infernal divinities is marked by the presence of dogs and serpents.³ The attribute of serpents, a sine qua non in descriptions of Furies, is also found in Tibullus (1.3.69ff.), and

¹ See R. D. Williams, "The Mythology of the Aeneid", Vergilius, 11 (1965), 11. Otis, Virgil, 325, notes the difference between Vergil's Allecto and Ovid's Tisiphone in Met. 4.432f. Ovid's Fury is "an amusing hobgoblin". See also Büchheit, Vergil, 75ff.; A. J. Gossage, "Virgil and the Flavian Epic", in D. R. Dudley, ed., Virgil (London, 1969), 82.

² See Warmington, Remains, III, 54.

³ See p. 85.

Propertius (3.5.40). Horace (Odes 2.13.35-36) gives a dynamic picture of the snakes recreating themselves on the Furies' heads.¹

In general, whether they are called Erinyes, Eumenides, or Dirae,² the Roman Furies are presented by the Latin poets as instruments of evil. There is the exceptional occasion, however, in which the savage Furies calm down under the spell of divinity.³ This happens when Orpheus steps into Hades in the company of his lyre. Hades is struck silent; and, joining in the general awe, the serpent-haired Eumenides cease their fury (Vergil Georgics 4.481ff.):

quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti
Tartara caeruleosque implexae crinibus anguis
Eumenides

The metaphorical use of the Furies motif is also found in several notable passages. Vergil calls Helen an "Erinys" common to Troy and her own fatherland (Aeneid 2.573: Troiae et patriae communis Erinys). This is reminiscent of a similar passage in Aeschylus (Agamemnon 749), but also of Ennius' reference to Helen as a Fury (Scenica 71 V.: Lacedaemonia mulier, furiarum una adveniet).⁴

¹In the Culex 218, 246, 377, we find a confusion of the various literary representations of the Furies, as Pascal, Credenze, II, 76, notes.

²Cf. Verg. G. 551-553; Aen. 4.384ff. and see Pease, Aeneid 4, note ad loc.; Aen. 4.473, 610, 8.701, 12.869; Ov. Met. 4.483 etc.

³See pp. 106-107.

⁴Similarly the Furies assailing Alcmaeon (see p.108) may allegorically represent the evils of Morbus, Exilium, and Inopia. See Jocelyn, The Tragedies of Ennius, 191.

Such free uses of the term Furia also occur in prose authors like Livy and Cicero.¹ Erinyes is the demon of battle in Aeneid 2.337,² and in many other Vergilian passages Furia or Furiae stand for "frenzy", "madness", "uncontrollable force".³ Horace's imaginative way of describing death in war is to say that the dead are given "as a show" (spectacula) to grim Mars by the Furies (Odes 1.28.17).

¹Cf. Livy 1.48.7; 21.10.11. In the latter passage the term Furia is applied to a man, Hannibal. Cic. Sest. 14.33, 17.39; Sull. 27.

²Cf. Luc. 4.187.

³Cf. G. 3.244, 511; Aen. 4.474; 7.392; 8.205 etc.; also, Luc. 1.573; 6.730; 10.59. Witches can be called "Erinyes": cf. Hor. Sat. 1.8.45; 2.3.141; Ov. Met. 4.504.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOPOGRAPHY OF THE VERGILIAN UNDERWORLD

Erwin Rohde has aptly observed that Homer's primary purpose in Odyssey 11 which describes Odysseus' visit to the world of the dead was to present some dead heroes, known to his readers, and thus he dealt but briefly with the underworld scenery which might have interested him otherwise.¹ Mutatis mutandis the observation could apply also to Vergil, in view of the fact that in Aeneid 6 the Latin poet primarily wanted to bring Aeneas into the presence of his father and have the future of Rome revealed to him.² In fact, Vergil seems to have tried to draw a full picture of Hades, through which his hero passes on his way to Elysium and Anchises, but being preoccupied with the philosophical and religious aspects of his catabasis he gives a rather vague, if quite suggestive, account of the topography of the underworld.

1. The General Appearance of Hades

In Homer, whose underworld topography was borrowed by almost all ancient poets in their Nekyias,³ the world of shades

¹ Psyche, I, 35.

² See p. 183.

³ On the ancient Hades see in general Roscher, I, 1778ff; III, 2568ff.; RE, Suppl. 3, 867ff.

is located far away from, and beneath, the earth (Iliad 20.61), and is guarded by a stream of water which the unburied souls may not cross (Iliad 23.73; Odyssey 10.513) as well as by a watchdog.¹ More often Hades is spoken of as a subterranean place which one enters, or descends to, either alone,² or with Hermes' guidance (Odyssey 24.1ff.).³ The supreme ruler of this world is Zeus Catachthonios (Iliad 9.457), or Hades (Iliad 15.188).

Darkness or obscurity are the most peculiar features of the underworld. The dead lead their shadowy existence under a murky gloom (ὑπὸ ζόφῳ ἡρόεντα),⁴ which the light of the sun cannot reach (Odyssey 4.833-834). This idea of gloominess in Hades has been reproduced to satiety by later authors.⁵ Ennius speaks of the pale places of death, clouded in darkness (Scenica 109-110 V.: Pallida leti nubila tenebris / Loca), and the fragment of an unknown early Latin poet speaks of the underworld as a place dominated by a hard thick fog (ubi rigida constat crassa caligo inferum).⁶ Vergil's Orpheus steps into Hades' grove, misty with

¹See pp. 103ff.

²Cf. Il. 5.190; 6.19, 422; 7.131, 330.

³In a passage (Il. 14.454ff.) notable for its black humour the dead warrior is expected to use the weapon that killed him as a walking stick to Hades.

⁴Cf. Il. 23.51; Od. 11.57, 155.

⁵Cf. Eur. Alc. 438; Cic. Tusc. 1.37.

⁶See A. Ernout, Recueil de textes latins archaïques (Paris, 1957), 221. Cf. Soph. Polyx. fr. 490 N.

black fear (Georgics 4.468: caligantem nigra formidine lucum) and is greeted by the shades of those deprived of light (4.472: simulacra luce carentum).¹

The sad region (Odyssey 11.94) of the underworld, however, is referred to by more concrete terms. Many of the Homeric passages cited picture the lower world as the House of Hades. This is one of the two standard notions in association with the topography of the nether world, the second being the notion of Hades as a land or a kingdom.² Both notions are either combined or used side by side in Greek and Roman authors to the end of antiquity. A third idea which viewed the underworld as a cave, probably because caves were generally thought to be entrances to it,³ is also found here and there, again either alone or combined with the ideas of house and land, but seems to have had little development, as the other two types of underworld topography appealed to the imagination of people more.⁴

¹See p. 25; Pease, Aeneid 4, 108-109.

²See Roscher, VI, 65ff., s.v. "unterwelt".

³See pp. 128ff.

⁴The idea of a cave-type Hades is found in the cave of Trophonios in Boeotia (Paus. 9.39), on which see Jackson Knight, Epic and Anthropology, 197. Chthonian associations are also found in the cave of the Cyclopes and that of Eileithyia in Homer. See Jackson Knight, ibid., 169ff. and 164. On cave deities see Rohde, II, 279, n. 68. See pp. 126-127.

In Vergil we have the notion of an underworld cave several times. Cyrene's Chthonian abode in the Georgics (4.328ff.) is a cavern in the depths of water underneath the source of the river Peneus in Thessaly.¹ Aristaeus' descent to his mother's place is made possible by the withdrawal and swelling up of the water in a mountain-type recess which receives and takes him under the stream. The abode of Cyrene, however, is also called a house (Georgics 4.363), and the nymph is presented working among the other nymphs in a chamber (4.333: thalamus), the roof of which is over-arched with pumice stone. Vergil is also alluding to the idea of a land or a kingdom by emphasizing the watery ambiance of the place (4.363: umida regna). There are lakes hemmed in by caverns (speluncae) and also groves, which echo with the noise of the flowing waters. Here Vergil places the subterranean parts of the rivers flowing on earth: the Phasis and Lycus of Colchis, the Enipeus of Thessaly, the Tiber and Anio as well as the "bull-faced" Eridanus of Italy.² In the Aeneid we may detect a survival of the cave-type Hades in the cave (antrum) of Cerberus (6.400), which may be meant to represent the dog's den but also the underworld itself; also in the "horrible cave" (specus horrendum) of the valley of Amsanctus (Aeneid 7.568);³ and of course in the cave of

¹Cf. Hom. Il. 18.35ff. See F. Klingner, Virgils Georgica (Zürich, 1963). 205; E. A. Havelock, "Virgil's Road to Xanadu", Phoenix, 1 (1946-1947), 3-8, and 2 (1946-1947), 2-7.

²See p. 146, n. 4. See Havelock, "Virgil's Road to Xanadu", Phoenix, supplement to volume 1 (1947), 11ff.

³See J. A. S. Evans, "Amsancti Valles", Vergilius, 10 (1964), 12-14.

Cacus thrown open by Hercules (Aeneid 8.241-246):

at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens
regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae,
non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens
infernās reseret sedes et regna recludat
pallida, dis invisa, superque immane barathrum
cernatur, trepident immisso lumine Manes.

Here we may have the idea of a primitive type of Roman underworld, just as the Manes who are said to be frightened by the light may represent the primitive Roman concept of an undifferentiated mass of the dead.¹ Vergil has obviously wanted to establish a link between Cacus' Chthonian abode and the underworld of Aeneid 6 by stressing the darkness and spaciousness of the cave.²

The notions of house and land in reference to Hades are found combined in one and the same verse (Aeneid 6.269: domos Ditis vacuas et inania regna) which, together with the one that precedes it, have been imitated by Dante and admired by Schiller.³ The line also aptly expresses the unsubstantiality of the lower world,⁴ which figures also in the poet's prayer to the infernal powers shortly before the description of Aeneas' catabasis (Aeneid 6.264ff.), coupled with the notions of darkness and silence. These notions are also echoed in the formulations

¹See pp. 13ff.

²G. K. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode in Aeneid VIII", AJP 87 (1966), 38; see p. 256, n. 1.

³Dante Inf. 23.1; Purg. 1.118; see Norden, Aeneis VI, note on Aen. ad loc. Cf. also Culex 273: maesta obtenta Ditis ferrugine regna

⁴Cf. Hor. Od. 1.4.17: domus exilis Plutonia.

loca senta situ and loca turbida (Aeneid 6.463 and 534).

In his account of the topography of the nether regions Vergil seems to fall midway between Homer whose description is too general and Dante who has delineated and mapped his underworld very sharply.¹ The two main concepts of Hades, the concept of the House of Dis and of the Realm of Dis are, as already observed, mingled and harmonized. On the one hand we have what appears to be a counterpart to the Greco-Roman-style house with its well-defined rooms, vestibulum, atrium, court etc;² on the other we hear of the forests of Hades, its rivers and fields, the special fortified area of Tartarus, and the palace of Dis and Proserpina. There are some apparent or real contradictions in the poet's topographical account, especially in connection with the infernal rivers, but these do no great harm to the general structure of Aeneid 6.³

¹See Butler, Aeneid 6, 7; Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 268. In the Culex (216f.) Hades is seen as a walled-in city, guarded by Tisiphone and Cerberus (218ff.) and divided into two main regions, Tartarus and Elysium. See A. A. Barrett, "The Topography of the Gnat's Descent", CJ, 65 (1970), 155-157.

²McKay, Vergil's Italy, 216f. See, in general, Wistrand, "Virgil's Palaces...", 146-154.

³See p. 162.

2. The Entrance to Hades

Research in the mythologies of many peoples around the globe has shown that there are two main types of legends which deal with the descent of a living man, or of a ghost, to the underworld: the ocean type, according to which one sails over the sea to the world of the dead, and the cave type, according to which access to the realm of spirits is found through a cave.¹ The trip of Homer's Odysseus to the land of the Cimmerians where he finds an entrance to Hades is an ocean-type mortuary legend. The catabasis of Aeneas to the underworld at Lake Avernus in Italy starts at a cave and it can therefore be said to belong to the cave-type myth, although the fact that Aeneas first sails like Odysseus across the sea towards the West might make us believe that we have a combination of the two types of myth.

The area of Italic Cumae which Vergil aptly selected as the setting for Aeneas' descent included, according to the narrative of Aeneid 6, the temple of Apollo Cumanus,² remains of which have been found on the eastern summit of the Cumaeen hill, the cave of Apollo's priestess Sibyl, where she gave her oracular responses, the grove of Trivia, the grove of Avernus overseered by the Sibyl as the representative of Hecate, the grotto or dwelling place of the Sibyl on the banks of Avernus, to which Aeneas probably takes

¹ See Jackson Knight, Epic and Anthropology, 144.

² Cf. CIL 10.211.

the Golden Bough (Aeneid 6.211), and Lake Avernus itself.¹

What particularly contributed to the association of the Cumaean territory, impressive enough in itself,² with the dead was its volcanic nature which suggested to people mysterious subterranean forces in action.³ Lake Avernus, the name of which was derived from Greek ἄορνος, "birdless", in conformity to the belief that noxious fumes rising from its waters had lethal effects on birds, fills the lower part of an old volcanic crater, and forms part of the Campanian Phlegraean Fields. The idea of an entrance to the underworld at Avernus may be as old as Mycenaean times, since the shores of the lake show traces of habitation from a period earlier than the arrival of the Cumaean colonists in the area in the eighth century B.C.

It was observed earlier⁴ that the Greek settlers at Cumae, which lies only at a distance of one mile from Avernus,

¹For the general topography of the area see McKay, Vergil's Italy, 201ff.

²The Cumaean scenery as depicted in Vergil has inspired well-known painters. See A. G. McKay, "Virgilian Landscape into Art", in Dudley, Virgil, 142, 149.

³The area of Solfatara, crater of an old volcano, is still somehow active. See Paget, In the Footsteps of Orpheus, 25ff.; McKay, Vergil's Italy, 266, fig. 53. Hot springs of a volcanic character and entrances to Hades often went together in the ancient world. See J. H. Croon, The Herdsman of the Dead (Utrecht, 1952), 75 and 82-83. See p. 255, n. 2.

⁴See p. 84.

brought with them the cult of Apollo, but did not or could not ignore an earlier Chthonian cult practised in the area, which was associated with an earth goddess and centered around an oracle of the dead.¹ In time the two cults merged and the oracular practice was transferred from the subterranean caves near Avernus to the citadel of Cumae and put under the protection of Phoebus via his priestess Sibyl. The Chthonian importance of the area, however, was still felt in historical times, and Hannibal is reported to have sacrificed at Avernus.² Much of the mystery surrounding the well-wooded place,³ must have been shattered in 37 B.C. by Agrippa's radical transformations of the landscape for strategic and military purposes, which involved the cutting down of trees to make ships and also the opening of tunnels linking Avernus with the harbour of Cumae and with the Lake Lucrinus.

Prodigies protesting the desecration of the place allegedly occurred during Agrippa's operations aimed at creating a naval base in Avernus.⁴ Vergil, who probably witnessed and disapproved

¹Gaia, the Earth herself, was the first occupant of the Delphi shrine. Cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 2. See Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, 229. See p. 127, n. 1.

²Cf. Livy 24.12-13; Sil. Ital. 12.12.27.

³Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.107 cited on p. 128; Prop. 3.18.1: ab umbroso...Auerno.

⁴Cass. Dio 48.50.4, and Serv. G. 2.162, tell of a sweating apparition above the lake, the former identifying it with Calypso (See Jackson Knight, *Epic and Anthropology*, 164, 166-167), and the latter with an eponymous god Avernus (Cf. an inscription from

of the radical changes in the scenery of Avernus to which he alludes in his Georgics (2.161-164), has tried to preserve something of its original romantic character in Aeneid 6.

The oracle of the dead was, according to Ephorus (in Strabo 5.4.5), run by a mysterious race of people who lived in the caves of the volcanic hillsides and never glimpsed the sunlight; these are to be identified with the Cimmerians of Homer,¹ and they were exterminated at one point by some king whom they harmed with their advice and their psychomantic rituals were removed elsewhere. This may be an aetiological story and conceal the fact of Apollo's arrival at Cumae and of the subsequent changes in the place and form of the oracular practices. The seat of the old oracle where the spirits of the dead were evoked and responses obtained is very hard to identify as the whole area of the Phlegraean Fields abounds in caverns such as those described by Ephorus. The chief candidate for the seat of the oracle is

Britain (CIL 7.165): Genio Avernī. Servius adds that the Romans tried to atone for the prodigy by the performance of sacrifices (sacra piacularia). See R. M. Peterson, The Cults of Campania (Rome, 1919), 77-78.

¹See in general RE, 11A, 425ff. s.v. "Kimmerier". The problem of the geographical location of Homer's Cimmerians is a vexed one. The following two authors have dealt extensively, if fancifully, with this and related problems: G. Germain, Genèse de l'Odyssee (Paris, 1954), 352ff.; L. G. Pocock, Odyssean Essays (Oxford, 1965), 25ff. Paget, In the Footsteps of Orpheus, 83ff., thinks that Homer's narrative of Odysseus' journey to the land of the Cimmerians and Ephorus' information can be confirmed by the geography of the area of Italic Cumae. In any case, the sacrificial ritual which Odysseus performs in the Odyssey (11. 23ff.) to attract the souls of the dead resembles the ritual used later in the oracles of the dead. See Rohde, Psyche, I, 37.

so far the long man-made cavern which R. F. Paget and an assistant discovered in 1962 at Baia, under the remains of a Greek temple of the late sixth century B.C., in the outer wall of the crater of Avernus.¹ In fact, these subterranean corridors carefully constructed and supplied with an intricate ventilation system must have been used for some kind of religious ritual,² but it is not certain that this ritual was the evocation of spirits.³ The antrum was partly closed probably at the time of the Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus in 186 B.C.,⁴ and it may have been totally blocked some time between 50 and 35 B.C. either by volcanic action or by the works of Agrippa. The names Plutonium and Cerberium attached to Avernus testify in general to the association of the area with the infernal world.⁵

¹ See Paget's already mentioned book In the Footsteps of Orpheus, motivated by this particular discovery. A summary of Paget's finds is given in his article "The Great Antrum at Baiae", Vergilius, 13 (1967), 42-50. See also McKay, Vergil's Italy, 247ff. and C. G. Hardie, "The Great Antrum at Baiae", PBSR, 37 (1969), 14-33.

² A. G. McKay, "Vergilian Bibliography 1967-68", Vergilius, 14 (1968), 24; Hardie, "The Great Antrum...", 14.

³ Hardie, ibid., 15ff., who dates the cave from the time of the tyrant Aristodemus of Cumae, seems to reject, perhaps too hastily, the idea of a psychomanteion there; he suggests instead that the place served for some kind of descent of an Orphic or Dionysiac character. However, theoretically speaking, I do not find the two types of ritual mutually exclusive.

⁴ Cf. Livy 39.8-19. See Hardie, ibid., 28ff.

⁵ Cf. Strabo 5.4.5; Diod. 4.22.1; Sil. Ital. 13.601.

The psychomantic sessions at the oracle of the dead which were, as already observed, under the protection of an earth deity, later identified with Hera,¹ and Hecate,² may have resembled those at the oracle of Trophonios in Lebadeia, which we know from Pausanias (9.39).³ Paget has noted several topographical parallels between Pausanias' description of Trophonios' cave and the cave of Baiae,⁴ as well as echoes of some of these topographical details in Vergil's text.⁵

¹See p. 84, n. 3. Cf. also commentary on col. 18 of the Derveni papyrus: "Γῆ δὲ καὶ Μήτηρ καὶ Πῆα καὶ Ἥρα ἡ αὐτή". in R. Merkelbach, "Der orphische Papyrus von Derveni", *ZPE*, 1 (1967) 27. See also Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 315ff. On Hera at Cumae see Hardie, "The Great Antrum...", 24. The triumph of Apollo over the cult of the Earth-Mother is represented on a red-figured amphora (probably still at the Museum of Naples). See on this Harrison, *ibid.*, 319f. See p. 124, n. 1.

²See pp. 84-85 and p. 124, n. 4.

³Cf. also Ar. *Nub.* 506ff.; Eur. *Ion* 300, 393f., 404. See Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods*, 223ff.; Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational*, 111. Cic. *Tusc.* 1.16.37-38 gives a rational explanation of psychomantic phenomena. Cf. Diod. 4.21.1; Max. Tyr. 14.2. See A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1879), I, 330ff.

⁴In the Footsteps of Orpheus, 108, 122, 149. See p. 118.

⁵In the Footsteps of Orpheus, 114-115 and *passim*. Hardie, "The Great Antrum...", 16, dissociates the antrum from the narrative of Vergil. He believes in general that there was never an oracle of the dead at Avernus; the idea was put forth by mythographers and historians who had not been there. See *ibid.*, 32-33.

Aeneas' plea to the Sibyl to help him reach the spirit of his father in Hades suggests that Lake Avernus is an outlet for the subterranean waters of Acheron. This is at least how most Vergilian commentators including Servius interpret the phrase (Aeneid 6.107): tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso, which we may therefore translate by "the gloomy lake (formed) by the overflow of Acheron". This seems to agree with the fact that Lake Avernus is fed by springs from its bottom.¹ Vergil's phrase, however, can be also associated with the "Acherusian marsh" (Acherusia palus), that is, modern Lake Fusaro, which lies beneath the acropolis of Cumae.²

The notion of the underworld as a subterranean place to which one descends easily after death with no hope of retracing his steps back to the upper air is plainly expressed by the Sibyl's speech to Aeneas (Aeneid 6.125ff.) in answer to the hero's request for a descent. The actual entrance to Hades is referred to as "the jaws of ill-smelling Avernus" (Aeneid 6.201: fauces grave olentis Avernii),³ and this is amplified in the description of the entire entrance-cave later (6.237-242):

¹Accordingly we can speak of "the waters of Avernus" in the meaning "waters of Hell". Cf. Verg. Aen. 4.512: latices ...fontis Avernii; Hor. Epod. 5.26: Avernalis aquas.

²See McKay, Vergil's Italy, 214; Hardie, "The Great Antrum...", 33.

³Also (Aen. 6.109): sacra ostia, the form sacra meaning, according to Servius, either "holy" or "accursed". See Norden, Aeneis VI, note ad loc.

spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,
 scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
 quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
 tendere iter pennis: talis sese halitus atris
 faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat:
 [unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornon.]

The cave which must be distinguished from the oracular antrum of Cumae¹ can be identified with the so-called Grotta della Sibilla on the South shore of Lake Avernus, and it is possible that in ancient times there were indeed noxious exhalations coming out of the chasm, as well as fumes rising from the surface of the lake itself, a phenomenon which is not observed now. Vergil's description which may have been inspired by a parallel passage in Apollonius Rhodius (2.735ff.)² is quite artistic with a fine first line with the broad gaping a sounds, as Norden has observed,³ and the skilful elaboration in three lines⁴ of the phenomenon of the bird-killing halitus.⁵ This high cavern of

¹ Servius Aen. 6.237 has already noticed this.

² See Markus Hügi, Vergils Aeneis und die hellenistische Dichtung (Bern, 1952), 108; see also ibid., 64f. and 134.

³ Aeneis VI, note ad loc.; cf. Aen. 6.493, 576.

⁴ Cf. Apoll. Rhod. 4.599f.; Lucr. 6.740ff., 818ff.

⁵ Line 242 which gives the Greek derivation of Avernus is ignored by Servius, missing in some MSS., and with no real parallel in Vergil; hence, it is bracketed as spurious. Of modern Vergilian commentators Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note ad loc., finds nothing un-Vergilian about the line. Butler, Aeneid 6, note ad loc., remarks that Lucretius (see n. 4 above) seems to connect Avernus with avis, "bird", and it is natural to expect Vergil to do the same; however, although Vergil likes hinting at derivations

rough jagged rock darkened by the infernal lake and the woods, near which the birds guiding Aeneas to the Golden Bough stop, is obviously the antrum into which the Sibyl, made furens, that is, "inspired with divinity" (deo plena), as Servius remarks, by the epiphany of Hecate,¹ flings herself followed by Aeneas (Aeneid 6.262).²

3. The Rivers of the Underworld

Homer thought of the entrance to the underworld as being beyond the stream of the River Ocean, that is, as being excluded from the world of the living by means of water. It has been observed that this motif of the water-barrier to Hades is found in many legends and mythical accounts of journeys of the living and the dead to the realm of souls. In the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh the hero has to cross the sea on his way to find the

as in Aen. 3.516, 6.550, 6.750, the line in question is purely an explanatory note put into a hexameter and does not fit in the epic.

¹See p. 85.

²In Verg. G. 4.467 Orpheus enters Hades at Cape Taenarus, another famous entrance to the world of the dead crossed also by Heracles (Cf. Eur. HF 23; Apollod. 2.123). Numerous other areas in Greece boasted such entrances to Hades, some of which were commonly called Acherusiae probably from the influence of the Acherusian Lake at Epirus in Greece, through which Acheron was believed to pass (Cf. Plin. HN 4.1.1). See p. 128. In general see RE, 1, 219, s.v. "Acherusia". In Sicily there was the "dark spring" of Syracuse through which Pluto was supposed to have carried Persephone to his kingdom (Cf. Diod. 5.4; see p. 293); and in Italy apart from Avernus there was the Albunea spring at Tibur, on which see Serv. Aen. 7.82ff., Ennius Ann. 7.261 V., and the secondary sources: Eduard Norden, Ennius und Vergilius (Leipzig, 1915), 25ff.; McKay, Vergil's Italy, 153f.; Salmon, Samnium, 150 with Aen. 7.563-572. See pp. 119, 123. In general see Roscher, 6, 48ff., s.v. "Unterwelt".

soul of his ancestor whom he wants to consult.¹ In ancient Egypt the old idea survived in the custom of ferrying the bodies of the dead from the Eastern side of the Nile to the Western side for burial.

The rivers of the underworld which, as Jackson Knight argues,² replaced in time the Ocean idea are given a passing reference in Odyssey 10 (513-514): the rivers Pyriphlegethon and Cocytos, a branch of the Styx, pour their thundering streams into Acheron; a white rock marks the spot where these two rivers converge and where Odysseus has to dig his trench and make the right sacrifices.³ The names of the rivers which were probably invented by Homer himself suggest a very gloomy setting.⁴ Acheron which seems to allude to a river rather than a lake⁵ derives from ἄχος, "pain", and ῥέω, "flow"; Pyriphlegethon comes from πῦρ, "fire", and φλεγέθω, "burn", Cocytos from κωκύω, "lament", and Styx from στυγέω, "hate".⁶ Plato (Phaedo 61, 112-113) tells

¹Cf. Romance of Alexander of Ps.-Kall. 2.30.

²Epic and Anthropology, 175.

³See in general Roscher, 6, 67ff., s.v. "Unterwelt"; also, RE, 1, 217ff., s.v. "Acheron"; 11A, 1065ff., s.v. "Kokytos"; 2nd Ser., 4A, 460ff., s.v. "Styx".

⁴"a background of Dantesque terrors", as W. B. Stanford, The Odyssey of Homer (London, 1965), I, 404, says. Cf. Hom. Od. 11.157-158.

⁵Cf. Hom. Il. 23.72-73. See Rohde, Psyche, I, 52, n. 67; Stanford, The Odyssey, I, note on Od. 10.511ff.

⁶See Rohde, Psyche, I, 35, and 52, n. 66.

of the all-surrounding Ocean, Acheron, Pyriphlegethon, and Cocytos. Cocytos first flows into the marsh of Styx, then runs under the earth in a winding stream, meets the Pyriphlegethon at the Acherusian marsh, and finally flows into Tartarus opposite Pyriphlegethon.¹

Of the various Greek rivers which carried the name Acheron that of Thesprotia in Epirus was the best-known. According to popular belief, the souls of the dead were carried over, or swarmed across, Acheron.² In time Acheron came to be used often in the meaning "underworld", especially among Roman poets, and it is Etruria which seems to have been the intermediary between the original meaning of the word and its later application.³ The form in this case is mostly Acheruns and the derivative adjective Acherusius meaning "infernal". Thus Ennius speaks of the "Acherusian temple of Orcus" in the meaning "underworld".⁴

¹Cf. Pl. Axiach. 371b; Orph. Argon. fr. 154 Ab. Frigidity was usually associated with the Stygian waters, although in the Suda lexicon Cocytos is said to be cold in contrast to the flaming Pyriphlegethon: s.v. 'Ἑλύσιον.

²Cf. Aesch. Sept. 836; Eur. Alc. 440; Theocr. 14.47.

³See pp. 276f. For the notion of a personified Acheron see Rohde, Psyche, II, 591. Cocytos as an infernal god figures in Athen. 13.597.

⁴See p. 48. Cf. Ennius Scen. 245 V.: Acherontem obibo, ubi Mortis thesauri obiacent; Plaut. Capt. 998-999: vidi ego multa saepe picta, quae Accherunti fierent / cruciamenta... See p. 276. and discussion of Jocelyn, The Tragedies of Ennius, 255-256.

It is only once that Lucretius seems to allude to the River Acheron (6.763: Acheruntis in oras), while he often uses the term to mean "lower world"; so, we have (3.37): metus...Acheruntis; (3.628): infernus animas Acherunte vagari; (4.170-171): uti tenebras omnis Acherunta rearis / liquisse (cf. 6.251-252) etc. Likewise Acherusius is employed in the meaning "infernal"; (3.1023): hic Acherusia fit stultorum denique vita.¹

The Augustan poets continue and amplify the tradition of using the names of the infernal rivers on the literal and on the metaphorical levels. Acheron in the meaning "underworld" is found in Horace (Odes 1.3.36: perrupit Acheronta Herculeus labor; 3.3.16: Martis equis Acheronta fugit).² Propertius 3.5.13: haud ullas portabis opes Acherontis ad undas combines the ideas of the underworld river and of the underworld in general, and this could be also said about Horace's first passage above. Vergil presents many interesting formulations of the Acheron motif, mostly in the meaning "lower world": e.g., Aeneid 5.99: manis...Acheronte remissos; 7.91: imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis; 7.312: Acheronta movebo; 11.23: Acheronta sub imo. In the famous passage of the Georgics (2.490-492):

felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari

¹Cf. Lucr. 1.120; 3.25, 86, which seem to echo Ennius.

²See Nisbet and Hubbard, Horace: Odes, Book 1, 57.

the literal and the figurative uses of Acheron are aptly combined: strepitus alludes to the rumbling of the River Acheron, while avarus represents the greediness of Hell which receives the dead never to restore them again to life.

Of the other rivers of the underworld Styx also fares well in the usage of poets: e.g. Horace (Odes 1.34.10); Vergil (Georgics 1.243). Frequent is the use of the adjective Stygus in the meaning "infernal". Horace's consciousness of his poetic worth enables him to express his future immortality by saying "neither will I be confined by the Stygian waters" (Odes 2.20.8: nec Stygia cohibebor unda).¹ Propertius' similar proclamation of the endurance of love (1.19.12: traicit et fati litora magnus amor), literally taken, alludes to the banks of Acheron or Styx that cannot prevent the reunion of two lovers separated by death.

Vergil's treatment of the rivers of Hell in Aeneid 6 illustrates the point made about the vagueness and confusion which we find in his topographical underworld descriptions. Acheron is said to overflow at Lake Avernus,² and is later described in a way which seems to deviate from the Homeric model as Acheron is made a tributary of Cocytos (Aeneid 6.296-297):

turbidus hic caeno vastaue voragine gurgēs
aestuat atque omnem Cocytus eructat harenam.³

¹See p. 8. For other uses of Stygus cf. Prop. 2.9.26; 3.18.9; Verg. Aen. 4.699; 7.476.

²See p. 128.

³Remarkable in v. 296 is the succession of the broad a sounds and the alliteration of v in vasta voragine.

Servius notes that the inlets of Acheron form Styx from which Cocytos springs.¹ This agrees, I think, with references to Styx a little later in the book (v. 369: Stygiam...paludem; 385: Stygia...ab unda). Acheron forms at one point the marsh of Styx over whose "livid waters" (Aeneid 6.320: vada livida)² Charon sails his boat with the help of the souls he is carrying across. Styx is again grouped with Cocytos in Vergil's reference via the Sibyl to the Homeric concept of the gods' swearing by the Stygian waters (Aeneid 6.323-324):

Cocytus stagna alta vides Stygiamque paludem,
di cuius iurare timent et fallere numen.

Servius, commenting on the passage, seems to give a correct interpretation of the belief: the gods of heaven take their oaths on Styx, among the other powers of the universe, because what Styx represents, gloominess, is thought to be contrary to eternity, the gods' paramount quality.³ Styx is not a narrow river but a rather large extent of water (Cf. Aeneid 6.415), with horrible banks covered with mire and bluish sedge (Aeneid 6.327: ripas...horrendas et rauca fluentia; 416: informi limo glaucaeque...in ulva).⁴ The

¹ on Aen. 6.295: Tartarei...Acherontis ad undas. Vergil calls Acheron Tartareus because, according to Servius, it was thought to spring from Tartarus. A better reason, however, for this appellation could lie in the sinister associations of Acheron. See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note ad loc., and Norden, Ennius und Vergilius, 10ff., on Tartarinus.

² Cf. Catull. 17.10-11: lacus putidaeque paludis / liuidissima

³ Cf. also Serv. Aen. 6.134. On Styx in oaths cf. also Verg. G. 4.48; Ov. Met. 12.322; Cic. Nat. D. 3.17.43.

⁴ Vergil's description recalls nautical language. Cf. also Aen. 6.411: iuga longa, and Serv. ad loc.; 412: alveo; 413-414: gemuit sub pondere cumba / subtilis et multam accepit rimosa paludem.

expression rauca fluenta is, I think, a poetic plural alluding to the water-flow of Styx and does not have to be explained by reference to the three rivers, Acheron, Cocytos, and Styx.¹ The "longed for swamps" (Aeneid 6.330: stagna exoptata) which the unburied souls revisit after one hundred years must certainly signify the banks of Styx,² unless we accept Servius' idea that there is an allusion here to the waters of Lethe.³ The adjectives inremeabilis, "unrepasable" (Aeneid 6.425), which may be a coinage of Vergil, and inamabilis, "unlovely" (see below), applied to Styx, aptly convey the ideas of irrevocability and unattractiveness of death.⁴

Inamabilis is found within a statement which is somewhat startling, topographically speaking, in view of the fact that Styx has been already described by Vergil as a lake or marsh formed by the flow of Acheron and grouped with Cocytos. The souls of the suicides, we are told, are barred from returning to the upper world by divine decree, as they are held back by the doleful water and the nine encircling coils of Styx (Aeneid 6.438-439: fas obstat, tristisque palus inamabilis undae / alligat et novies Styx interfusa coerces). The passage, which is also found in a slightly

¹Cf. Serv. Aen. ad loc., and Aen. 6.368 and 671.

²See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note ad loc.

³See p. 147.

⁴Inremeabilis is applied to the Labyrinth in Aeneid 5.591. Norden, Aeneis VI, note ad loc., remarks that Dante (Purg. 1.131-132) has used two verses to translate Vergil's one word. Servius' idea (on Aen. 6.425) that the adjective alludes to the fact that Aeneas is returning to earth by another way is a little *recherche*.

different version in the Georgics (4.479-480: tarda...palus inamabilis unda / alligat et novies Styx interfusa coerces) does not admit, I think, any certain interpretation. Norden has accepted Servius' rather esoteric explanation that the mention of the nine coils alludes to the nine zones of Hell in contrast and similarity to the nine circles of heaven,¹ but this is not warranted by the Vergilian passage itself,² which avowedly contradicts Vergil's earlier suggestions of Styx as an offshoot of Tartarus.

Before the description of Aeneas' descent to the underworld we are told that Cocytos has a dark winding stream (Aeneid 6.132: Cocytus...sinu labens circumvenit atro). Later we learn that Cocytos flows out of Acheron, or perhaps that part of Acheron which forms Styx.³ The marshy Cocytos appears somewhat inconsistent with the winding River Cocytos mentioned above. This inconsistency, however, applies to Styx, too, as observed above. In any case "the stern river of the Eumenides" (Aeneid 6.374-375: amnem...severum / Eumenidum) which cannot be seen by the unburied ghost of Palinurus may conceal Cocytos, if we judge by a similar passage in the Georgics (3.37: amnem...severum / Cocyti).⁴

¹Aeneis VI, 26ff.

²See Butler, Aeneid 6, note on Aen. ad loc. See in general A. Setaioli, "Novies Styx interfusa", Atene e Roma, 14 (1969), 9-20.

³See p. 135.

⁴Cf. also Verg. G. 4.479 and Aen. 7.562. The image of a dark winding Cocytos is also found in Horace (Od. 2.14.17-18: ater flumine languido / Cocytos errans).

The flaming river of Hell Pyriphlegethon is found in Vergil's account of Tartarus. Aeneas sees the triple walls of Tartarus surrounded by the fiery flow of Phlegethon¹ and hears the torrential streams of water breaking upon the rocks (Aeneid 6.548-551):

Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra
moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro,
quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.

The description which is artistically conveyed with the alliterations of r and t suggests, especially in torrentia saxa, volcanic eruptions and lava streams which Vergil may have witnessed himself, besides the breaking of waters upon rocks.² It may not be insignificant that in an earlier passage (Aeneid 6.264ff.) Phlegethon is singled out among the infernal rivers and included in Vergil's special prayer to the powers of the underworld. This may be due to the fact that Phlegethon was considered the most horrible of the underworld rivers,³ or perhaps better that the word may mean in general "fire of Hell".⁴

4. Tartarus

The areas of Tartarus and Elysium are introduced in Aeneid 6 by means of the concept of the two roads (540-543):

¹The Greek term is invariably Pyriphlegethon. Cf. Culex 272: nec timuit Phlegethonta.

²Cf. Lucr. 1.288; Verg. G. 3.254.

³See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note ad loc.

⁴Cf. Serv. Aen. ad loc.

hic locus est partis ubi se via findit in ambas:
 dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
 hac iter Elysium nobis; at laeva malorum
 exercet poenas et ad impia Tartara mittit.

Of the two roads which are open to Aeneas and the Sibyl at the end of the Limbo area¹ the right-hand road leads to Elysium past the palace of Dis and Proserpina, while the left-hand road leads to Tartarus and is reserved only for the guilty. Aeneas has a look of the unholy place by turning back or sideways from the road leading to Elysium. Tartarus is presented as a castle or even a city solidly fortified by a triple wall² and furnished with an indomitable gate and an iron tower (Aeneid 6.552-554):

porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnae,
 vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi exscindere bello
 caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras.

Commentators usually cite Hesiod Theogony 726ff. as a probable model of Vergil for the above description of Tartarus. Hesiod's account, however, is essentially different. Hesiod's Tartarus is surrounded by a brazen wall, and its (presumably bottle-shaped) neck lies in darkness.³ Vergil's Tartarus is a castle or a castle-type city, as observed, surrounded by the River Phlegethon.

¹ See pp. 151-152. The concept of the two roads recalls Pl. Grg. 524a on the crossroad to the Islands of the Blest and Tartarus; also, the parable of the two ways, of vice and virtue, found in Hes. Op. 285ff., as well as Prodicus' myth of Heracles in which the hero chooses aretè and spurns kakia: cf. Xen. Mem. 2.120. See Cumont, After-life, 150f., 194; Guthrie, Orpheus and Greek Religion (London, 1952), 168, 173.

² See p. 138.

³ Hesiod's form of Tartarus may have originated in the old custom of burying the dead in big jars; see Harrison, Prolegomena, 32ff.

Instead, Homer's reference to the iron gates and the brazen sill of Tartarus (Iliad 8.15) may account for Vergil's special attention to the Tartarean entrance. To suggest the doorposts Vergil employs the word columnae as better suited to the grand-scale style of description.¹ Again, since adamas was for the ancients the hardest substance imagined,² Vergil prefers this word to "iron". Line 552, however, recalls on the whole Homer and seems to represent symbolically the inexorability of death³ and of eternal punishment of the guilty. The gate is as hard as fate whose power transcends even the power of the Di Superi.⁴ The whole complex is dominated by a tower⁵ which projects upwards solid and high in the air.⁶

The frightfulness of Tartarus is stressed by the presence of the custodian of the gate Tisiphone,⁷ the groans of those being

¹Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note on Aen. ad loc.

²Cf. Aesch. PV 6. We would probably say "steel". See Serv. Aen. ad loc.

³Cf. Prop. 4.11.4: non exorato stant adamante uiae.

⁴Hes. Th. 743-744 uses the word τέρας, "monster" in speaking of Tartarus. For the application of the term in ancient divination see Raymond Bloch, Les prodiges dans l'antiquité classique (Paris, 1963), 16.

⁵Cf. Aen. 2.460: turrim in praecipiti stantem summisque sub astra.

⁶Hades is equipped with a thick oppressing kind of air, as Serv. Aen. ad loc. notes. Norden, Aeneis VI, note ad loc., finds an analogy between the tower of Tartarus and the tower of Cronos in the Islands of the Blest: cf. Pind. Ol. 2.70.

⁷See p. 111.

punished inside, the sound of fierce lashings, of grating iron and trailing chains.¹ The Sibyl who as priestess of Hecate knows the place well complements the picture which Aeneas visualizes. So we hear that the "accursed" adamantine gates of Tartarus open with a jarring sound and grating on their hinges only when the condemned souls are handed over to the Furies for punishment.² As for the location of Tartarus in the universe, this is given in the following passage (Aeneid 6.577-579):

Tum Tartarus ipse
bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras
quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.

which recalls but also adds to Homer (Iliad 8.16). For Homer Tartarus lies as far below Hades as the sky is above the earth. Vergil doubles the distance of Tartarus from Hades compared to the view one can have from the earth upwards toward Olympus.³ This concept which places Tartarus not in the depths of the earth as the general topography of Aeneid 6 suggests, or even at the roots of the earth and the sea,⁴ but pictures it as a bottomless pit far below the earth may be the original concept.

¹See p. 176.

²Cf. Aen. 6.573-574 and Milton's imitation in PL 2.879ff.

³The scale improvement of Homeric models, characteristic of the high pathos of Roman rhetoric and poetry is found elsewhere in Vergil; cf. Hom. Il. 5.303, Apoll. Rh. 3.1367, and Verg. Aen. 12.899. Milton seems to improve on both Homer and Vergil by placing the fallen angels in an area "as far remote from God and light of heaven as from the centre thrice to the utmost pole" (PL 1.73)

⁴See p. 139.

Tartarus or Tartara (an alternate form) in early Greek mythology was the prison of the Titans, not a hell for the general punishment of crime as in Vergil;¹ but its meaning was gradually enlarged and came to include the whole of the underworld, although its essential application to the dark pit of sinners was by no means discontinued.² Tartarus in the meaning "underworld" is found in various Roman Imperial epitaphs,³ but the use is much older. Ennius allegedly used the adjective Tartarinus as a synonym of the forms horrendus and terribilis.⁴ Lucretius presents several formulations with Tartarus and Tartara. The old concept of the dark pit is suggested by this passage (3.966): nec quisquam in barathrum nec Tartara deditur atra, while the following line (3.1012): Tartarus horriferos eructans faucibus aestus alludes to the idea of Pyriphlegethon springing from Tartarus. Tartara taetra (5.1126) is echoed in Vergil Aeneid 6.134-135: nigra Tartara, and Tartara leti (3.42) in Vergil Georgics 4.481-482: intima Leti Tartara and these may be interpreted as topographical allusions or as figurative ways of suggesting the terrors of death.

¹See pp. 107ff.

²The etymology of the name Tartarus is uncertain. Servius Aen. 6.577 derives the word from the confusion of Hell (omnia illic turbata sunt) and (which he prefers) from the Greek ταραπύλλειν (id est a tremore frigoris; sole enim caret). Both derivations seem fanciful, if expressive.

³See Galletier, Poésie funéraire romaine, 47.

⁴Cf. Festus p. 494-495 L.; Varro Ling. 7.39. See p. 135, n. 1.

Tartarus and Tartara in the meaning "lower world" occur in Horace (Odes 1.28.9-10): habent...Tartara Panthoiden, a passage which is reminiscent of Vergil (Aeneid 5.733-734): non me impia namque / Tartara habent.¹ Numerous are also the uses of the adjective Tartareus in the sense "infernal" in Vergil. The word is applied to the rivers of Hell Acheron and Pyriphlegethon, as observed;² also, to the Furies (Aeneid 7.327-328: sorores / Tartareae),³ and to the dog of Hell, Cerberus (Aeneid 6.395: Tartareum...custodem).⁴

5. The Elysian Fields

To reach Elysium Aeneas has to stop at the palace of Dis and Proserpina and deposit his credentials, so to speak, that is, the Golden Bough. Vergil describes this palace,⁵ which is approached through shaded corridors (Aeneid 6.633), as a well-protected place, surrounded by walls which the Cyclopes themselves forged in their work-shops (Aeneid 6.630-631: Cyclopum

¹Cf. also Verg. G. 2.292 and Lucr. 4.416; Culex 274, 294, 333; Ov. Met. 1.113; 5.371. We find a personified Tartarus (=Pluto) in Val. Flacc. 4.258. See also Aen. 4.446 and note of Pease, Aeneid 4, ad loc.

²See pp. 135, n. 1, 138.

³Cf. also Aen. 7.514; 12.846.

⁴Cf. also Aen. 8.667; Cic. Tusc. 2.9.22; Ov. Met. 6.676; 12.257; Stat. Th. 5.66. See in general Roscher, 5, 121ff.; RE, 2nd Ser., 4B, 2440ff., s.v. "Tartarus".

⁵Apulian vases of the fourth century B.C. represent the palace of the underworld with its two chief residents in the middle

educta caminis / moenia), presumably under the supervision of Vulcan. This probably implies that the walls were made of iron and that they were of a dark colour.¹ The palace appears to be also equipped with an arched gate-way (Aeneid 6.631: adverso fornice portas) and presumably with means of lustration, water-vessels and lustral branches at its entrance, as Aeneas cleanses his body with fresh water (Aeneid 6.635-636) before fixing the magic ramus at the threshold.² There is no description of the interior of the palace, although Charon has mentioned earlier (Aeneid 6.396ff.) the throne (solium) and the bedroom (thalamus) of Pluto.³

The topographical description of Elysium is made by means of pleasant brief strokes in which Vergil follows the Greek tradition of a serene Elysian landscape pervaded by light (Aeneid 6.638-641):

devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta
 fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas..
 largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit
 purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

Elysium seems to be imagined as a garden-like region, with pleasant green spaces (amoena virecta),⁴ and "happy groves" (nemora fortunata).⁵ It is an essentially serene place crowned

of various underworld scenes. See Harrison, Prolegomena, 600ff.; Guthrie, Orpheus, 187ff.

¹Cf. Pind. Ol. 14.20-21.

²See p. 172.

³See p. 104.

⁴Cf. Aen. 6.684; Ennius Ann. 39 V.

⁵The expression is by transference from nemora fortunatorum. Cf. Aen. 6.441: lugentes campi.

by a "dazzling" light,¹ a sun and stars of its own.

The word aether, which literally indicates the higher air above the earth, as well as the expression aeris in campis latis which we find later (Aeneid 6.887) would seem to suggest the belief which placed the abode of the Blest in the upper regions of the universe and which we find in Cicero's Dream of Scipio.² This would violate, however, the general topographical orientation of Aeneas' journey, which, though elliptic, seems to center underground. Aether may simply allude to the supernatural lighting of Elysium,³ and as aer means "mist" as well as "air" the expression aeris in campis may be a general expression for the underworld and mean "shadowy plains", that is, a place which is as far from the bright atmosphere of Elysium as from the darkness of the infernal regions.⁴ The expression, nonetheless, seems to refer to Elysium and it may be that we should interpret it symbolically as an allusion to the idea that Aeneas' journey is

¹ Indeed, purpureus appears to suggest brightness rather than colour, as Fletcher, Aeneid VI, note ad loc., remarks; cf. Aen. 6.677: campos...nitentis, and for a literal application of purpureus cf. Aen. 6.884: purpureos...flores. For the notion of heavenly light cf. Hom. Od. 6.44; Lucr. 3.18ff.; Cic. Nat. D. 2.19.

² See pp. 194f. Cf. Serv. Aen. 6.640, 887 and 5.735. See Norden, Aeneis VI, 23ff.; Cumont, After-life, 81f., 97f., 104, 126f. etc.; Pierre Boyance, La religion de Virgile (Paris, 1963), 116ff.

³ See Butler, Aeneid 6, note on Aen. 6.640.

⁴ See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note on Aen. ad loc.

a dream.¹

In any case the topography of Vergil's Elysium is far more problematical than the topography of Homer's Elysium set somewhere at the borders of the earth (Odyssey 4.563ff.) and Hesiod's Islands of the Blest (Works and Days 167ff.), although the serene atmosphere and brightness of light² of the Vergilian description are elements which are also found in the accounts of Homer, Hesiod, and all later poets dealing with the subject.³ Horses are grazing peacefully in Vergil's Elysium (Aeneid 6.653ff.) and some of the blessed souls are feasting in a laurel-grove near the stream of Eridanus (Aeneid 6.658-659):

inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne
plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.⁴

¹See Butler, Aeneid 6, and Fletcher, Aeneid VI, notes on Aen. ad loc.; see also pp. 152ff.

²Cf. also Ar. Ran. 155, and see Norden, Aeneis VI, 297. McKay, Vergil's Italy, 216, suggests that Vergil's description of Elysian light may have something to do with the sensation one experiences after coming out of the tunnels of the Phlegraean Fields.

³Cf. also Pind. Ol. 2.61ff. See in general Rohde, Psyche, I, 55ff. The motif of the Islands of the Blest which we find in Hor. Epod. 16.41ff. was probably suggested to the poet by the tradition of Sertorius who allegedly proposed to take refuge from the Roman civil wars in the Canary Islands (cf. Plut. Vit. Sert. 8; Sall. H. fr. 2.61). Strong, Apotheosis, 186 and 215, refers to dolphins and marine monsters in Roman-Hellenistic art which escort the dead to the Islands of the Blest.

⁴The idea of a fragrant laurel-grove in the West where the sun rests after finishing a day's work is found in Stesichorus (fr. 8 B.). Cf. also Eur. Hipp. 732ff.; schol. on Eur. Or. 981, for the story of the River Eridanus flowing in the garden of the gods in the far West, where Phaethon died. See p. 119.

The stream of Lethe is placed in a secluded area¹ of Elysium (Aeneid 6.703-709):

interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta
seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae,
Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem.
hunc circum innumerae gentes populiue volabant,
ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt variis et candida circum
lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.

Norden notes the artistic language which Vergil uses to describe this stream haunted by the sound of those to be reborn on earth, according to the Orphic-Pythagorean concept of reincarnation.² The phrase virgulta sonantia silvae suggests the light breezes of which Homer speaks in his description of Elysium, and the image of Lethe's stream swimming past the peaceful abodes of the Blest recalls passages of Ennius and Lucretius.³

On the whole Vergil's Elysium appears to be an incarnation of the Golden age and of that Saturnian simplicity and beauty which Vergil sings in his fourth Eclogue.⁴ As a later Roman

¹Cf. Aen. 8.609, and see Otis, Virgil, 341.

²See pp. 212ff.

³Cf. Ennius Ann. 596 V.: fluctusque natantes; Lucr. 5.488: camposque natantis. Vergil's praenatat, "swims past", has the force of praeterfluit, "flows past": cf. Hor. Od. 4.3.10; 4.14.26.

⁴On Elysium see in general RE, 5, 2470ff., s.v. "Elysium"; Albrecht Dieterich, Nekyia (Stuttgart, 1969), 19ff.; Lattimore, Themes, 40f.; Cumont, After-life, 96-98; Jackson Knight, "Virgil's Elysium", in Dudley, Virgil, 161-175. On the Celtic concept of Elysium see Paton, Spiritism, 110.

poet puts it, Elysium is the place which no Erinyes can penetrate (Statius Silvae 5.3.287: quo nulla inrupit Erinyes).

6. The Other Areas of Hades

The finely shaped line of Aeneid 6.390: umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae is meant as a reminder to Aeneas and also to the readers of Vergil that the underworld is the exclusive domain of ghosts, darkness, and sleep.¹ As observed earlier, darkness and silence are indeed the two main characteristics of Hades. So Vergil can use the word Erebus which in the authors of the classical age is equivalent to "darkness" to designate the underworld in general (Aeneid 6.404: imas Erebi...ad umbras).² On the other hand the grove which intervenes between the fore-court of Hades and Styx is silent (Aeneid 6.386: tacitum).³ This grove may be connected with the forests which the Sibyl mentions in her preview of Hades earlier (Aeneid 6.131: tenent media omnia silvae). These forests, however, are never described in Vergil's later account of the underworld topography.

¹See pp. 117-118.

²Cf. Aen. 4.26; G. 4.471. In Hom. Od. 10.528 Odysseus is told by Circe that he will have to turn his sacrificial victims towards Erebus, that is, towards the West (See Stanford, The Odyssey, I, note ad loc.), or perhaps better, as Rohde (Psyche, I, 52, n. 71) suggests, downwards to Hades (cf. Hom. Od. 11.37). Servius (on Aen. 6.404) states that Erebus, strictly speaking, is the purgatory place of souls destined for Elysium; but this is a piece of late religious speculation not warranted by Vergil's text. See in general Roscher, I, 1296 and RE, 6, 403f., s.v. "Erebus".

³See Serv. Aen. ad loc.; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, note ad loc.

Besides the areas of the underworld so far examined Vergil speaks of the antechamber of Hades in which, as we have seen, he places the personified abstractions,¹ and also the limbo region, abode of the spirits who died prematurely or violently.

The line (Aeneid 6.273): vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus Orci, definitely suggests the idea of a house-type underworld. Vergil does not give us, however, precise clues as to how he imagined, topographically speaking, this first area of Hades. The word vestibulum was of uncertain meaning even in antiquity.² In any case we may take Vergil's vestibulum to mean the entrance-porch of Hades and the primae fauces the inside front part of this entrance-porch,³ although fauces may be used loosely for the area about the entrance of Hades, as a passage of the Georgics intimates (4.467: Taenerias fauces, alta ostia Ditis).⁴

We imagined earlier that the tree of dreams was placed by Vergil in the middle (Aeneid 6.282: in medio) of the antechamber of the underworld.⁵ This idea, which is also Servius', was

¹See pp. 90ff. Paget, In the Footsteps of Orpheus, 163.

²See Commentary of Macrobius (6.8.14) on Aen. 6.273; Norden, Aeneis VI note on Aen. 6.273ff.

³See p. 45.

⁴Cf. Macrob. 6.8.22; see Page, The Aeneid V-VI, note on Aen. 6.273.

⁵See p. 93.

disputed by Donatus who took Vergil's phrase "in the middle" to refer to the impluvium, the basin which occupied the center of the Roman house atrium and which was meant to collect rain-water coming from an opening in the roof called compluvium.¹ Norden disputes Donatus' idea, as the poet could not, in his view, deal with the interior of the House of Dis yet.² If Vergil, however, imagined the antechamber of Hades as a full Roman domus in its own right, we may imagine the elm-tree of dreams to be overshadowing the atrium of this vestibulum-domus and the various evils and monsters to occupy particular rooms. For example, Bellum which, according to Servius, was placed opposite the threshold (Aeneid 6.279: adverso in limine) because it represented the greatest cause of death, may be imagined to occupy, together with Discordia, two of the more distinguished rooms on the upper side of the court facing the entrance.³

¹ Cf. Aen. 2.512ff.; G. 4.20. See Wistrand, "Virgil's Palaces...", 148.

² Aeneis VI, 213.

³ This is also the view of Wistrand, "Virgil's Palaces...", 148, which agrees, as he argues, with the Greek house of the Vitruvian gynaecitis. Otherwise we must take the phrase adverso in limine to allude to the front of the vestibulum, a spot which together with the fores (cf. Aen. 6.286) separated the vestibulum from the ostium.

The notions of the underworld as house and land are also found in Vergil's description of the so-called limbo area which Bailey calls a suburban region of Hades.¹ The souls of the untimely dead are placed at the first threshold (Aeneid 6.427: in limine primo) of Hades proper, to be distinguished from the threshold of the underworld broadly speaking. This area which is described briefly includes also the "Mourning Fields" (Aeneid 6.441: lugentes campi)² whose great scope for solitude rather than the multitude of souls which they contain is suggested by the expressions (Aeneid 6.440: partem fusi monstrantur in omnem) and (Aeneid 6.451: silva in magna). The myrtle being sacred to Venus,³ the ghosts are said to be hiding in myrtle bushes and narrow glades (Aeneid 6.442-444):⁴

hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit
secreticelant calles et myrtea circum
silva tegit.

So Dido flees from Aeneas into a shady grove (Aeneid 6.473: in nemus umbriferum). The last region (Aeneid 6.477-478: arva.../

¹Religion in Virgil, 270.

²Here we have a transference from campi lugentium (animarum). See Conington, Vergili Opera, II; Norden, Aeneis VI; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, notes ad loc. Dante's translation of Vergil's phrase (Inf. 14.10) is la dolorosa selva.

³Cf. Verg. Ecl. 7.62: formosae myrtus Veneri. See p. 231.

⁴Norden, Aeneis VI, note ad loc., points to a series of Greek passages which suggest the idea of hiding in the bushes. Cf. Prop. 1.18.1ff.

ultima), a place set apart in the limbo or neutral area for the heroes fallen in war which Aeneas reaches with some effort (Aeneid 6.477: Inde datum molitur iter), is not described, but we may presume that Vergil imagined it as a wooded region with glades like the area occupied by the victims of love.

7. The Gates of Dreams

Sunt geminae portae, quarum altera fertur
cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,
altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,
sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes.
his ibi tum natus Anchises unaque Sibyllam
prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna.

(Aeneid 6.893-898)

Unlike the entrance of the Vergilian underworld at Lake Avernus, the "twin gates of Sleep" which stand for the exits from Hades cannot be located, even vaguely, on earth, and we may well assume that like Homer's gates of dreams (Homer Odyssey 19.562)¹ they are products of literary imagination or remnants of mythical tradition. The Gate of Horn (cornea) is said to be the exit of true shades, while false dreams sent by the Manes come out through the gleaming Gate of ivory (candenti...nitens elephanto).²

Vergil may have decided to use the motif of the two gates at the end of Aeneid 6 because of his love for variation and diversity in the composition of his epic, but the problem still

¹See Stanford, The Odyssey, II, note ad loc. The motif is also used by Plato (Chrm. 173a) and Horace (Od. 3.27.41: porta...eburna). Vergil seems to have used Somni instead of Somnium for structural purposes: cf. Aen. 6.702 and 7.607. See Butler, Aeneid 6, note ad loc.

²For the idea of ghosts sending dreams see pp. 28, 31-32. The form falsa, as Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note ad loc., remarks, may refer both to the quality of the dreams and to the

remains of why Aeneas is presented leaving the underworld through the Gate of ivory, exit of false dreams.¹ Several answers were given to this question by the commentators of Vergil: first, Aeneas is neither a false dream nor a true shade, and it does not matter which gate he is using; second, false dreams, according to an ancient belief, appear before midnight, and true dreams after midnight.² Aeneas begins his descent at early dawn (Aeneid 6.255), is in the area between Styx and Tartarus at midday (Aeneid 6.535), and returns to the upper air presumably before midnight when the Gate of horn is still shut;³ Aeneas's journey to the lower world is meant to be taken as a dream, that is, something unreal.⁴ This is Servius' view and some modern scholars have accepted it. On the basis of Servius' statement, however, that the Gate of horn stands for the eyes and the Gate of ivory for the mouth we may consider a fourth answer in that Vergil tells not what he has seen, but what he has heard.⁵

message brought by them: cf. Hom. Il. 2.6ff.; Od. 4.796.

¹ Jackson Knight, Epic and Anthropology, 274-275, admits the ambiguous character of Vergil's use of the motif of the Gates of dreams; see ibid., 280, n. 87.

² Cf. Hor. Sat. 1.10.13; Verg. Aen. 5.719ff. and 8.67.

³ Norden, Aeneis VI, 348 and also 47ff., subscribes to this answer, and refers in support to CE 1109.7.

⁴ See pp. 146, 184.

⁵ Cf. Aen. 6.266: sit mihi fas audita loqui; also Plaut. Truc. 489.

Vergil's use of the notion of the Gates of dreams may be either related to, or independent of, its origin. Highbarger reports a Middle-Eastern belief in a Gate of horns located in the West which links the upper with the lower worlds; the attribute of horns is derived from the Egyptian and Mesopotamian belief that this gate is guarded by a bull.¹ It seems probable, judging from tomb finds, that the bull was prominent in Minoan and Mycenaean religion, and the Oriental concept of a Gate of horn may therefore have passed into Homer through the Minoan and Mycenaean worlds. Vergil's Gate of horn may be, accordingly, a link between Hades and the earth, while the Gate of ivory links earth with Elysium, realm of light and happiness. Highbarger's book establishes the high antiquity of the concept of the Gate of horn, but does not solve the problem of the false dreams.

Another scholar has attempted to interpret the problem with reference to the Platonic background of much of Aeneid 6.² Accordingly, the Gate of horn permits passage to the shades who appear to be real to the ordinary mortal but vain to the philosopher, whereas the Gate of ivory is reserved for the dreams which seem vain to the ordinary man but real to the philosopher. In other words the reader must understand the opposite of what Vergil's text suggests. This view seems *recherche*, complicates

¹The Gates of Dreams (Baltimore, 1940), 2ff. See also J. van Ooteghem, "Somni Portae", LEC, 16 (1948), 386-390; M. L. West, Early Greek Philosophy and the Orient (Oxford, 1971), 47.

²T. J. Haarhoff, "The Gates of Sleep", G&R, 17 (1948), 88ff.

the problem further and should not be taken seriously.¹

Fletcher admits that no certain answer can be given to the question of Vergil's Gates of dreams and in particular to the problem of Aeneas' coming out from the underworld through the Gate of ivory. "But", he adds, "we are surely right in feeling that when he (Vergil) sends Aeneas out by the 'gates of sleep' there is a suggestion that truths about the after-life can only be expressed in terms of dream and vision, even as Plato, when he reaches the subject of immortality in his philosophy, has recourse to 'myths' and symbolic language".² This is, in fact, what Servius may have meant by saying (on Aeneid 6.893): et poetice apertus est sensus: vult autem intellegi falsa esse omnia quae dixit, the word falsa meaning simply "fictional" or "poetic".³ I feel inclined to accept this view and interpret falsa not literally as "deceitful" or "untrue" but rather as a symbolic term for "poetry".

¹See also the articles of F. M. Brignoli, "La porta d'avorio del libro VI dell' Eneide", GIF, 7 (1954), 61-67; L. F. Rolland, "La porte d'ivoire (Virgile, Eneide, VI, 898)", REL, 35 (1957), 204-223.

²Aeneid VI, note on Aen. 6.898. See also Jackson Knight, "Virgil's Elysium", in Dudley, 171f.

³See also Otis, Virgil, 304ff.; id. "Three Problems of Aeneid 6", TAPhA, 90(1959), 173ff.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE VERGILIAN CATABASIS

Our investigation of Aeneid 6 from the point of view of underworld topography has indicated that Vergil prefers to suggest rather than state. He is moreover less interested in the scenery than in the souls whom he describes and the moral and theological views of Hades.¹ What he has to say, however, about man and his destiny after death, the subject of the next chapter, is given in the frame-work of a catabasis, a set epic form dealing with the journey of a hero to the underworld and the obstacles and rewards this entails. It is worthwhile then to examine how Vergil handled the traditional theme of a catabasis to convey his own message, both artistically and spiritually, to the people of his own time, before dealing with his classification of ghosts in Hades, his ideas about post-mortem punishments and rewards, reincarnation, and related topics.

1. Vergil's Sources and the Poem's Interpretation

Aeneid 6 has been justly considered a literary combination of underworld mythology and theological eschatology. Vergil's sources must have been many and of various kinds.² The epithet

¹See p. 116.

²See Servius' introduction to his commentary on Aeneid 6.

doctus which ancient poets coveted could be applied to Vergil above all.¹

Norden thinks that Vergil's sources included, besides the Homeric catabasis of Odysseus, a catabasis of Heracles, from which Bacchylides, Sophocles, and Aristophanes probably borrowed parts,² and a catabasis of Orpheus. This last catabasis, according to Norden, may have been associated with both mythology and theology, and must have been canonical for religiously-minded people to the end of antiquity.³ It may also be supposed that Vergil knew and used a catabasis of Peirithous reportedly written by Hesiod (Pausanias 9.31.5).⁴ Of the poets Pindar may have suggested to Vergil some details of his description of Elysium, and among the philosophers Plato and Empedocles seem to have influenced greatly his eschatology. It is impossible to know, moreover, how much the imagery of Aeneid 6 owes to the paintings of the underworld similar to that of Polygnotus at Delphi (Pausanias 10.25.1ff.), or the frescoes which decorate the Etruscan tombs.

¹F. Norwood, "The Tripartite Eschatology of Aeneid 6", CPh, 49 (1954), 16.

²See R. J. Clark, "Two Virgilian Similes...", 244-245.

³Aeneis VI, 20ff.; see also in general Heinze, Epische Technik, 239ff.

⁴See R. Merkelbach and M. L. West, Fragmenta Hesiodica (Oxford, 1967), 139ff.

Vergil seems to follow the general lines of the Homeric Nekyia, but there are great differences between the catabasis of Aeneas and Odysseus' magic summoning of ghosts.¹ In Odyssey 11 the ghosts are but feeble replicas of the living and they are introduced in a mechanical way. Their apparitions do not lack human interest, but the picture of the underworld drawn by Homer has neither the breadth nor the pathos of the Aeneid.² "The Odyssey", as Fletcher puts it, "is pure story-telling: the Aeneid is a poem with a purpose".³ This purpose is, one may well say, the enforcement of the idea of duty to the state,⁴ not to Plato's ideal state but the Roman state of Vergil's time. In this sense Vergil sums up and also supersedes both the Homeric and the Platonic pictures of Hades.

Aeneid 6 is meant to combine two concepts of the after-life, one closer to popular belief, the other more akin to theology and philosophy. This combination is not a novelty on Vergil's part, although he has tried it on a large scale. Norden has observed that this type of contamination of different and often contradictory concepts of an after-life is already evident in earlier poets like

¹See R. S. Conway, New Studies of a Great Inheritance (London, 1921), 112ff.

²See G. N. Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer (Göttingen, 1964), 107ff.; T. A. Dorey, "Homer and Vergil: the World of the Dead", Orpheus, 3 (1956), 120-122.

³Aeneid VI, xi; see in general Knauer, "Vergil's Aeneid and Homer", GRBS, 5 (1964), 181-196.

⁴Fowler, Religious Experience, 391.

Pindar and Plato, and is probably an Orphic feature.¹ This poses the problem of Vergil's debts to the Orphics, Pythagoreans, and in general the mystic religions. As early as the eighteenth century it was firmly stated that Aeneid 6 is nothing else but an account of the Eleusinian Mysteries.² This is an attractive idea in view of the popularity of these Mysteries which were patronized by Augustus. The ceremonies at Eleusis, however, in honour of Demeter and other gods, were performed in secret, and it was considered a sacrilege to reveal them.³ Consequently we can only guess what their content was. There may have been a ritual of initiation and promise of a blissful immortality for the faithful, a dramatic representation of the myth of Persephone's rape (a parable of the burial of the seed-corn into the earth and its rebirth at spring, and also of the death and revival of man into another life), and also a visual revelation of the sacra.⁴ It is not clear, however, if a simulation of a catabasis to the

¹Aeneis VI, 18ff.; see also R. Merkelbach, "Eine 'orphanische' Unterweltsbeschreibung auf Papyrus", MH, 8, 1 (1951), 3, n. 3.

²See Jackson Knight, "Virgil's Elysium", in Dudley, 171f.

³Aeschylus almost lost his life on suspicion of having revealed in his dramas secrets of these Mysteries, as Aristotle (Eth. Nic. 3.1.17) reports. Cf. Hor. Od. 3.2.25-29: est et fideli tuta silentio / merces: vetabo, qui Cereris sacrum / vulgarit arcanae, sub isdem / sit trabibus fragilemque mecum / solvat phaselon.

⁴See Ferguson, The Religions, 99-100. In general see G. E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries (Princeton, 1961), 224ff.; Harrison, Prolegomena, 150ff.; M. Delcourt, Les grands sanctuaires de la Grèce (Paris, 1947), 114ff.

underworld was enacted.¹ Moreover, the scene of the initiates in Aristophanes' Frogs (324ff.) with the chanting to Iacchus and the waving of torches, which is believed to relate to the Eleusinian Mysteries, may reproduce part of the public procession of the faithful to Eleusis rather than the essential and private teletè.²

The evidence from Orphism is also indirect and of a later period.³ In this case the testimony of the golden plates found in graves from South Italy, Crete, and Rome, is especially interesting. These funerary plates contain some verses, mostly in hexameter form, which seem to come from a poem or poems of an Orphic character dating from as early as the beginning of the fifth century B.C. The purpose of these verses was apparently to instruct the dead about what to say and what to do on their way to Hades in order to obtain blessedness.⁴ It is not certain whether Vergil knew the poem or poems from which the verses come and which appear to be connected with the Etruscan books dealing with the underworld (libri Acheruntici).⁵ The so-called

¹Mylonas, Eleusis, 265 and 268.

²Mylonas, ibid., 227; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, xv.

³See Otto Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta (Berlin, 1963), frs. 69ff., 138f., 293ff.

⁴See Kern, ibid., 104-109; Harrison, Prolegomena, 659ff.; Guthrie, Orpheus, 171ff.; Hardie, "The Great Antrum...", 21.

⁵See pp. 276-277.

Orphic catabasis of the Bologna papyrus is also an interesting case in this context. The papyrus itself appears to have been written not earlier than the second century A.D., but the hexameter poem to which the surviving fragments belong may be much older.¹ There are several affinities between these fragments and Aeneid 6, and if we assume that their original source antedated the Aeneid, we might also suppose that Vergil knew and used this source, at least in his descriptions of Tartarus and Elysium;² but this, as well as most problems associated with Vergil's sources, is a matter of speculation.

Accordingly, we cannot postulate Posidonios as Vergil's immediate source, at least with certainty;³ nor Varro for the same reason.⁴ Vergil's age was one of fervent syncretism of ideas, and the theological and philosophical elements detected in his work need not come from a particular source.⁵ On the other hand

¹See Merkelbach, "Eine 'orphische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 1-11; A. Vogliano, "Il papiro Bolognese Nr. 3", Acme, 5, 3 (1952), 385-417; M. Treu, "Die neue 'orphische' Unterweltsbeschreibung und Vergil", Hermes, 82 (1954), 24-51; R. Turcan, "La catabase Orphique du papyrus de Bologne", RHR, 152 (1956), 136-172.

²See Boyancé, La Religion de Virgile, 153, 159ff.; Otis, "Three Problems...", 169f.; see pp. 207, 211ff.

³See Norden, Aeneis VI, 20ff.

⁴See Serv. Aen. 6.703.

⁵Boyancé, "Sur le discours d'Anchise (Eneide VI, 724-751)", in Hommages à Georges Dumézil (Collection Latomus, 45), 64ff., proposes one more source of Vergil's eschatology, Philo of Alexandria.

Vergil's Roman sources should not be overlooked. Ennius' proemium of the Annals, where the poet's dream of Homer was narrated, his Epicharmus, as well as other parts of his Annals and his other works, may have exerted a direct influence on Vergil's eschatology.¹ There are, moreover, many echoes of Lucretius in Aeneid 6, and Cicero's works, the Dream of Scipio and the Tusculan Disputations, may have impressed upon Vergil's mind several theological concepts.² On the whole, though, it must be kept in mind that the investigation of Vergil's sources should lead naturally to the question of how and to what purpose he uses his borrowed material and what he achieves therefrom.³ In fact, however great Vergil's borrowings from earlier poets may have been, the climax of Aeneid 6 with Anchises and the parade of Roman heroes accords a patriotic character to the poem.

This special character of the poem, however, of which more will be said later, should not prevent us from reading it at more than one level. In fact, it cannot be judged properly if Vergil's story is taken literally only, and its inconsistencies are emphasized.⁴ In order to understand the poem's artistry and

¹See pp. 191-192.

²See pp. 194-196. See in general W. B. Anderson, "The Aeneid and Earlier Latin Poetry", PCA, 40 (1943), 9-12.

³R. D. Williams, Virgil (Oxford, 1967), 4.

⁴See Otis, "Three Problems...", 166; D. Armstrong, "The Other Aeneid", Arion, 6, 2 (1967), 145.

spirituality we must be ready to yield rationalism to poetic logic.¹ For instance, Vergil's combination of the mythological and the theological concepts of the underworld, that is, of the Homeric and the Platonic concepts, roughly speaking, may have been motivated by his wish to suggest, as Brooks Otis has said, "the two times-the past and the future-with which his hero was effectively concerned".² This is to see the poem from a psychological and moral point of view. On the other hand, it is not unrealistic to think that Vergil wanted to combine in his *Nekyia* poetic, philosophic, and civic conceptions of the after-life with the object of appealing to the three sides of man's nature, the primitive, the moral, and the philosophical.³ Vergil the poet, Vergil the Roman patriot, and Vergil the philosopher, are three different characters that try to coexist behind the poem.

Under these circumstances I find the interpretation of Aeneid 6 as an expression of a universal myth dealing with the soul's journey to perfection an interesting one.⁴ Accordingly,

¹See Otis, Virgil, ix; L. A. MacKay, "Three Levels of Meaning in the Aeneid VI", TAPhA, 86 (1955), 180; H. W. Stubbs, "Virgil and H. G. Wells: Prophets of a New Age", PVS, 9 (1969-1970), 40.

²Virgil, 291; see also Id., "Three Problems...", 168; W. P. Clark, "Vergil's Gods", CW, 42 (1948-1949), 52.

³See Norwood, "The Tripartite Eschatology...", 15-26.

⁴See Jackson Knight, Epic and Anthropology, 266.

the descent of Aeneas to the underworld looks like a primitive rite of initiation into manhood, into an advanced level of consciousness.¹ Aeneas visits the world of shades in order to learn the hidden mysteries of life and death, the ordinance of the universe, and the destiny of man, and then returns to the world of ordinary phenomena with a new awareness of reality. His "adventure" is based on a motif that can be traced to a very simple myth-ritual pattern of birth and death-rebirth found in the mythologies and religions of many peoples around the world, among others the Polynesians, the Egyptians and Sumerians, the Greeks and the Romans. The basic meaning of this common myth is new birth by entry into the earth, the universal mother.² Aeneid 6 is the fullest expression of this catabatic pattern in the religious and literary history of Greece and Rome.³

¹A. A. Belman, "The Transmigration of Form: Recurrent Patterns of Imagination in the Odyssey and the Aeneid", HSPH, 65 (1961), 350.

²Jackson Knight, Epic and Anthropology, 146; see also P. Damon, "Myth, Metaphor and the Epic Tradition", OL, 24 (1969), 85-100; E. B. Schnapper, The Inward Odyssey: The Concept of the Way in the Great Religions of the World (London, 1965).

³Jackson Knight, *ibid.*, 149ff.; see Raymond J. Clark, The Katabasis: A Vergilian Treatment of a Recurring Theme (University of Exeter, 1969). The long series of apocalyptic writings which starts with Homer may be said to close with Dante. For Dante's debts to Vergil see J. H. Whitfield, "Virgil into Dante", in Dudley, 94-118. In general see Domenico Comparetti, Vergil in the Middle Ages (Hamden, 1966), 195ff. On the catabasis theme see in general J. Kroll, Gott und Hölle: der Mythos vom Descensuskampfe (Leipzig, 1932).

2. The Descents of the Culex and of Vergil Georgics 4

Before we examine the catabasis of Aeneas more closely we may deal briefly with three other smaller catabases, the gnat's catabasis contained in the Culex, a Roman epyllion which many scholars believe to be one of Vergil's youthful poetic essays,¹ and the catabases of Aristaeus and Orpheus in Vergil's Georgics 4.

The descent described in the Culex seems to be closer to popular belief than the descent of Aeneid 6;² it contains no explicit philosophical reflection. There is no attempt by the poet to draw a picture of cosmic justice. A reference to the judge of Hades who takes care of the acts committed on earth (276: qui vitae post mortem vindicat acta), and an allusion to the gnat's imminent punishment at Tartarus where Minos is said to judge (374ff.) would seem to hint at the idea of post-mortem punishments for ordinary offences.³ There are no lists of ordinary criminals, however, as happens with the Aeneid.⁴ Instead, we meet the legendary sinners Otus and Ephialtes, Tityos, Tantalus, Sisyphus, the Danaids, Medea and others. In the description of Elysium we meet a group of illustrious women whose happy lot is to be companions to Persephone. One of them is Eurydice, still sorrowing for the "backward look" of Orpheus.

¹ E.g., McKay, Vergil's Italy, 319, n. 2.

² Conway, New Studies, 86ff.

³ See p. 208.

⁴ Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 267.

It is worthy of note that in the catalogue of the Elysian heroes, besides the legendary figures of Greek poetry, we are given some Roman names (360ff.), among which are those of Camillus, Mucius, and of the Scipios. This is perhaps one of the features of the Culex which made Bailey call the catabasis described in it a "dress rehearsal" for the catabasis of Aeneas.¹

The setting of the Culex did not allow its poet more than an elaboration of some traditional themes associated with the underworld. Vergil's purpose in writing the Aristaeus episode, in which he includes the descent of the hero to his mother's "watery" palace and also the descent of Orpheus to Hades, in his Georgics is more elusive. The Aristaeus episode,² in which the story of Orpheus is embedded like an emblem, may be interpreted in the light of the mystery religions,³ and of that pattern of initiation into a new life through death mentioned earlier. The descent of Aristaeus to Cyrene's palace, said to be willed by fate (Georgics 4.358-359: fas illi limina divum / tangere) is described in brief but attractive strokes (4.360ff.) in the epic tradition. Having been received underground Aristaeus

¹Religion in Virgil, 266. For a detailed examination of the Culex catabasis see Augusto Rostagni, Virgilio Minore (Roma, 1961), 95ff.

²For bibliography on the Aristaeus episode see McKay, Vergil's Italy, 321, n. 38. The episode is discussed ibid., 32f. See also S. P. Bovie, Dominant Themes in Virgil's Georgics (Ann Arbor, 1955), 3; Klingner, Georgica, 193ff.

³See L. P. Wilkinson, The Georgics of Virgil (Cambridge, 1969), 118.

partakes of a welcome feast after washing his hands, while incense is burning on the altar.¹ The purpose of his visit is to obtain his divine mother's help in reinvigorating his crops and cattle. This he achieves after he learns, and atones for, the crime of having, unaware, sent Eurydice to Hades. On the other hand Orpheus' descent to the underworld has as its objective the restoration of Eurydice to life. Because this is quite well-known, Orpheus' catabasis is given in a summary fashion (Georgics 4.467ff.).²

The whole episode, however, is rather complex. On the one hand we have the motif of regeneration, represented by the rebirth of Aristaeus' bees from the decomposed corpses of cattle, a rebirth which is brought about by the efforts of a man, Aristaeus, but with divine guidance. On the other hand Orpheus loses Eurydice again because of his madness (furor), the lack of resistance he shows in looking back for her during their return from Hades.³ Here is death striking inexorably at individuals,

¹See Klingner, Georgica, 205; D. S. Wender, "Resurrection in the Fourth Georgic", AJPh, 90, 4 (1969), 427.

²In the Culex it is described at length (270ff.). M. Owen Lee, "Virgil as Orpheus", Orpheus, 11 (1964), 13, n. 10, notes similarities between the two versions. On the version of the Georgics see Klingner, Georgica, 222ff.; C. M. Bowra, "Orpheus and Eurydice", CQ, 46 (1952), 113-126; M. Owen Lee, ibid., 9-18.

³See Otis, Virgil, 199ff.; Bovie, Dominant Themes, 231; Owen Lee, ibid., 16ff; A. Wankenne, "Aristée et Orphée dans les Georgiques", LEC, 38 (1970), 18-29; C. Segal, "Orpheus and the Fourth Georgic: Vergil on Nature and Civilization", AJPh, 87 (1966), 307-325.

whereas life in general is renewed and continues.¹ One wonders whether Vergil intended to balance by combining the two stories two different ideas, that is, the idea of nature recreating itself by divine consent and the efforts of man on the one hand, and the mortality of the individual on the other. It is impossible to tell, although several passages of the Aeneid where a tragic vision shines forth² could suggest that such was the inclination of his mind.³

3. The Catabasis of Aeneas

The descent of Aeneas to the underworld is necessary for the successful fulfillment of his task to lay the foundations of Rome. The message of Anchises' ghost who visits Aeneas at a moment of crisis (Aeneid 5.573ff.) is that the hero will find the enlightenment and the fortitude which he needs only by meeting him again in Hades. For this to be achieved several conditions have to be met, and this agrees with the usual pattern of initiation which involves various obstacles before the hero reaches his goal. Palinurus will be sacrificed for the others' safe passage

¹See Wilkinson, The Georgics, 118f.

²See pp. 171-172, 182-183.

³Cf. Jackson Knight, "Virgil's Elysium", in Dudley, 164, commenting on the tragedy of Orpheus: "It is the world of tragedy, which has to be careful of letting a future life's consolation dilute the intensity". It is comforting, however, to find more positive views on this matter: cf. McKay, Vergil's Italy, 33: "Vergil portrays him (Orpheus) as an artist, capable of defeating the powers of death and of giving the challenge of love to death's finality". Similarly Horace (Od. 2.13) gives us a Nekyia on a small

to Italy (Aeneid 5.815: unum pro multis...caput); then the entrance to the underworld as well as the right guide for the descent must be sought.

On his way to the oracular cave of the Sibyl Aeneas stops to look at the reliefs made by Daedalus at the entrance of the temple of Apollo (Aeneid 6.14ff.). These reliefs, especially the one depicting the Minoan labyrinth, whose examination by Aeneas intentionally delays the poem,¹ may be relics of a stone-age culture to which the cave-type entrances to Hades also belong.² The labyrinth motif corresponds to the motif of the maze delaying a ghost on his way to the underworld found in the mythology of the Polynesian aborigines,³ and also in the tradition about Trophonios whose oracle was equipped with a maze-type assignment of spikes and circular railings to be passed by the faithful coming to consult the oracle.⁴ We do not know exactly what Vergil had in mind in employing the motif of the labyrinth,⁵

scale for the positive task of glorifying Alcaeus and his poetry.

¹See McKay, Vergil's Italy, 201; W. S. Anderson, The Art of the Aeneid (Englewood Cliffs, 1969), 55f.

²Jackson Knight, Epic and Anthropology, 147ff. See pp. 172ff.

³Jackson Knight, ibid., 149ff. See in general Schnapper, The Inward Odyssey, 24ff.

⁴See Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, 230. See p. 127.

⁵Galinsky, "Aeneid V and the Aeneid", AJPh, 89 (1968), 176f., suggests that this had to do with the fact that Minos was later presented in his role of judge of the dead. See p. 203.

but we should note the maze-type theme also in the Trojan game (lusus Troiae) which the young cavalrymen enact as part of the funeral games following the celebration of Anchises' Parentalia (Aeneid 5.580ff.). The account of this game which involved intricate movements and a mock battle seems to have multiple motivation in the narrative of the Aeneid.¹ It may be significant, however, that Vergil compares the form of the game with the Cretan Labyrinth (Aeneid 5.588ff.) of which he speaks again in Aeneid 6.²

Aeneas' encounter with the Cumaean Sibyl is a very important step in his catabasis. Because the area of Cumae had exercised deep cultural influences on Rome,³ Vergil wanted to combine several ideas in his account of the Sibyl in her role of priestess of both Apollo and Hecate,⁴ and of prophetess and guide of Aeneas. In her capacity as priestess and medium the Sibyl resembles a number of seeresses of whom the best-known is

¹See Heinze, Epische Technik, 157f.; Williams, Aeneid 5, 145ff.; Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind, 83ff.; Frank O. Copley, Latin Literature from the Beginning to the Close of the Second Century A.D. (Ann Arbor, 1969), 216; Galinsky, "Aeneid V...", 176-177.

²In spite of its name lusus Troiae probably had nothing to do originally with Troy. Instead, it may be associated with the picture of a horseman and a labyrinth marked by the Etruscan word Truia which can be seen on a sixth-century oenochoe found at Tragliatella. See J. Heurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans (London, 1964), 200-201; Williams, Aeneid 5, 146; also J. L. Heller, "Labyrinth or Troy Town?", CJ, 42 (1946-1947), 128ff.

³See McKay, Vergil's Italy, 194ff.

⁴See p. 84.

the Pythia of Delphi.¹ Vergil seems to have united in his Sibyl the features of three different Sibyls, the Sibyl of Troy, that of the Cumaean Apollo, and the old Cimmerian Sibyl connected with the psychomanteion of Avernus;² also, by making her the guide of Aeneas, Vergil declares his reverence for an old religious tradition besides suggesting the need of Aeneas for divine direction.³

Two other preliminaries of Aeneas' catabasis involve the burial of Misenus and the acquisition of the Golden Bough. These two seem to be interrelated in Vergil's narrative, as the Golden Bough seems to be Aeneas' passport to Hades which he obtains at the price of losing Misenus, his trumpeter and loyal companion.⁴ Aeneas' eagerness to be initiated, his quest after the miracle, is vividly contrasted with the reality of Misenus' corpse lying on the shore. Aeneas is deeply affected by the news of a companion's loss (Aeneid 6.156-158) and succumbs for a while to a sorrowful mood which, as Vergilian commentators have observed,

¹See J. B. Garstang, "Aeneas and the Sibyls", CJ, 59 (1963), 97-101; Jackson Knight, Epic and Anthropology, 164ff.

²See J. H. Waszink, "Vergil and the Sibyl of Cumae", Mnemosyne, 1 (1948), 43-58; S. Eitrem, "La Sibylle de Cumes et Virgile", SO, 24 (1946), 88-120.

³See Jackson Knight, Roman Vergil (Penguin, 1966), 172-173. Gagé, Apollon Romain, 445ff.; in general see Pollard, Seers, 106ff.

⁴The story of Misenus, which is not simply a double for Palinurus, has multiple motivation in the context of Aeneid 6. See Otis, Virgil, 283; McKay, Vergil's Italy, 218ff; id., "Aeneas' Landfalls in Hesperia", G&R, 14 (1967), 3-11.

represents Vergil's second voice.¹

The Golden Bough is at once the hero's passport, as noted, and an indisputable sign of divine favour. Vergil may not have invented the motif himself,² although it is hard to trace its origin.³ It may come from mythology or it may be a literary invention.⁴ In any case, the Golden Bough is one of the richest symbols of Aeneid 6 which adds much to the mysterious atmosphere in which Vergil wants to clothe the catabasis of Aeneas. Integrated as it is in the narrative of the poem, the Golden Bough becomes the symbol of the hero's renewal and of the constancy of his spirit and purpose in a series of transformations.⁵

¹See Pöschl, The Art of Vergil, 59. Aeneas combines the personalities of Aristaeus and Orpheus; he is determined to succeed in the world, but he also has the tragic sense of life. See Adam Parry, "The Two Voices of Virgil's Aeneid", in Steele Commager, ed., Virgil (Englewood Cliffs, 1966), 107-123; J. Wright, "Lacrimae rerum and the Thankless Task", CJ, 62 (1967), 365-367. See pp. 168, 182-183.

²Cf. Macrobius 5.19.2.

³See Norden, Aeneis VI, 177; Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 269. In general see J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough (London, 1923); E. O. Samen, The Tree of Life (Leiden, 1966).

⁴Jean Bayet, Hercle (Paris, 1926), 137f., reports a pelike showing the myth of Hercules with the Hesperides where one of the Hesperides is pictured sitting before the mystical tree guarded by a snake and tending to Hercules not an apple but a bough. A. K. Michels, "The Golden Bough of Plato", AJPh, 66 (1954), 60ff., takes Vergil's Golden Bough to be an allusion to Plato's eschatological philosophy, that seems to help Vergil draw his catabasis; see also Jackson Knight, "Virgil's Elysium", in Dudley, 166.

⁵Belman, "The Transmigration of Form", 350. The motif has found good treatment in the following articles: Robert A. Brooks, "Discolor Aura: Reflections on the Golden Bough", in

Aeneas' catabasis is a kind of synopsis of all of his previous encounters with death. It follows in a retrogressive way. He first meets the newly lost Palinurus among the unburied souls; then, Dido in the "Mourning Fields", and, later, someone who represents his more distant past, Deiphobus. These encounters tie Aeneid 6 with the previous books and add to the catabasis much dramatic interest.

Aeneas' meeting with the ghost of Palinurus serves more than one purpose. This episode, which has been compared to, and found to be more poignant and pathetic than, the Elpenor episode in Homer (Odyssey 11.51ff.),¹ dramatizes the spectacle of the unburied souls,² answers our curiosity as to the fate of the lost helmsman and so ties the book with Aeneid 5, and finally provides an aetiological story which is meant to account for the name of Cape Palinurus.³ One scholar points out the implacability of divine law which grants Aeneas, though living, a passage to Hades, while it holds Palinurus, though dead, on this side of Acheron.⁴

Commager, Virgil, 143-163; C. P. Segal, "Aeternum per saecula nomen: The Golden Bough and the Tragedy of History", Arion, 4, 4 (1965), 615-657, and 5, 1 (1966), 34-72; John D'Arms, "Vergil's cunctantem (ramum): Aeneid 6.211", CJ, 59 (1964), 265ff.

¹See Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer, 135; Dorey, "Homer and Vergil...", 119-120.

²See pp. 201-202.

³See Norden, Aeneis VI, 228ff.; McKay, Vergil's Italy, 241f.

⁴Segal, "Aeternum...nomen...", I, 652ff.

The order of the universe, however, which keeps Palinurus back until he is buried and makes the Sibyl say (Aeneid 6.376): desine fata deum flecti sperare precando, rewards him with eternal fame (Aeneid 6.380-381).

His longing to meet his father has been Aeneas' most valid argument for his descent to the underworld (Aeneid 6.108ff.), and this typically Roman¹ attachment to his father, this filial piety, is what has enabled him to undertake a journey reserved normally for the very few (Aeneid 6.129ff.). This sort of piety, moreover, distinguishes him from the heroes of old who went down to Hades for impious purposes; at least, that is the Sibyl's argument to Charon (Aeneid 6.404-405) who initially opposes the hero's passage. The underworld iura, which the impious descents of Hercules, Theseus and Peirithous violated, are not endangered by the descent of the Trojan hero. The presentation of the Golden Bough at this crucial point of the catabasis convinces the "border official" Charon and lets Aeneas pass through.²

The dramatic unity of Aeneid 6 is further strengthened by the encounter of Aeneas with Dido. In Aeneid 4.438-449 the resistance of Aeneas to Dido's plea that he remain at Carthage had been likened to the strength of an oak which, though assailed by the wind, remains firmly rooted in the rocks. Here we have the

¹See pp. 220ff.

²See p. 172.

reverse. Dido's cold response to the plea of Aeneas for reconciliation (Aeneid 6.469-471) is compared to the hardness of a flintstone and of a marble of Paros.¹ The scene establishes Aeneas as a compassionate and humane character.² It also has a certain psychological subtlety coupled with an epic tone and a tragic colour,³ in which Vergil's personal empathy, his second voice, comes to the surface again.⁴

Aeneas' encounter with Deiphobus is the last stage in the hero's confrontation with his past before his initiation into the mysteries of Tartarus and Elysium. It is also the first encounter to end happily,⁵ although some might argue that the meeting with Palinurus also has a happy end. Vergil uses the dramatic method in order to make his account more vivid. Aeneas addresses Deiphobus and is answered by him (Aeneid 6.500ff.); the

¹The episode is modelled on Hom. Od. 11.553ff. describing the encounter of Odysseus with the ghost of his former enemy, Ajax, but there is much difference in the atmosphere of the two episodes. See Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer, 108ff.; Otis, Virgil, 239ff. Vergil's episode, which is travestied in Petronius 132, became famous as a dramatic motif in antiquity, although the motif as such, that is, the encounter of the abandoned lover with his or her unfaithful partner, stems from Hellenistic poetry. See Norden, 248, 253.

²On the character of Aeneas see Heinze, Epische Technik, 271ff.; Williams, Aeneid 5, xix-xxiii.

³Norden, Aeneis VI, 247.

⁴See p. 172; see also W. S. Maguinness, "L'inspiration tragique de l'Enéide", AC, 32 (1963), 477-490.

⁵Williams, Virgil, 40.

Sibyl intervenes and this elicits an apology from Deiphobus.¹ With the ghost of his fellow-Trojan behind him Aeneas has overcome his past once and for all.

The inclusion of Tartarus in Aeneid 6 was motivated not only by the requirements of a traditional catabasis but also by a social, and particularly Roman, reason; for the expiation of earthly crimes in Tartarus, as well as the rewards of Elysium, were capable of enforcing upon Vergil's readers the concept of cosmic justice, a concept which lies at the basis of both the Georgics and the Aeneid. In this sense, Vergil answers Lucretius who did not give a socially workable solution to the problem of man's destiny.²

Tartarus is presented both by means of simple description and by the dramatic method familiar from other parts of the poem.³ The sinister nature of the place makes it unsuitable for the good (Aeneid 6.563: nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen). It is Rhadamanthus who judges here, who examines the guilty and at once delivers them to the Furies for punishment.⁴

¹The episode in general is reminiscent of Hom. Od. 11. 155ff. and 475f. where the meetings of Odysseus with the ghost of his mother and then with the ghost of Achilles are described. See Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer, 114ff.

²See pp. 184, 198.

³See Norden, Aeneis VI, 278.

⁴See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note on Aen. 6.566. See p. 208.

Vergil's lists of sinners undergoing punishment in Tartarus are somehow oddly composed,¹ but it is evident that the poet has tried to achieve a balance between the legendary criminals and the classes of general sinners and at the same time to avoid the monotony which cataloguing entails. He starts with the legendary criminals and their respective punishments and then he lists his common offenders in two parts, between which he includes another reference to punishments (Aeneid 6.580ff.).²

Some of the mythical sinners listed here are found already in Homer (Odyssey 11.576ff.). Tityos, Tantalus, and Sisyphus sinned against the gods and have been doing expiation ever since, first on earth and later in the underworld.³ Their crimes were not of a moral or civic nature but specific offences against the gods, and their inclusion in Homer's *Nekyia* does suggest that we have a classification of souls on moral grounds, something which is usually associated with the Orphics and Pythagoreans and may have originated in the sixth century B.C.⁴

¹See Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 271f.; McKay, Vergil's Italy, 217.

²See Butler, Aeneid 6, 201-202; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, 77; C. Murley, "The Classification of Souls in the Sixth Aeneid", Vergilius, 5 (1940), 22.

³See p. 210.

⁴See Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 141f.; Cumont, Lux Perpetua, 66. In general it seems that in early times the inequalities of life were perpetuated in the underworld. Homer's ghosts appear to be classified according to the status they had in life and the circumstances of their death.

Concerning the listings of common offenders,¹ I presume that Vergil might have given us more or more varied material. What he selects, however, could be said to reflect his moral judgment or that of his age.² On the other hand it is not in the nature of poetry to give long systematic lists. The impropriety of such inartistic construction is, I think, hinted at twice in Vergil's narrative; implicitly in the following passage (Aeneid 6.614-615): ne quaere doceri / quam poenam, aut quae forma viros fortunave mersit, which on the Sibyl's lips seems to express an exclamation rather than a prohibition; and explicitly in the lines which conclude the description of Tartarus (Aeneid 6.625-627):

non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraue centum,
ferrea vox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas,
omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.

The next step in the catabasis of Aeneas is the description of Elysium, abode of the Blest, which the hero reaches after purifying himself at the entrance of the palace of Dis in order to get rid of the pollution which the spectacle of Tartarus gave him.³ The drawing of Elysium and of its happy souls displays the same care for balance and variation as the drawing of Tartarus. Vergil deals first with the bright atmosphere of Elysium,⁴ and

¹See p. 208.

²Fletcher, Aeneid VI, 77.

³See p. 144. Cf. Aen. 2.719; 4.635.

⁴See pp. 144-145.

then he focuses his attention on two different groups of blessed souls, those who delight in sports and those who enjoy the arts of singing and dancing.¹ This image which combines athletics with the arts is followed by a second image which includes the ancient Trojan heroes resting in peace beside their empty chariots and grazing horses, and a group of souls feasting on the grass and singing in unison a joyful hymn of praise, a paean, presumably in honour of Apollo.² In between we have the attractive figure of Orpheus represented as a priest playing his lyre, and wearing a long robe.³ This is the ghost of Orpheus the teacher and singer who has found a definite place in the world of the Blest,⁴ and now accompanies with his lyre the choir of the happy souls. There is no fixed habitation for the dwellers

¹Cf. Pind. Ol. 2.61ff.; fr. 114 B.; Ar. Ran. 154ff. See Cumont, Lux Perpetua, 69.

²The banquet of the dead was part of the Orphic doctrine. See Cumont, Recherches sur le symbolisme funéraire des Romains (Paris, 1942), 372ff. Vergil's picture is traditional but he gives it a Roman colouring by his laudatory reference to the souls of the Trojan ancestors of Aeneas (Aeneid 6.648-649) whom he depicts resting on the Elysian grass. It may be significant that while the bottom of Tartarus was reserved for the Titans, the central part of this area of Elysium was assigned to the Trojan ancestors of later Rome (Cf. Aen. 6.580 and 648). See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, 512; Butler, Aeneid 6, 217.

³Cf. Verg. Ecl. 3.46; 4.55; 6.30 and 82ff.; also Hor. Ars P. 215 and 391; Prop. 2.31.15-16. In general see Butler, Aeneid 6, 216. See pp. 166-167.

⁴See Kern, Orphicorum Fragmenta, frs. 69ff.; cf. Paus. 10.30.6.

of Elysium; they are at home everywhere in their domain (Aeneid 6.673-675).¹ In contrast to the hard labour which the journey through Hell involves, movement from one part of the Elysian Fields to another seems to be very easy indeed (cf. Aeneid 6.477: Inde datum molitur iter and 6.676: facili...tramite sistam).

After the listing of several types of nameless ghosts obviously intended to be a counterpart of the catalogue of general sinners given in the description of Tartarus,² Vergil cuts short the first general part of his account of Elysium and introduces the Aeneas-Anchises scene by dialogue between the Sibyl and the Elysian heroes, especially Musaeus.³ She asks the whereabouts of Anchises and is told where to look for him. This reminds the reader of Aeneas' particular purpose in visiting the world of the dead, the ultimate goal of his catabasis (Aeneid 6.670-671):

quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? illius ergo
venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis.

Father Anchises, as he is referred to in an obvious bid to suggest his patriarchal dignity,⁴ is found surveying in the

¹Cf. Aen. 5.388.

²See p. 208.

³On Musaeus see Butler, Aeneid 6, note on Aen. 6.667; Guthrie, Orpheus, 191, n. 2.

⁴For the epithet pater which is also used of Aeneas and others in conformity to the old religious usage and has overtones of reverence and esteem see Butler, Aeneid 6, note on Aen. 6.679. See pp. 220ff.

Lethe valley¹ the souls that are to be reincarnated in new bodies.² The actual meeting of the living son with the dead, if divinized, father is described with the pathos and tenderness usually found in similar scenes in ancient poetry.³ The ghost of Anchises is pictured uttering a series of human exclamations and even shedding tears of joy. Similar is the attitude of Aeneas who tries to embrace his father just as he tried, earlier in the poem, to hold the ghost of Creusa; but his effort is vain, for Anchises, though possessing a corporeal appearance, is pure spirit.⁴ The scene may be considered to be less appropriate than the similar scenes of Homer (Odyssey 11.206-208) and of Vergil himself in the Georgics (4.499ff.) and Aeneid 2 (792ff.),⁵ since it does not precede the separation of the two parties;⁶ Vergil may have wanted, however, to remind his readers once more of the unsubstantial nature of ghosts whom he had been describing in so concrete a manner, and also to suggest the dream-like character

¹See pp. 147, 212. Otis, Virgil, 341, notes that it is also in a valley that Aeneas meets his mother Venus in Aen. 8.609.

²See p. 212.

³See Norden, Aeneis VI, 301f.; Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer, 123ff.

⁴Segal, "Aeternum...nomen...", II, 44, n.71, compares the scene with Cic. Somn. Scip. 14, which Vergil may have had in mind.

⁵See p. 36.

⁶Fletcher, Aeneid VI, 82.

of Aeneas' catabasis.¹ On the other hand, the note of sadness evoked by the scene in the middle of a happy episode is not, as observed earlier, uncommon in Vergil.²

The theory of the transmigration of souls is illustrated in three stages. First, the souls of those to be reborn are compared to bees flitting about flowers on a fine summer day, ready to drink the water of oblivion and pass again into corporeal existence (Aeneid 6.706-709);³ then, Aeneas converses with his father on the problem of metempsychosis. His curiosity motivates Anchises' famous speech on the matter (Aeneid 6.724-751),⁴ which, though theological in its content, is epic in manner. This speech should not be viewed as a piece of systematic philosophy, in which case it presents obscurities, but as poetry. "The object of the speech", as Fletcher puts it, "is not to set out a constant system of philosophy but to answer the pessimistic question of Aeneas (Aeneid 6.721: quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?) and by an explanation of the 'transmigration of souls' lead up to the pageant of Roman heroes which is to follow".⁵ The speech, which

¹Michels, "Lucretius and the Sixth Book of the Aeneid", AJPh, 65 (1944), 147. See pp. 168, 171-172.

²See pp. 214ff.

³Cf. Hom. Il. 2.87ff.; Ap. Rhod. 1.879ff. See Hügi, Vergils Aeneis, 28; Norden, Aeneis VI, 16-17 and 305ff.

⁴See pp.

⁵Aeneid VI, 84.

combines Stoic and Platonic elements, is written in the form of a theoretical thesis and follows a certain order.¹

The pageant of Roman heroes (Aeneid 6.756ff.) which follows Anchises' speech may be said to be at once the purpose of this speech, its pretext, and also its colourful exemplum.² The chronological order of the list of heroes is broken twice, first by Augustus who is placed next to Romulus as the second most important founder of the city,³ then by the protagonists of the Roman civil wars, Julius Caesar and Pompey, before the glorification of the family of Marcellus. Then we find the notable interlude of Anchises' address to the Romans (Aeneid 6.847ff.: excudent alii...), and the moving conclusion about the young M. Claudius Marcellus and his much-lamented death, which may be said to mark again Vergil's second, tragic, voice.⁴

The rapidity and abruptness with which Vergil finishes his parade of Roman heroes is probably meant to suggest the end

¹Norden, Aeneis VI, 302ff.

²See Norden, ibid., 316ff.; RE, 8A2, 1390-1392, s.v. "Vergilius" (Büchner).

³See pp. 245, 248, n. 4, 252.

⁴See Norden, ibid., 341ff.; F. A. Sullivan, "Virgil and the Mystery of Suffering", AJPh, 90 (1969), 161-170. See the dirge of Propertius (3.18) for the death of Marcellus. See pp. 168, 171-172.

of a dream.¹ The mystery and poetic vagueness of the poem would seem to support the idea, and this would explain the inconsistencies of Vergil's narrative observed by the commentators. On the other hand, Vergil's efforts for literal consistency should not be overlooked, nor should the difficulty of assembling and harmonizing so many and varied elements in one book be depreciated.² Whether he intended the catabasis of Aeneas to be taken literally or metaphorically, Vergil's aim was probably to draw a broad picture of an after-life in which the inequalities and problems of this world found their just reward and solution. Unlike Lucretius, Vergil seems to have considered the legendary underworld within the context of a catabasis as something expedient for both its social usefulness and its poetic power. In sum, apart from being a virtual encyclopaedia of the eschatological beliefs of the ancient world, Aeneid 6 stands also as a myth, a poetic myth, representing the truth, "a symbolical presentation of the vital truth that the Divine spirit cares about the actions of men".³

¹Fletcher, Aeneid VI, 100. See pp. 152ff.

²See MacKay, "Three levels...", 181.

³Bowra, From Vergil to Milton (London, 1945), 80. The words of Bowra concern actually the Vergilian Tartarus, but they can be applied to the whole of Aeneid 6, on which see also Copley, Latin Literature, 220ff., and in general V. Pöschl, "The Poetic Achievement of Vergil", CJ, 56 (1961), 290-299.

CHAPTER SIX
THE FATE OF THE DEAD

The descent of Aeneas, as noted earlier, complements and enlarges the Roman character of the Aeneid,¹ although it can be interpreted in more general terms and in more than one way.² Aeneid 6 is also a repository of many of the ancient beliefs concerning the destiny of souls and their classification in an after-life. Vergil does not fail to add a few Roman touches to what he has to say on the subject; he seems, however, to speak on behalf of the ancient world in general in his critical summary of concepts and ideas which he found in earlier poets and thinkers.³

1. Greek Concepts and the Romans

Long before the primitive Roman belief in a sort of vague survival of the soul had given way to, or better had been supplemented by, new concepts around 300 B.C., the Greeks developed a great variety of eschatological concepts which have been recorded in their literature and art.⁴ The Homeric man seems to believe in the survival of the human soul after death,

¹See pp. 162, 168, 180-183.

²See pp. 162-164, 184.

³See pp. 10, 38, 196ff.

⁴See Bowra, The Greek Experience (Cleveland, 1957), 38, 200 ff.

but not in true immortality. Ghosts go to Hades to spend a helpless existence; they are like shadows, like twittering bats.¹ This is the basic idea which, as Guthrie recognizes, had an enduring influence on Greek thought and often took the form of a sharp distinction between the immortal gods and the mortal men.² In addition, however, we find in Homer (*Iliad* 23) echoes of the more primitive belief in ghosts and their power to visit and haunt the living, and in the need to refresh and mollify them by sacrificial offerings.³ In Homer as well as in Hesiod we also find, as already observed, the concept of the Islands of the Blest where certain outstanding individuals are translated alive.⁴ Pindar's poetry is in general based on the concept of posthumous fame as a worthy type of survival for the individual and for the family, something which Homer also exemplifies (*Iliad* 6.357-358). Pindar gives us, however, other beliefs which are closer to the idea of a true survival of the human soul after death. One of his fragments (116 B.) describes the soul as that part of the human person which alone is of divine origin and which survives the death of the body. In life the

¹See B. Moreux, "La nuit, l'ombre, et la mort chez Homère", *Phoenix*, 21 (1967), 237-272.

²*History of Greek Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1967), I, 196.

³See Rohde, *Psyche*, I, 10ff. See p. 243.

⁴See pp. 146, 243. See Nilsson, *History of Greek Religion*, 23; Rohde, *Psyche*, I, 55ff. In general see Jackson Knight, *Elysion*, 46ff.

soul is active only in dreams. There is also in Pindar the concept of the Islands of the Blest.¹ The famous statement, moreover, from the Pythian Odes (8.95-96): "life is a shadow in a dream", which blurs the borders of life and death, so sharply traced in Homer, suggests something new in Greek thought, something which can be related to the religions of the Orphics and Pythagoreans, and prefigures Plato's theory which made life a pale eidolon of the ideal life which is not of this world.²

It is impossible to know what the three leading Attic tragedians really thought of man's fate after death. We can only list the various concepts touching this matter which are found in their plays. In Aeschylus we find on the one hand the idea that the dead do not rise (Eumenides 647-648) and that they are insensible (fr. 244.25 N.). On the other hand the dead are presented as being capable of affecting the living (Persians 681ff.; Eumenides 94ff., 598, 767ff.), and of being propitiated (Choephoroi 6ff.).³ We also find the idea that man lives in his children (Choephoroi 503ff.). Sophocles presents several sceptical statements concerning the survival of the soul after death;⁴

¹ See p. 146, n. 3.

² On Pindar's ideas about the after-life see Jackson Knight, Elysion, 84ff.

³ In Ag. 1160-1161 Cassandra expects to continue prophesying in the underworld.

⁴ Cf. El. 137ff., 355ff.; OT 972.

the belief in an after-life of just retribution, however, is seen at one point in the Electra (245ff.) as the main bulwark of human piety and justice; and Oedipus expects to meet his father in Hades (Oedipus Rex 1372). There are several denials of immortality in Euripides.¹ Alcestis, however, is resurrected in the tragedy of the same name, and the ghost of Polydorus is put on stage in the Hecuba (28-31).²

Throughout the history of Greek literature and thought the belief in man's survival in the memory of posterity, his social survival, is a particularly potent one and coexists with beliefs in other types of after-life. Tyrtaeus' idea that the immortality of the warrior is guaranteed by the polis and the songs of its bards animates the Athenian funeral speeches of Pericles in Thucydides, of Plato in the Menexenos and of Demosthenes.³ Plato, accordingly, grants such immortality to the lawgiver, the poet, and the philosopher in his Symposium.

It is Plato, however, among Greek authors who expresses the most urgent demand for an individual survival and supports in his works, in rational terms, the emotional commitment of almost

¹Cf. Tro. 606-607, 633, 1248-1250; Hel. 912-913; IA 1250-1252.

²Rhesus is translated in Rhes. 962-982. On the beliefs about the after-life in the Greek dramatists see Jackson Knight, Elysion, 87ff. In general see M. H. Hewlett, "Immortality in the Poets", in Sir James Marchant, ed., Immortality (London, 1924), 172ff.

³See Nilsson, Cults, Myths, Oracles and Politics in Ancient Greece (Lund, 1951), 85ff.

all men to an expectation of future life. Plato's forerunners seem to have been the Orphics and Pythagoreans as well as the devotees of the Eleusinian Mysteries, who looked inwards and considered the soul to be something different and separable from the body and of divine origin, as the Pindaric fragment above puts it. This is a long way from the primitive belief in the tomb as the residence of the dead.¹

The ceremonies at Eleusis which, as already stated,² may have included a pantomimic representation of the after-life, must have nourished the hope of immortality in the common man,³ a hope which was manifestly proclaimed by the Orphics and Pythagoreans. Whatever its origin, the Orphic theology appears to have taken up and utilized earlier concepts of an after-life and to have given them new content.⁴ Orphism was a way of life

¹Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 100ff.

²See pp. 159-160. See also Farnell, The Cults, III, 179ff.; Bailey, Some Greek and Roman Ideas of a Future Life (Cambridge, 1955), 18; Pollard, Seers, 65ff.; S. Dow and R. F. Healey, A Sacred Calendar of Eleusis (Cambridge, 1965).

³Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 210ff.

⁴Guthrie, History of Greek Philosophy, I, 198f., notes that we cannot easily separate the Orphic movement from the philosophy of the Pythagoreans, but it may be that Pythagoras was attracted by some fluent ideas such as the idea of assimilation to the divine which pre-existed him and which we may call Orphic. See also Pollard, Seers, 97. On early Pythagoreanism see J. A. Philip, Pythagoras and Early Pythagoreanism (Toronto, 1966). On Orphism see Harrison, Prolegomena, 659-673; Grant, Hellenistic Religions, 105ff.; Guthrie, Orpheus; Dodds, the Greeks and the Irrational, 135ff.; Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (Oxford, 1921), 373ff.

which emphasized purity and constant care for the divine element in man, the soul,¹ whereas the Mysteries of Eleusis seem to have been of a magic character and were open to all. The Orphic eschatology had a strong appeal for Plato, who, nevertheless, did not fail to castigate its abuses (Republic 2.364b); for, there were some who misinterpreted the poetic representation of the after-life as a banquet of the holy, taking this to mean a state of eternal drunkenness.²

The problem of the soul's destiny after death also seems to have concerned the Romans of the late Republic. The initial stimuli came from the Greek lands of South Italy, and possibly from Etruria.³ The great ferment of eschatological ideas produced in time a vast wealth of testimonia on the fate of souls after death in poetry, religious thought, and art.⁴ The first contact which the Romans had with Greek ideas of an after-life made a deep impression on them and showed them the limitations of their own primitive concept of an undifferentiated multitude of the dead⁵

¹Guthrie, Orpheus, 154f.

²See Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 218; Guthrie, Orpheus, 19, 156, 158ff.

³See pp. 68ff., 275ff.

⁴See in general Cumont, Lux Perpetua, passim.

⁵See pp. 13ff. Cf. Jackson Knight, Elysion, 109: "In Africa something like this change has been developing. For centuries no one was remembered. Then some great chief attained the privilege of being remembered and respected, for many generations..." See, in general, H. J. Rose, "Ancient Italian Beliefs Concerning the Soul", CQ, 24 (1930), 129-135.

and of the adherence of ghosts to the grave or to the entrails of the earth, whence they would occasionally come to haunt the world of the living.¹ Apart from the attraction which the colourful Greek underworld may have exercised upon the Romans, the Greek concept of the immortality of the soul must have responded to similar though vague feelings under their belief in an indefinite survival and in ghosts. The Greek concept of underworld punishments and rewards must also have satisfied their sense of justice.²

Ennius presents several allusions to a traditional underworld but also the Pythagorean concept of metempsychosis.³ In his dream of Homer,⁴ Ennius learns from the ghost of the Greek poet that he is the recipient of Homer's soul after it had been reincarnated as a peacock, and in the sequence of the poem which is now lost he may have heard from Homer on the nature of the human soul, a theme elaborated by Ennius also in the Epicharmus (Varia 45ff. V.). It must be noted that it is

¹See pp. 24ff., 227, 266ff.

²It is on the whole agreed that the concept of retribution in after-life was missing from early Roman religion. See pp. 116, 207ff.

³See pp. 212ff. See J. K. Newman, "Ennius the Mystic", G&R, 14 (1967), 44-51.

⁴See p. 29. See O. Skutsch, Studia Enniana (London, 1968), 151-156.

only the shade of Homer which appears to Ennius, not his soul, which has been already reincarnated in Ennius. This distinction underlies the following passage of Lucretius (1.120-123):

etsi praeterea tamen esse Acherusia templa
Ennius aeternis exponit versibus edens,
quo neque permaneant animae neque corpora nostra,
sed quaedam simulacra modis pallentia miris.

The implication is that the bodies and the souls go elsewhere. The bodies are dissolved in the earth, while the souls ascend to heaven or are reincarnated. This belief, probably of Pythagorean inspiration,¹ which accommodates the belief in a celestial immortality with the idea of a traditional Hades, may have found support in Homer (Odyssey 11.602ff.), where it is stated that Heracles is in heaven, but his eidolon is in Hades.² This concept of the bipartite or tripartite division of the human soul is not explicitly stated in Vergil but it may be behind the apparition of Anchises in Aeneid 5.722ff.³ In any case, it does not seem to have had great success with the Romans.⁴

¹Cumont, After-life, 74.

²According to the ancient scholia on the Odyssey these verses were interpolated by Onomacritus, the Orphic writer of the sixth century B.C. See Stanford, The Odyssey, I, note ad loc.; Jackson Knight, Elysion, 50, 62.

³Cf. also Aen. 4.654 and Servius ad loc.; Aen. 5.81 and Veron. Schol. ad loc.; Luc. 6.719ff.; CE 1339. See A. van Gennepe, The Rites of Passage (Chicago, 1960), 146.

⁴See Cumont, Lux Perpetua, 190ff.

Ennius' line (Annals 115-116 V.): Romulus in caelo cum dis genitalibus aevum / Degit obviously echoes the notion of the hero's deification, his assumption to heaven, a lot denied to ordinary mortals.¹ The expressions "being in heaven" and "going to heaven", however, may refer generally to the fact of death, that is, they may be applicable to all men who upon death are believed to ascend to heaven. The belief in a celestial immortality for all, which was very popular in Imperial times and which eventually became a connecting link between Greco-Roman paganism and Christianity,² may have originally come to Greece from the East and been taken over and spread by the Pythagoreans.³ It is the one belief which was especially attractive to Cicero, as it had been to the Greek philosopher whom he admired above all, Plato.

Among the educated Romans of the late Republic Cicero seems to be a representative case. He was anxious about the after-life (cf. Letters to Atticus 12.18) and seems to have moved

¹See p. 253.

²See Cumont, After-life, 91ff.; id., Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans (New York, 1960), 95ff.; Lattimore, Themes, 36ff.

³Ar. Pax 832-833 may be the earliest extant example of this belief in Greek poetry. See pp. 251ff.

back and forth from rationalism to mysticism. On the one hand, he either disputes the reality of traditional stories about the underworld,¹ or, at the most, he interprets them allegorically.² On the other hand, it appears that at some point of his life and probably because he was disappointed by the unruly course of things on earth, he felt the need, as Plato had done before, to associate his love of justice and morality with an ideal state of existence beyond the confines of this life. Cicero's vision of the soul's immortality in the Dream of Scipio with which he concludes his Republic, just as Plato had ended his own Republic with the vision of Er the Armenian, and his Tusculan Disputations appear to move away from his early scepticism associated with the Middle Academy.³ It is surprising to hear from a Roman statesman like Cicero the mystical statement which he puts on the lips of Scipio Africanus (Dream of Scipio 6): ei vivunt, qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt; vestra vero, quae dicitur, vita mors est, and which echoes the Orphic and Platonic belief in the superiority of the soul over the body, of the after-life over this life.⁴ The Dream of Scipio

¹Cf. Clu. 61.171; Nat D. 1.5; Tusc. 1.5.9ff.

²See p. 108.

³M. I. Rostovtsev, Mystic Italy (New York, 1927), 16f.; Pascal, Credenze, II, 37ff.

⁴The passage is also cited by Norden, Agnostos Theos (Leipzig, 1913), 277, n. 2.

which, as noted, concludes the Republic as the climax of a long discourse of a sociological and philosophical nature, is the only extant account in Roman literature of a future life prior to Vergil's Aeneid 6, with which it shares the same patriotic tone.¹ Unlike Vergil, however, Cicero is more definitely Stoic in his Dream; he also places the future world exclusively among the stars, and does not seem to believe in after-life punishments but simply in rewards for the worthy man, especially the statesman.² It must be noted that Cicero's attempt to harmonize in this work two basically contradictory concepts, that of political activity and that of philosophic contemplation, is not quite successful.³ Moreover, the Pythagorean and Platonic belief in a personal immortality does not agree with the traditional Roman concept of the Manes representing the family or the clan rather than the individual.⁴

Cicero again takes up the subject of the soul's immortality in his Tusculan Disputations. In the spirit of the New Academy

¹J. W. MacKail, Latin Literature (New York, 1923), 71.

²See Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 266; W. A. Camps, An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid (Oxford, 1969), 88-90.

³Otis, "Three Problems...", 172.

⁴C. N. Cochrane, Christianity and Classical Culture (New York, 1940), 60-61. See H. Goergemanns, "Die Bedeutung der Traumeinkleidung im Somnium Scipionis", WS, 2 (1968), 46-69, and in general Macrobius' commentary on the Somnium in William H. Stahl, Macrobius: Commentary on the Dream of Scipio (New York, 1952).

he finds it impossible to define the nature and place of the soul (1.25.60 and 27.67). The soul is convinced of its own existence (1.22.53); this is the nearest approach to certainty. Also, one of the arguments for the immortality of the soul and its surviving the body is the universal credulity in it of the ancients, that is, the ancestors of the late Republican Romans (1.12.27). Of course, the Roman ius Manium, the belief in the existence of spirits and the need to propitiate them to which Cicero alludes, is not enough to prove the immortality of the soul which, according to Cicero, ascends to heaven after death (1.11.24, 17.40, 18.42, 31.75); but it hints at the probability that the soul somehow outlives the body. On the whole Cicero seems to be emotionally committed to the idea of the soul destined to be freed at death from the impediments of flesh, and to find comfort (cf. 1.49.119) he resorts to that philosophy which above all others has given assurances for the soul's immortality, the philosophy of Plato. He is accordingly in agreement with the Orphics and Pythagoreans.¹

2. Mysticism and Aeneid 6

If Cicero the rationalist felt the need to subscribe to Platonic ideas on death in his years of maturity, we must

¹See Friedländer, Darstellungen, III, 280; Cumont, After-life, 104-105; Jackson Knight, Elysion, 120-122.

presume that the appeal of mysticism was greater to the less rationally-minded Roman plebs at the end of the Roman Republic. That was a time when the firm assurances of the Mystery religions of the possibility for anyone to attain a blessed immortality by means of certain ceremonies of purification antagonized the various theories of philosophy on the fate of the soul after death, which were rather vague and contradictory.¹ It has already been observed that we can only speculate on the question of the ordinary Roman's eschatological beliefs at this period because of our paucity of evidence.² Much evidence pointing to the popularity of the Mystery religions in Imperial times,³ however, suggests that the Romans of the late Republic must also have been open to such influences. The all-powerful instinct of self-preservation beyond the grave was too strong to find lasting satisfaction in the Epicurean theory of dissolution of the individual at death, or in the Stoic idea of the post-mortem union of the soul with the divine logos of the universe, or in the scepticism of the Academics and the rationalism of the Peripatetics.

On the contrary, we may well assume that a great number

¹See p. 4.

²See pp. 2-3.

³See especially Cumont, Lux Perpetua, passim; Richard Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen (Leipzig, 1927).

of people tended to go to the other extreme of the Lucretian attitude, and wholeheartedly accepted ready-made recipes of blessedness after death. Under these circumstances Vergil may be said to have followed a middle and sober course in his Nekyia, by attempting to build a picture of an after-life which stresses the idea of just conduct in this world behind the concepts of underworld punishments for the wicked and rewards for the pious and good. Vergil's subtle perception of the difference between good and evil did not fail to search for the ethical values of those traditional stories which Lucretius had rejected as "vain tales" (somnia).¹ In this sense Aeneid 6 was probably meant to answer Lucretius and also check everyman's tendency to fall in with the preachers of facile salvations and their magic rituals, which gave little or no emphasis to the just and righteous life.

In the hands of Vergil the Greek underworld with the stereotyped figures and scenes becomes a truly corrected replica of this world. Taken literally Aeneid 6 does not fail to encourage morality and justice. On the other hand, interpretation of the poem in symbolic terms, as has been noted,² is legitimate and offers much satisfaction to those who have a predilection for such things. Human aspirations, fears, and hopes animate

¹See Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, 79.

²See pp. 162ff.

Vergil's underworld images and suggest to the reader in elevated style the drama of life. The traffic between the living and the dead which is constant in the first half of the Aeneid culminates in the sixth book of the poem in such a way as to answer the theological questionings of Vergil's time, in both literal and symbolic fashion.

It is impossible to say what Vergil the man really thought of the soul's fate after death. The generally held view is that Vergil started as an Epicurean and later developed Stoic tendencies both by personal inclination and his Roman ethos. This may be true, as it would be probably true that, like Cicero, he was sensitive to Platonic mysticism, as Anchises' speech on metempsychosis suggests; but it is only indirectly through his characters and through his descriptions that Vergil's feelings and ideas come forward, and we cannot be sure about his most intimate philosophy of existence. I think that it would be safe to assume that Vergil did not entertain any single belief on the matter of the soul's destiny after death, but simply perceived the relative value of the various concepts current in his time, and made good use of them.

3. The Classes of Souls in Aeneid 6

1. The Still Unferried Ghosts

The first class of souls in Aeneid 6 comprises those who are waiting to be ferried across Styx (305-316):

huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat,
 matres atque viri defunctaque corpora vita
 magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,
 impositique rogis iuvenes ante ora parentum:
 quam multa in silvis autumnii frigore primo
 lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto
 quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus
 trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.
 stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum,
 tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore.
 navita sed tristis nunc hos nunc accipit illos,
 ast alios longe summos arcet harena.

The passage is in the epic style. The poet gives us first a general picture of the waiting ghosts by which he means to impress upon his readers the anonymity and equality of souls.¹ Then he deepens and particularizes his description by comparing the ghosts to birds and to falling leaves. The pathos of the initial picture, conveyed aptly by the mention of the young maidens who died before marriage and of the lads whose bodies were cremated before the very eyes of their parents, is dramatically complemented by the two similes which, apart from the aspect of multitude, stress the frailty, lightness, and weakness of the ghosts.² Noteworthy is also the motif of supplication by the stretching of hands in a line hard to translate.³

¹ Lines 306-308 are identical with those in G. 4.475-477; cf. Hom. Od. 11.38-41. For probable Ennian echoes see Norden, Aeneis VI, 223. In general see Murley, "Classification of Souls...", 19ff.

² See Norden, ibid., 223-224; Clark, "Two Virgilian Similes...", 245-255; R. O. Hornsby, Patterns of Action in the Aeneid (Iowa, 1970), 84-85.

³ See Norden, ibid.; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, notes ad loc.

The Sibyl uses the words inops inhumataque turba in speaking of the unburied ghosts whom Charon prevents from boarding his vessel (Aeneid 6.325).¹ This is in keeping with the widespread belief of the ancients in the abnormality of being dead and unburied.² We also hear that these ghosts who have lacked the honour of burial must wait for one hundred years before they are allowed to cross Styx and take their right place in the underworld (Aeneid 6.327-330):

nec ripas datur horrendas et rauca fluenta
transportare prius quam sedibus ossa quierunt.
centum errant annos volitantque haec litora circum;
tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revisunt.

The notion of the one hundred year waiting period may be an invention of Vergil based on the idea of a century as the longest duration of a man's life. It is more natural, however, to assume that Vergil draws here from earlier sources.³ Aeneas pities the unburied souls for their unjust fate (Aeneid 6.332: sortem...animo miseratus iniquam), and by doing so, as Bowra remarks, he almost criticizes the order of the world,

¹The form inhumata is probably meant to clarify inops (cf. Lucr. 6.1241). Page, Aeneid 1-6, note ad loc., translates inops by "poor" and connects it with the well-known custom of the ancients to place a coin between the teeth of the dead for their fare to Hades. This is ingenious, but inops may simply mean "helpless"; see Fletcher, Aeneid VI, note ad loc.

²Cf. Hom. Il. 23.71ff.; Od. 11.60ff. The unburied ghosts were particularly hostile to the living.

³Cf. Varro Ling. 6.11; Serv. Aen. 6.325. See Norden, Aeneis VI, 10-11; Murley, "Classification of Souls...", 20.

which imposes so severe a punishment on innocent souls.¹

One of these innocent souls is Palinurus, Aeneas' lost helmsman,² hardly distinguishable in the penumbra of Hades. (Aeneid 6.340: hunc...vix multa maestum cognovit in umbra). He is sad (maestus) as all unburied ghosts are, and the prospect at having a memorial in his name consoles him but for a little while (Aeneid 6.382-383: pulsus...parumper / corde dolor tristis).³ Aeneas' encounter with Palinurus exemplifies the concept of the unburied soul besides tying the catabasis of Aeneas with the rest of the Aeneid.

ii. The Souls of the Limbo area

The classes of souls which Vergil places in the limbo area between Styx and Tartarus-Elysium have not been granted full admittance into the lower world, and in this they are similar to the unburied ghosts. Much has been written on Vergil's arrangement of these classes of spirits, and the poet has been criticized, unjustly in my view, for his vagueness.⁴

¹From Virgil to Milton, 65-66.

²See pp. 168-169.

³Cf. Serv. Aen. ad loc.

⁴See Norden, Aeneis VI, 11; Butler, Aeneid 6, 11ff., 173-175. According to Servius (Aen. 6.426), of the nine circles which constituted Hades the first five included all those who had had a premature death for whatever reason, the sixth was reserved for Tartarus, the seventh for the purgatory, the eighth for the purged souls ready to be reincarnated, and the ninth for Elysium; but it is doubtful whether Vergil had this scheme in mind.

The first group of ghosts includes the infants wailing for the life which they never had (Aeneid 6.426-429).¹ They are placed by Vergil in the very threshold of Hades (limine primo), because they have been snatched from infancy, as Servius notes,² and like all other groups of souls placed in the limbo area they are not so much given to suffering as lacking enjoyment. In this they resemble the Homeric souls of the dead.³

The second class of souls in this area are those unjustly put to death (Aeneid 6.430-433). Minos examines their lives and sins and rectifies the miscarriage of justice which imposed on these ghosts a violent death.⁴ The placement of Minos here may have to do with the position of Minos in Plato (Gorgias 524; cf. Apologia 41) as a judge of appeal, while Aeacus and Rhadamanthus treat the cases of the Asiatic and European dead respectively.⁵

¹Cf. Lucr. 5.226; CE 78. On relevant epitaphs see in general Norden, Aeneis VI, 224.

²On Aen. 6.427; but see Butler, Aeneid 6, and Fletcher, Aeneid VI, notes ad loc. On this group of souls see in general Cumont, Lux Perpetua, 308ff.; Murley, "Classification of Souls...", 20; Boyance, "Funus Acerbum", REA, 54 (1952), 275-289. For J. Sheehan, "Catholic Ideas of Death as Found in Aeneid 6", CF, 16 (1962), 89, the region of the infants corresponds to the Roman Catholic limbus infantium, the place reserved for the unbaptized children.

³For the artistic virtues of Vergil's lines on these ghosts see Fletcher, Aeneid VI, note ad loc.

⁴See Butler, Aeneid 6, 14; Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 254f.

⁵Aeacus is not mentioned by Vergil (cf. Hor. Od. 2.13.22), while Rhadamanthus is placed in Tartarus. See p.

Homer, however, presents Minos performing in Hades (Odyssey 11. 568) as he used to in the upper air, that is, judging disputes among the ghosts of the dead as he used to try cases among the living; he does not judge sins committed on earth.¹ Vergil aptly uses here the language of Roman courts (falso damnati crimine...sorte...iudice...quaesitor Minos urnam movet... conciliumque vocat).²

The next group among the limbo souls includes the suicides, those who took their own lives because they had been unable to endure the hardships of life (Aeneid 6.434-439). These are called "sad" (maesti) either because they regret their deed or because they anticipate great punishment, in conformity with the belief which made suicide a crime punishable in Hades.³ Vergil seems to pity these ghosts who now wish they had lived longer.⁴

¹See Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 270; Murley, "Classification of Souls...", 17.

²Cf. Prop. 4.11.19f.; Culex 275; Hor. Od. 3.1.14; 4.7.21-22. See Bailey, ibid., 255; Butler, Aeneid 6, 177.

³Cf. Lucr. 3.79 and see Michels, "Lucretius and the Sixth Book of the Aeneid", 140; Gennep, The Rites of Passage, 161. Cf. also the Bologna Papyrus fol. 1r., vv. 1-2, in Merkelbach, "Eine 'orphanische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 5, and see also Turcan, "La catabase orphique...", 140ff. Ancient society in general disapproved of suicide. See Serv. Aen. 12.603 commenting on Amata's suicide, and in general Rohde, Psyche, I, 187, n. 33; Cumont, Lux Perpetua, 23; but there were some who believed that suicide was a permissible escape from disgrace, as Pease, Aeneid 4, 10f., notes; see p. 8. Cf. Hor. Od. 1.12.35-36: Catonis / nobile letum.

⁴Cf. Hom. Od. 11.488ff.

Then we have the victims of love who abide in the "Mourning Fields" and are still tormented by their earthly passions (Aeneid 6.440ff.). This group overlaps to a degree with the previous one, as some of its members have taken their own lives. Vergil's list (Aeneid 6.445ff.) includes several mythological heroines like Phaedra, Pasiphaë, and Laodamia, in apparent imitation of Homer (Odyssey 11.225-329),¹ and ends with Dido, whom Aeneas perceives dimly through the obscurity of the underworld (Aeneid 6.450-455):

inter quas Phoenissa recens a vulnere Dido
errabat silva in magna; quam Troius heros
ut primum iuxta stetit agnovitque per umbras
obscuram, qualem primo qui surgere mense
aut videt aut vidisse putat per nubila lunam,
demisit lacrimas...

We note here the idea which we also find in the case of Deiphobus that the dead kept the appearance they had at their death; so, Dido's wounds are fresh on her.² On the other hand, the beautiful simile which likens the ghost of Dido to the new moon aptly expresses the unsubstantiality of shades, repeatedly noted by the poet.³ Dido's inclusion among the victims of love,

¹ See Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer, 112ff. Cf. Prop. 1. 19.13; 4.7.55-70 and see Michels, "Death and Two Poets", TAPhA, 86 (1955), 173.

² See pp. 32ff.

³ See pp. 24ff., 181. For the simile and its model (Ap. Rhod. 4.1479) see Norden, Aeneis VI, and Fletcher, Aeneid VI, notes on Aen. ad loc.; also Hügi, Vergils Aeneis, 35, 105; Hornsby, Patterns of Action in the Aeneid, 98f.

and not in the group of suicides proper, may be a sign of the poet's sympathy for her,¹ while her restoration to Sychaeus (Aeneid 6.474) hints, according to Glover, at what in tragedy we may call reconciliation.²

The souls of heroes fallen in war (bello caduci) which Aeneas sees next in the limbo area (Aeneid 6.477-493) include warriors from the Theban wars and some from the tradition of the Trojan saga, both Greeks and Romans. It is significant for the Roman ethos of the Aeneid that while the Trojan heroes are honourably mentioned (multum fleti ad superos), the phantoms of the Greeks are said to become frightened at the sight of Aeneas and his arms; some turn to flee; others attempt to raise the war-cry, but they only produce a shrill piping sound.³ As in other parts of his poem Vergil wants to suggest the dual nature of souls. The dead heroes appear in their familiar guises (cf. Aeneid 6.485) but they are, nonetheless, spectres, fleshless shades who cannot even use the little voice that they have; they are pale replicas of their former selves (cf. Aeneid 6.480).⁴

¹See Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 270; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, 66.

²T. R. Glover, Virgil (London, 1930), 205.

³This is a characteristic of Homeric ghosts: cf. Il. 23.101; Od. 24.5ff. See Norden, Aeneis VI, 258.

⁴See pp. 98-99.

Deiphobus' inclusion in this group of souls is justified either because he was buried in the normal way, that is, under the earth, or because Aeneas had honoured him with a cenotaph (Aeneid 6.505-506), had thrice invoked his name,¹ and raised replicas of his arms in his honour.² In fact, a normal or simulated burial would have allowed him to cross the Stygian lake, although his violent death would have prevented him from going to Elysium. Deiphobus appears to Aeneas with the disfigurements which he had received in life,³ but unlike Eriphyle who displays her wounds (Aeneid 6.446), he tries to hide his (Aeneid 6.498-499).

iii. The Souls of the Damned

Punishment in Vergil's Tartarus is the long-delayed expiation of sins on earth, the sinners having entertained an inane confidence that their crimes done in secret would never be known. The notion is significant if we want to understand Vergil's special purpose in speaking of the damned souls of Hades.⁴ The belief that, although crime can be concealed in

¹Cf. Aen. 3.68 and 6.231.

²See Norden, Aeneis VI, 264-265; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, 70; Page, Aeneid 1-6, 476.

³See Norden, Aeneis VI, 9 and 263. The statement that Deiphobus was slain by Menelaus (Aen. 6.525ff.) is consistent with Homer (Od. 8.517; cf. Hyg. Fab. 113), but the role which Helen seems to play here (Aen. 6.523ff.) is inconsistent with an earlier reference to her (Aen. 2.567-588).

⁴See p. 176.

actual life, a late confession followed by just punishment will be extracted after death, seemed to many ancients necessary for the control of crime in society.¹ Penalties (poenae) are imposed on souls for sins committed on earth, and the administration of these penalties is sanctioned by the gods (Aeneid 6.565),² and put in the hands of Rhadamanthus.³

As has been observed, the types of ordinary offenders whom Vergil lists along with their punishments may have a special significance. In fact, the inspiration seems to come from that civic and Roman morality which underlies Augustus' religious and social revival.⁴ Vergil condemns the violators of the familial and social order (Aeneid 6.608ff.): those who planned to harm their brothers, the father-strikers, those who deceived their clients, the avaricious,⁵ the adulterers executed on the

¹Cf. Polyb. 6.56.8; Soph. El. 245ff.

²Cf. Serv. Aen. ad loc.; see Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 56.

³Cf. Hom. Il. 14.321; Od. 4.564; Pind. Ol. 2.76; Diod. 5.79. See Knauer, Die Aeneis und Homer, 119.

⁴See p. 178.

⁵On the first class cf. Pl. Resp. 10.615d; on the second class cf. Ar. Ran. 147; Paus. 10.28ff.; Bologna papyrus fol. 2r, vv. 1-2, in Merkelbach, "Eine 'orphische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 7. See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note on Aen. 6.609. See pp. 220f. On the third class cf. Bologna papyrus fol. 2r, vv. 9-10, in Merkelbach, ibid., 7; Servius (Aen. 6.609) cites the law of the Twelve Tables: Patronus si clienti fraudem fecerit sacer esto; on the fourth class cf. Pind. Nem. 1.31; Bologna papyrus fol. 2r, v.2, in Merkelbach, ibid., 7; Hor. Sat. 1.1.80ff.; 2.2.102ff.; Pers. 3.69ff.

spot, those who took up impious arms against their fatherland and betrayed the loyalty due to their masters, and similarly those who betrayed their country to tyranny for gold and manipulated the public laws for their own interests, and finally the incestuous.¹ With this catalogue, which is a little arbitrary and confusing, as observed,² Vergil attempts to create a picture convincing in both poetic and legalistic terms.³ The enumeration of various types of sinners universalizes the idea of retribution in Hell for crimes committed in the upper world. A symbolic interpretation, however, of the legendary sinners whom Vergil lists with their respective punishments makes them no less universal. In a general sense, the Titans writhing in the depths of Tartarus, the Aloidés, Salmoneus driven headlong

¹On the adulterers cf. Bologna papyrus fol. 2r, vv. 3-4, in Merkelbach, "Eine 'orphanische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 7; it is civil war which Vergil condemns by reference to the unpatriotic: cf. Hor. *Epod.* 7, and see Butler, *Aeneid* 6, 209; the reference to the abusers of freedom and of the public laws may allude to specific events of Roman history well-known to Vergil and his contemporaries: cf. Serv. *Aen.* 6.612, and see Butler, *ibid.*, and Fletcher, *Aeneid* VI, notes *ad loc.*; on the incestuous cf. Bologna papyrus fol. 1r, 5ff., in Merkelbach, *ibid.*, 5, and see on this Turcan, "La catabase orphique...", 155ff.; see Butler, *ibid.*, note on *Aen.* 6.623.

²See p. 177.

³Servius translates the word *forma* (*Aen.* 6.615) by "legal formula" or "charge"; but cf. *Aen.* 6.626: *omnis scelerum...formas*. See Butler, *ibid.*, 210. See p. 204. Cf. the list of sinners in Ar. *Ran.* 146-150, and see on Vergil's sinners in general Norden, *Aeneis* VI, 287ff.; on Lucretius' influence on Vergil in this matter see Michels, "Lucretius and the Sixth Book of the *Aeneid*", 144f.

by the fiery missiles of Zeus, Tityos having his never-dying liver eaten by a vulture, Phlegyas under the impending rock, Tantalus unable to satisfy his hunger, all these stand for the inexorability of death, its permanence, the deadly effect of human passions out of control, passions which the dead carry with themselves from life. Each of these sinners of legend in his traditional underworld setting represents some form of human hybris and the punishment which ensues from it. Just as the commentators of Homer interpreted his mythological sinners and their punishments symbolically,¹ so we may view Vergil's Theseus fixed in Hell immovably (Aeneid 6.617-618),² as representing the negative eternity of Tartarus.³ Likewise, miserrimus Phlegyas who warns mankind against injustice and impiety (Aeneid 6.618-620) is in a sense the typical damned soul whose fate is a vivid example to the living.⁴ The remarkable

¹See Boyance', La religion de Virgile, 158; Nilsson, Folk Religion, 116; Harrison, Prolegomena, 613-623; Guthrie, Orpheus, 161-162; Waser, "Über die äussere...", 372f.

²Cf. Hom. Od. 11.631; Paus. 10.29. See p. 283, n. 4.

³Williams, Virgil, 40.

⁴Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode...", 33f., notes that in the proem of Vergil's Georgics 3 (37-39) the temple which the poet plans to build for Augustus is connected with the mythical sinners of the underworld in a probable identification of those with the enemies of Augustus. This suggests that Vergil's account of the legendary criminals in Aeneid 6 may also be interpreted, like the listings of ordinary sinners, in the light of the Roman and civic morality of Vergil's time. This is of course true, although, as I have observed more than once, Vergil seems to speak on behalf of the entire ancient world.

line (Aeneid 6.624): ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti, which Dryden translates: "all dar'd the worst of ills and what they dar'd attain'd", aptly seals with its dreadful inclusiveness the damned souls and their damnation.¹

iv. The Blessed Spirits and Reincarnation

It has been already noted that the initial mythological part of Vergil's description of Elysium and its inhabitants includes an honourable mention of some Trojan heroes, ancestors of the Romans, who rest amid the sporting and singing souls.² Just as these correspond to the named mythical sinners of Tartarus, so the classes of ordinary fortunate souls which follow are meant to balance the nameless penitents of whom we spoke above. Blessed are all those here (Aeneid 6.660ff.) who fell in defence of their fatherland, the priests who led a chaste life, the pious seers whose speech was worthy of Apollo, those who by their invention of crafts improved life, and those remembered for kindness.³

¹See in general RE, 10B, 2416ff., and 2nd Ser., 4B, 2440ff.; Kroll, Gott und Hölle, 363ff.; Treu, "Die neue 'orphische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 42ff.; Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 243; S. G. F. Brandon, The Judgment of the Dead (London, 1967), 76ff.

²See p. 179.

³Aen. 6.660: hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi has Ennian echoes. See on this Norden, Aeneis VI, note ad loc. For the motif see Treu, ibid., 50; Kenneth Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid (London, 1968), 110. On the chaste priests (sacerdotes casti) cf. Bologna papyrus fol. 3r, v. 4, in Merkelbach, "Eine 'orphische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 9. On the poets as teachers of morality and of aesthetic values cf. Merkelbach, ibid., 9, and Treu, ibid., 51, and see on this Butler, Aeneid 6, 219. The inventors probably

The purity of all these souls is represented, one would say, by the white ribbons which encircle their brows (Aeneid 6.665).¹

The next group of souls with which Vergil deals in his description of Elysium are those who will be reincarnated and who will have varied destinies on earth before their new bodies die in their turn. The process of reincarnation starts with the souls drinking from the stream of forgetfulness, as Anchises explains to a curious Aeneas (Aeneid 6.713-715):

animae, quibus altera fato
corpora debentur, Lethaei ad fluminis undam
seculos latices et longa oblivio potant.

Aeneas' reaction to this statement, which is noteworthy for the hendiadys formed by seculos latices and longa oblivio,² is significant (Aeneid 6.719-721):

o pater, anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum est
sublimis animas iterumque ad tarda reverti
corpora? quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?

He wonders how the lofty (sublimis) souls of Elysium willingly accept to return to sluggish (tarda) bodies. Particularly

include artists, scientists, and philosophers. Cf. Cic. Somn. Scip. 18; Bologna papyrus fol. 3r, v. 7, in Merkelbach, "Eine 'orphanische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 9, and see on this Treu, "Die neue 'orphanische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 51. On the kind ones see Norden, Aeneis VI, 36; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, 81.

¹The ribbon or band (vitta) was a mark of consecration: cf. Verg. G. 3.487.

²This alludes to the derivation of Lethaeum (flumen) from the Greek Lethe, "oblivion". Cf. Ar. Ran. 186; Paus. 9.39.5-14. See Rohde, Psyche, I, 249, n. 21; Fletcher, Aeneid VI, xxii.

his finishing question, "why should the wretched souls wish so perversely for the light of the upper world?", seems to depreciate life on earth, and contradicts the widespread belief in the "sweet light" of life, which man loses at death.¹ The feeling is of course in agreement with the Orphic belief in the essential negativeness of life, the tomb or punishment of the soul, but apart from this, it may express the poet's personal philosophy, his second voice, which, as noted earlier, is tinged with sorrow, pessimism and a gentle melancholy.²

In fact, the idea of life as a sad interlude in the history of the soul is in the core of the speech of Anchises which outlines in pointedly philosophic terms the theory of the transmigration of souls.³ Vergil's personal conviction as to

¹ See Page, The Aeneid I-VI, 488; Butler, Aeneid 6, 225.

² See pp. 26-27, 186. For more bibliography on the subject of Vergil's second voice see Segal, "Aeternum...nomen...", I, 618, n. 2. See also Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, 81.

³ On the subject of reincarnation in Vergil see, in general, Norden, Aeneis VI, 16ff.; Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 273ff.; see also Cumont, Lux Perpetua, 196ff. The subject and its philosophic treatment in Aeneid 6 pose the problem of Vergil's relations with formal philosophy. We have the explicit statement of Suetonius-Donatus 35 (51), in Ernst Diehl, ed., Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre antiken Quellen (Bonn, 1911), 16, that at the age of fifty-two Vergil planned to revise the Aeneid for three years and then devote the rest of his life to the study of philosophy. This can be associated with the well-known passage of G. 2.490-492 (given on p. 133), which seems to extol the study and knowledge of philosophy. See the discussions on the passage by Bovie, Dominant Themes, 185ff.; Sullivan, "Some Virgilian Beatitudes", AJPh, 82 (1961), 400ff.; McKay, Vergil's Italy, 27. See p. 158.

the validity or illusion of the concept of metempsychosis eludes us,¹ although we must admit that he made excellent use of it in finishing Aeneid 6.²

Anchises expounds first the idea of the Stoic universal soul (anima mundi), the spirit or fire which is the core of all things visible and invisible, and which alone is of divine origin (Aeneid 6.724-729).³ Then we have a passage of Platonic inspiration (Aeneid 6.730ff.).⁴ Matter, it is stated, is the negative element in its union with the spirit; the soul, spark of the primordial fire, is imprisoned in the body with its passions of fear, sorrow, and joy, as in a dark dungeon.⁵ The pollution of matter accompanies the soul even in death and needs to be "scraped off". Hence the concept of purgatory (Aeneid 6.739ff.). After death souls are

¹See p. 199.

²See pp. 182-3. I do not agree with Boyance, "Sur le discours d'Anchise...", 62, that if Vergil did not believe in metempsychosis he would have used another method in order to show Aeneas his Roman posterity. The concept of metempsychosis was suited for his artistic purposes and he may have used it regardless of whether he believed in it or not.

³Cf. Verg. G. 4.219-227, and see Norden, Aeneis VI, 310-311; Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 243, 265; G. Norlin, "The Doctrines of the Orphic Mysteries, with Special Reference to the Words of Anchises in Vergil's Sixth Aeneid 724-751", CJ, 3 (1908), 91-99.

⁴Cf. Pl. Phd. 628; Cra. 400c; Grg. 493a.

⁵Cic. Tusc. 4.6 classifies the passions (perturbationes); cf. Hor. Epist. 1.6.12. For the concept of the body as prison of the soul see p. 194.

hung up and cleansed by air, water, and fire.¹ So far, the general sense of Vergil's text is clear enough, but what follows the mysterious line quisque suos patimur manis² is intriguing (Aeneid 6.743-751).³ Vergil may be trying to combine various concepts here. He may suggest that Elysium is a temporary resting-place for the souls or even partly a place of purgatory, to be distinguished from a yet higher sphere, the final home of the well-purified soul; or, perhaps, he regards Elysium as an intermediate stage between the purgatorial stage of aer and the final stage of aether.⁴ The few souls (pauci) who, in the words of Anchises (Aeneid 6.744), abide in the happy lands of Elysium may be those souls who are released from the necessity of reincarnation, whereas the others have to drink after a waiting period of one thousand years from the river of Lethe and

¹On the concept of purgatory see Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 264ff., 276f.; Norlin, "The Doctrines of the Orphic Mysteries...", 92ff.

²See pp. 22-23. See also Boyancé, "Sur le discours d'Anchise...", 69ff.; E. Magotteaux, "Mânes Virgiliens et démon Platonicien", AC, 24 (1955), 341-351; G. Stegen, "Virgile et le metempsychose (Aen. VI, 742-751)", AC, 36 (1967), 144-158; Norlin, ibid., 95ff.

³There is a good general discussion of the problem in Fletcher, Aeneid VI, 86f. See also Norden, Aeneis VI, 17ff.; Conington, Vergili Opera, II, 523ff.

⁴Cf. Bologna papyrus fol. 3v, in Merkelbach, "Eine 'orphische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 10, and see on this Treu, "Die neue 'orphische' Unterweltsbeschreibung...", 28. See Norden, ibid., 23-26, 28-34; Cumont, After-life, 81f., 96ff.

be reborn. Whatever the real meaning of the final part of Anchises' speech the purely mystical idea of the soul's ultimate solution into the cosmic fire (Aeneid 6.746-747) is inconsistent with the Roman conclusion of the poem which considers Rome a final end in itself.¹

4. The Fate of the Dead in the Other Poets

The problem of the soul's destiny after death attracted the attention of the other poets of the late Republic and early Empire also. Apart from the Epicurean concept of personal annihilation at death² Lucretius cites the popular belief that the soul enters the body at the time of birth as an independent entity and descends to Hades after death (3.670ff.). Moreover, Lucretius mentions, as noted, the concept of the tripartite division of the human soul after death, and also the theory of metempsychosis (1.112ff.).³ The philosophic explanation of the true nature of the soul undertaken by Lucretius (3.35ff.) is meant to drive out the fear of the lower world (1.102ff.). Death is a "final end" (certa finis).⁴

¹Otis, "Three Problems...", 173. On the matter of Vergil's inconsistencies see pp. 134, 162f. On the matter of Vergil's mysticism see pp. 196ff. and, further, Fowler, Religious Experience, 380ff.; Pascal, Credenze, II, 34ff. and 154ff.

²See pp. 6-7.

³See p. 192.

⁴See Michels, "Death and Two Poets", 160ff.

Death is an essentially negative thing for the Roman elegists and for Catullus.¹ The humorous poem of Catullus on the death of Lesbia's sparrow indicates no attempt on the part of its author to have the dead bird salvaged in some kind of post-mortem apotheosis. The bird is simply said to go to a place of no return (3.12: unde negant redire quemquam).² In Tibullus and Propertius, however, the belief in love's power to outlast the death of the body brings comfort and is even illustrated by the imagery of a traditional underworld. This by no means shows a belief in the survival of the soul after death; it is a sort of poetic reconciliation with the fact of death's inevitability. Here as almost everywhere else in the elegist's poetry the center of interest is held by his love and faith. Contemplating his eventual death Tibullus does not seem to consider a survival other than in his mistress's memory and heart (1.1.59-68). Similarly, Propertius faces the prospect of being condemned by Aeacus' infernal judgment (inferno iudicio) and of assuming the stone-lifting labour of Sisyphus or the penalty of Tityos if he fails in his love for Cynthia (2.20.29ff.).³ Tibullus' colourful description

¹See p. 9, n. 1.

²See p. 128.

³Cf. also Prop. 2.17.5ff.; 3.5.39ff., 3.19.27.

of Elysium and Tartarus (1.3.57ff.) is accordingly motivated by his conviction that death will prove his faith and loyalty to his amor. Venus herself will lead her client to Elysium,¹ while Tartarus will be the destination of the poet's enemies.²

Propertius 1.19 can be seen as a manifesto of disbelief in the existence of another world or as a simple proclamation of the poet's fearlessness before the idea of a lower world. In any case it focuses attention upon Propertius' sole preoccupation in life and death, his union with Cynthia. In this context, the reference to the ghost of Protesilaos visiting Laodamia (1.19.7ff.) is not evidence of a belief in ghosts,³ but a colourful mythological example of that faith in love which the poet pledges to preserve even after he dies.⁴

For Lucretius (3.980ff.) the legendary sinners and their punishments are fictions of superstitious minds, but false as they are, they aptly illustrate the fears, anxieties, and passions of the living.⁵ Horace may have started from the same premise

¹See p. 58, n. 2.

²Cf. also Tib. 1.10.35-36; 3.5.23-24.

³See pp. 31-32.

⁴Cf. also Ov. Her. 10.119ff. and 7.63ff.; Tr. 4.3.39ff., where, again, death is only viewed as the testing ground of love.

⁵See p. 210.

in his representations of underworld images, but he was able to universalize the tales of the mythical sinners and their punishments by means of particular application. The guilty conscience of an aging witch is aptly represented by the torments of Prometheus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus (Epodes 17.65ff.), just as the harsh reality of death which none can escape is vividly illustrated by Tityos, Sisyphus and his "long labour", the Danaids, and the dark stream of Cocytos (Odes 2.14.8ff.). Death is also symbolized in the image of Hades holding Tantalus and his descendants fast, as well as "cunning" (callidus) Prometheus whom Charon was not persuaded to carry back to life (Odes 2.18.34ff.).¹ Horace the sceptic judged that he could use the rich imagery of a traditional underworld as a quarry from which to draw vivid examples of human mortality.²

¹Cf. also Hor. Sat. 1.1.68, where the picture of thirsty Tantalus illustrates the mental state of the greedy man; Sat. 1.3.47; 2.3.21; Od. 2.14.8-9; 3.4.77ff.; 4.7.27-28.

²See p. 9.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SACRED FATHERS AND HERO-GODS

In the last chapter we saw that Rome of the first century B.C. had a fair number of concepts concerning the soul after death. These concepts seem to be essentially Greek, but they were retouched and coloured by the Roman spirit. This kind of fusion of Greek and Roman religious elements which we detected also in our investigation of underworld topography and of the theme of descensus, as well as in the earlier chapters, is nowhere better effected than in the area of the Roman ancestor cult, hero-worship, and the deification of the ruler.

1. The Concept of the Di Parentes

The word parens¹ in its various occurrences in Latin literature suggests in general the well-known feelings of reverence, awe and fear which the Romans had for their parents and forebears. The "authority of the father" (maiestas patris) is a distinctly Roman notion.² The relationship between a Roman father and his son was sacred, inviolable³ and it was kept alive

¹The word which seems to derive from pario, "to bear", may mean "father" or "mother" (cf. Festus p. 137.16f. L.), and by extension "ancestor" (cf. Paul. Festus p. 247.11ff. L.; Verg. Aen. 5.39; 6.19; 9.13; Livy 21.43.6); it is mostly found in the plural parentes. See Walde-Hoffmann, II; Ernout-Meillet, s.v.

²See Wagenvoort, Roman Dynamism, 127.

³Cf. Hor. Ars P. 313: quo sit amore parens; Cic. Verr. 2. 5.42.

even after the father's death by special observances at his grave.¹ There was also a special annual festival in February for the general cult of the dead, the Parentalia, during which the Romans made special offerings to the souls of their ancestors (parentabant).²

The privileged position which a Roman parent enjoyed in the Roman family would seem to make the concept of the Di Parentes, "the holy ancestors" of Roman religion, conceivable and to a degree understandable. It is hard, however, to delimit the concept exactly or trace its development through the course of early Roman history. The evidence we have is poor and, as in the case of the Di Manes, it comes from a later age, in which the Greek concepts of hero-worship and apotheosis had already made their mark on the attitude of the Romans, the educated Romans at least, towards their dead, and had given new content to the traditional Roman notions of death and after-life.

In his book on the subject of ancestor-worship in early Rome Franz Bömer³ recognizes and examines five main classes of evidence on the concept of the Di Parentes which involve juristic, antiquarian, inscriptional, religious (from the Roman Calendar), and literary material. Almost all epitaphs featuring Di Parentes

¹See in general Toynbee, Death and Burial, 50ff., 61ff.

²See pp. 18-19.

³Ahnenkult, 1ff.

come from Imperial times and present vague and often confusing ideas as to what the writers or dedicators of these inscriptions understood by the term. The epitaphs alone cannot prove the suggestion that the concept of the "holy ancestors" became a living belief only in later times. Our best epigraphical evidence is an epitaph from Capua dated from Cicero's time (CIL 1² 1596): P. Octavi A. I. Philom[usi] ossa heic sita sunt. deis inferum parentum sacrum. ni violato. The dead person, however, seems to be not a Roman but a freedman, probably a Greek, and the form inferum may translate the Greek form χθονίωv or καταχθονίωv.¹ As the epitaph shows, the mixing of Greek and Roman elements has extended and watered down the Roman concept of the Di Parentes.²

CIL 6. 9659 is also interesting. This Imperial epitaph is dedicated by someone Diis Parentibus suis and also consecrated to the Di Manes.³ The distinction made between the Di Parentes and the larger class of the Di Manes is important; but what is remarkable here is that Diis Parentibus suis, as the context suggests, refers not to the souls of the dedicator's ancestors, but to his own shade, when he dies. Di Parentes is

¹See p. 39.

²See Bömer, Ahnenkult, 15f.

³See ibid., 17; see also Jacobsen, Les Manes, I, 46f.; H. Jordan, "Nachträgliches zu dem Briefe der Cornelia Gracchorum", Hermes, 15 (1880), 534.

used to designate an individual soul, just as Di Manes is found to do the same beginning from the first century B.C.¹

Interesting, too, is the case of the Veronese inscriptions (CIL 5.3283-3290) which have been wrongly associated with the "holy ancestors". In fact, they do not seem to have anything to do with the cult of the dead; they are not funerary. The Di Parentes found in them seems to mean "gods of the fatherland", (Di Patrii).² These inscriptions, however, are significant in that they let us see how freely one dealt with the term Di Parentes in the later period.

The extant epitaphs do not provide us, as observed, with any clear-cut idea of the exact nature and range of the Roman concept of the Di Parentes. The juristic and antiquarian traditions may be more helpful. Of capital importance for our investigation are two early Roman laws from the period of kings (leges regiae) preserved in Festus (p. 260.4ff. L.), according to which the son of a Roman family and also his wife became accursed before their ancestral dead (sacri Divis Parentum) if they maltreated the man's parents. The attribution of these laws to Romulus and Servius Tullius may be fanciful; but their juristic and linguistic aspects point to

¹Cf. also CIL 6⁴ 29109: Dis Parentium et Genio... Vituli; 10.8249. See Bömer, Ahnenkult, 18ff.

²See Latte, Römische Rel., 98, n. 2; Bömer, Ahnenkult, 16, 26.

early times. These two inviolable laws (sacrae leges),¹ may be coupled with the law cited by Plutarch (Life of Romulus 22.3), according to which the man who happened to send his wife away for no valid reason had to sacrifice θεοῖς καὶ ἄνθρωποις, most probably meaning Dis Parentibus or Divis Parentum.²

The idea of the Roman family-dead watching over the welfare of their living descendants suits the picture of a primitive Italy as we can guess or reconstruct it from other sources. That primitive Roman society had a clan structure and was patriarchal in its character. The various clans or gentes were governed by the elders and these elders were thought to continue exercising their moral authority over their respective families from the grave, not so much as individuals but as a collective entity. The singular Deus Parens which we find in Cornelia's letter to her son C. Gracchus shows an individualized concept of the dead which is certainly due to Greek influence on Roman eschatological ideas.³

Cicero seems to corroborate the evidence on the sacredness of the Di Parentes so far examined by citing in his

¹Cf. Festus p. 422.25ff. L.

²See Bömer, Ahnenkult, 3; cf. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, 239. Bömer, ibid., notes that deus and divus mean much the same to the end of the period of the Republic; so, the early form Divi Parentum has the meaning of the later Di Parentes, probably formed on the analogy of Manes and Penates.

³Fr. 15 P. II (p. 39); the fragment is also found in H. Bardon, La littérature latine inconnue (Paris, 1952), I, 88.

work On the Laws (2.9.22) the following passage of a hypothetical Roman law: Deorum Manium iura sancta sunt. suos leto datos divos habento, "The rights of souls shall be sacred. Kinsfolk who are dead shall be considered gods", which seems to be in harmony with Roman religion and customs.¹ The antiquarian tradition reporting on the funeral practices of the "carrying around" the tomb (circumactio) of the cremated remains of a deceased Roman father by his son (Varro in Plutarch Roman Questions 14), as well as of the "covering of the head" (capitis velatio) of the latter when carrying the corpse to burial (Lucretius 5.1198-1199), further stresses the Roman belief in the sacredness of the dead.²

As noted earlier, however, we do not know the range of influence which the Di Parentes were thought to have over their living descendants. One wonders how potent were the dead believed to be in Rome of the first century B.C., and whether the spirits of the departed kinsfolk were considered to be only beneficial and never malevolent. The Roman calendar records the festival of the Parentalia or of the Dies Parentales,

¹Cf. ibid., 2.10.23; 22.55.

²Cf. August. De civ. D. 8.26. See p. 15. The term Di Parentes, strictly taken, stresses the essential relationship of the dead with their living descendants, whereas Di Manes alludes to a class of beings separate from the living. See on this Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, 239; Dumézil, Religion archaïque, 359. In practice, however, the two terms could be used interchangeably. Wissowa, ibid., 44, observes that the difference between Di Parentes and Di Manes is similar to that between libertus and libertinus.

a series of nine days in February (13-21) reserved annually for the worship of the dead, which Ovid describes in his Fasti (2.533ff.). We shall examine the festival in some detail later. Here, we may recognize that the fixed number of days given every year for such a purpose¹ points to a consensus of opinion in regard to the need of keeping good relations with the spirits of dead ancestors.² The generally peaceful and friendly character of the Parentalia, as it emerges from Ovid's account, in contrast to the gloomy and magic nature of the Lemuria, another festival of souls celebrated in May,³ has motivated scholars to distinguish sharply between the friendly Di Parentes and the hostile Lemures;⁴ yet, just as we have some evidence that the Roman house-father may have dealt with his family-dead at the apotropaic Lemuria,⁵ so in Ovid's account of the festival of the Parentalia we have some notions of fear which somehow obscure the general friendly atmosphere of the festival.⁶

¹The period of nine days corresponds to the nundinum or period of official mourning of a Roman private funeral. See Bailey, Phases, 180. See p. 234.

²See ibid., 100.

³See p. 267.

⁴See Bömer, Ahnenkult, 39. See pp. 270ff.

⁵See pp. 267ff.

⁶Cf. Fast. 2.533: animas placare paternas; 541: placabilis umbra; 570: placandis Manibus, which suggest potential aggressiveness or hostility on the part of the dead.

We are also told the story of how once the spirits of the Roman dead (avi) stormed the city of Rome in the form of hideous howling shades to claim their neglected dues (Fasti 2.547ff.). Ovid introduces the story by claiming disbelief. At the conclusion of his account, however, he advises people not to risk contracting marriages in these days of doubtful omen but to wait for purer days (Fasti 2.558); neither, he thinks, should the temples stay open nor should sacrifices to the gods be made during the period of the Parentalia (Fasti 2.561-562).

The idea of potentially hostile spirits may have passed from the Lemuria to the Parentalia,¹ or it may have always been present in the latter festival. The Dies Parentales, sanctioned by the Roman state, obviously stressed the good relations of the living with their dead ancestors, especially in the last two days, the Feralia and the Caristia.² A primitive feeling of fear, however, may have lingered underneath the civilized practices of the Augustan age. After all, not all Roman fathers were loving and affectionate; some were extremely stern and harsh. It would be normal to think that those fearful fathers continued to terrify their descendants even after they had died. In other words, the notion of the Di Parentes did not carry only ideas of love and comfort but also sentiments of fear and anxiety, at least to

¹Bömer, Ahnenkult, 41.

²See p. 228. See in general R. Schilling, "Roman Festivals and their Significance", AClass, 7 (1964), 44-56.

those Romans who had experienced the unpleasant aspects of patria potestas.¹

The festival of the Parentalia which marks on the whole an inescapable phase in the religious development of the Roman people and bears testimony to the bonds which in the minds of the living tied them with their dead² poses more problems than the question of whether its practices were motivated by love, fear, or both. It is especially hard to determine the age of the festival and of the exact relationships it suggests between public worship and private cult. The festival started on the thirteenth (Idus) of February with a public offering by the Vestals³ and ended with the Feralia on the twenty-first, when dinners (epulae) were carried to the graves of the dead for their appeasement and refreshment,⁴ and the Caristia or Cara Cognatio, a reunion of the dead and the living before the Lares

¹Farnell, Hero Cults, 347ff., also notes the blending of the two emotions, love and fear, in Greek ancestral worship. Cf. especially ibid., 354: "We must then regard these two emotions, fear and affection, as coeval facts underlying the earliest Greek tendance of the dead, the former probably stronger in the post-Homeric period, and perhaps a stronger stimulus to actual worship". On the subject in regard to the Romans see pp. 267ff.; also, H. J. Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy (London, 1926), 153; Fowler, Roman Festivals, 307; Latte, Römische Rel., 100.

²See Toynbee, Death and Burial, 61-62.

³See Latte, Römische Rel., 434. See pp. 63ff.

⁴The offerings included salt, wine, and garlands of flowers (cf. Ov. Fast. 2.539; Varro Ling. 6.13; Macrob. 1.4.14).

of the household.¹ In between, however, there were other calendar festivals, apart from the feriae Iovis on the thirteenth. The fifteenth of February was the day of the Lupercalia, and the seventeenth involved the celebration of the Quirinalia and the Fornacalia.

The Quirinalia included the rite of Quirinus, possibly the Sabine war-god of the Quirinal Hill, who was later identified with Mars, the war-god of the Palatine. The Fornacalia, "feast of ovens",² included a ritual either on behalf of the ovens (fornaces) that parched the grain, or in propitiation of the goddess Fornax who presided over them (Ovid Fasti 2.525).³ We do not know much about Quirinus or his festival,⁴ but it is suggested by Latte that the coincidence of both the Quirinalia and the Fornacalia on the same day may mean that the latter festival was fixed for the seventeenth of February when the former had fallen into oblivion and neglect.⁵ Neither of the

¹This was a sort of family love-feast, characterized by mirth and good food. Cf. Ov. Fast. 2.617ff.; Tert. De Idol. 10.3; Mart. 9.54.

²Also called "Festival of fools". Cf. Ov. Fast. 2.513ff.; see Latte, Römische Rel., 143.

³See Frazer, Ovid. Fasti, II, note ad loc.

⁴Ibid., note on Ov. Fast. 2.475ff.; Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome (New York, 1959), 216.

⁵Römische Rel., 113.

festivals seems to have had much to do with the dead, and one wonders whether we should view these public festivals together with the Lupercalia on the fifteenth in contrast with the private cult of the Dies Parentales, and whether we should assume that Ovid's statement about the closing of temples does not apply to the whole period of the Parentalia, especially since the sixteenth is marked as a dies intercisus (Varro On the Latin Language 6.31) and the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth are marked as dies comitiales.¹

This is a problem.² The festival of the Lupercalia, however, may have had more to do with the dead than it is generally thought. The name suggests aversion of wolves³ or propitiation of a wolf-god. The festival included sacrifices of goats and a dog at the Lupercal, a cave at the Western corner of the Palatine, probably in honour of the god Faunus, and then a race around the bounds of the hill by youths naked except for girdles made from the skin of the victims.⁴ This was, scholars have said, a purification and fertility rite as the Luperci used to strike those whom they met, especially women, with the strips

¹See Latte, Römische Rel., 434.

²See A. von Blumenthal, "Zur Römischen Religion der archaischen Zeit", RhM, 90 (1941), 329-330; Latte, ibid., 98-99.

³McKay, Vergil's Italy, 128, translates Lupercus by "Wolf-controller".

⁴See in general Altheim, Roman Religion, 206ff.; Latte, Römische Rel., 84ff.

of the goat-skins, and to beat the bounds of the Palatine in order to purify it from evil influences, a rite appropriate to the ancient pastoral community of the area.¹ Jane Harrison has made the suggestion that purification to promote fertility is in a sense placation of ghosts, and that the Lupercalia appears to complement the Parentalia.² More recently Agnes Kirsopp Michels has expanded the idea, especially in relation to wolves and the frequent representation of ghosts as wolves.³ She believes that the running of the naked youths actually marked the boundary between the realm of the living (Palatine) and that of the dead, the early Roman cemetery (sepolcretum) lying at the foot of the hill. The Lupercalia fell in the mating season of wolves, that is, at a time when the presence and threat of wolves were most obvious in the area, and there is plenty of evidence that the ancients (both the Greeks and the Romans) associated wolves with the underworld.⁴ While admitting that the celebration of the festivals of the Quirinalia and the Fornacalia within the period of the dies parentales may have been a matter of

¹See Fowler, Roman Festivals, 310-321; Frazer, Ovid. Fasti, II, 328ff.; Grant, Roman Religion, 28ff.

²Prolegomena, 51ff.

³"The Topography and Interpretation of the Lupercalia", TAPhA, 84 (1953), 48ff.

⁴See ibid., 50. See p. 279.

convenience or coincidence, I think that Michels' emphasis on the associations of the Lupercalia with the dead is more correct than Latte's dissociation of the festival from the Parentalia, which he considers to be only a family and private festival.¹

On the whole, one may conjecture that the Parentalia combined private observances at the graves of the family-dead² with public or semi-private cults which included, besides the rites of Quirinus and of the goddess Fornax, rituals of an essentially magic character like the Lupercalia and the practices in honour of the "Silent Goddess" (Tacita).³ In this, that is, in its mixed character, the festival resembles the Greek Anthesteria which seems to have superimposed on a simple form of ancestor cult (where the souls of ancestors are taken as a nameless group of tribal or family-ghosts) the orgiastic rituals of Dionysus.⁴

¹Römische Rel., 98.

²See Frazer, Ovid. Fasti, II, 433.

³On the Lupercalia see also G. Piccaluga, "L'aspetto agonistico dei Lupercalia", SMSR, 33 (1962), 51-62. On the magic associated with Dea Tacita cf. Ov. Fasti. 2.571ff., and see Frazer, Ovid. Fasti, II, note ad loc.; Latte, Römische Rel., 98, n.4, 60.

⁴Her long chapter on the Anthesteria Harrison, Prolegomena, 32-76, subtitles "The Ritual of Ghosts and Spirits". See also Farnell, Cults, V, 214-224, and Hero-Cults, 344. On the associations of Dionysus with the world of the dead, a theme not very prominent in Roman poetry, see in general Nilsson, The Dionysiac Mysteries of the Hellenistic and Roman Age (Lund, 1957); Guthrie, Orpheus, passim. The Parentalia corresponds also to the Attic Genesia, a festival performed by the gene or clans in honour of ancestors, and also to the Athenian cult of the Tritopatores, a vague group representing the fathers of the kindred. See Farnell, Hero-Cults, 355.

2. Anchises, divinus parens

It is probable that the expressions Di Parentes, parentare and the like were found in early Latin poetry, but we have no extant reference. Lucretius 3.51: parentant appears to have been used in general of an offering to the world of shades.¹ Neither the neoterics nor Horace present straight references to the Di Parentes;² but we find the notion, at its best, in Vergil's Aeneid 5. The major part of Aeneid 5 is indeed concerned with Anchises as the father of Aeneas and as a holy ancestor of the Roman race. Vergil's account includes the religious ceremonies commemorating the first anniversary of Anchises' death and the athletic contests which follow as a natural sequel to these ceremonies. Just as the games are meant to recall Homer's funeral games for Patroclus (Iliad 23) while contributing to a revival of interest in athletics in the Roman world of Vergil's time, so the religious ceremonies proper combine Roman and Greek-Hellenistic elements in an obvious effort to enhance the native Roman concept of the sacred father.³

¹See Bailey, Lucretius, II, note ad loc. Cf. the fragment of an unknown author: Aegialeo parentat pater, in Warmington, Remains, II, 612; cf. also Ov. Am. 1.13.4; Caes. BGall. 1.17; Livy 24.21.2.

²Catull. 64.404: divos parentes seems to refer to the gods of the homeland, the Di Patrii. See Bömer, Ahnenkult, 28; Pascal, "Catullus and the Di Parentes", HTHR, 52 (1959), 75-84.

³See in general Heinze, Epische Technik, 145ff.; Williams, Aeneid 5, ixff.; Galinsky, "Aeneid V...", 157ff.

The day following the second arrival of the Trojans at Sicily Aeneas summons his people, reminds them that it is the anniversary of the death of his father Anchises,¹ and proclaims a sacrifice at his grave to be followed on the ninth day by athletic contests. This is how Aeneas puts the matter before the Trojans (Aeneid 5.45-60):

'Dardanidae magni, genus alto a sanguine divum,
annuus exactis completur mensibus orbis,
ex quo reliquias divinique ossa parentis
condidimus terra maestasque sacravimus aras.
iamque dies, nisi fallor, adest, quem semper acerbum,
semper honoratum (sic di voluistis) habebo.
hunc ego Gaetulis agerem si Syrtibus exsul,
Argolicove mari deprensus et urbe Mycenae,
annua vota tamen sollemnisque ordine pompas
exsequerer strueremque suis altaria donis.
nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis
haud equidem sine mente, reor, sine numine divum
adsumus et portus delati intramus amicos.
ergo agite et laetum cuncti celebremus honorem:
poscamus ventos, atque haec me sacra quotannis
urbe velit posita templis sibi ferre dicatis.
.....'

In the omitted part of his speech (Aeneid 5.61-71) Aeneas announces Acestes' gift for the sacrifice (two oxen for each of the Trojan ships), urges the people to bring to the feast their home gods, and proclaims the various games which are to follow the religious observances at Anchises' tomb and the sacrificial banquet. The quoted passage suggests that Vergil has in mind the Roman festival of the Parentalia described by Ovid.²

¹Cf. Verg. Aen. 3.709ff.

²See pp. 225ff. In fact, following either Vergil or a tradition which Vergil also follows, Ovid (Fasti 2.543-546) attributes the establishment of the festival to Aeneas.

In fact, the word solemnis (v. 53) conveys the idea of regular observances, whereas the word ordine (ibidem) suggests ritual correctness.¹ The sorrowful aspect of the occasion is conveyed by the words maestas...aras (v. 48) and (diem) acerbum (v. 49). There are, however, elements which go beyond Roman ancestor worship. Especially significant are the words divini...parentis (v. 47). Anchises is called divinus, "divine", certainly not in the Homeric sense of δῖος or θεῖος;² his divinity has probably to do with Venus' love for him, because he partakes of the holiness of the Roman Di Parentes,³ and, most important, because he is raised to the level of the Di Superi, deified. This suggests Hellenistic hero-worship and the apotheosis of the exceptional man.⁴ In addition, we have the more explicit statements (vv. 58-60) that Aeneas wants his people to honour the spirit of his dead father in joy, that he urges them to pray to him for favourable winds,⁵ and wishes that in the future

¹See Williams, Aeneid 5, notes on Aen. 5.53 and 102.

²Cf. Aen. 1.403, 5.647, 8.373.

³Cf. Serv. Aen. ad loc.: 'divini' id est dei, quia apud Romanos defunctorum parentes dei a filiis vocabantur.

⁴See Williams, Aeneid 5, 48, 50. Bayet, "Les cendres d'Anchise...", 53, notes that this last meaning of divini is at least implied by the sequence of Aeneid 5 and by Aeneid 6. See also Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 281ff., 291-301; Bömer, Ahnenkult, 3-4.

⁵In Eur. Hec. 525f. Pyrrhus prays to the spirit of Achilles for a favourable journey home.

he may honour his father in a temple dedicated to him.¹

In the sequence of the poem the Trojans wreath themselves with myrtle which was sacred to Venus (Aeneid 5.72: materna...myrto),² and go to the tumulus of Anchises in solemn procession.³ There Aeneas offers double libations of wine, milk, and blood,⁴ and also flowers, and then he utters the customary greeting to the dead (Aeneid 5.80-81):

'salve, sancte parens, iterum salvete, recepti
nequiquam cineres animaeque umbraeque paternae.⁵
.....'

Apart from the phrase sancte parens which can be interpreted in more than one way like the phrase divini...parentis, it is worth noting that the salutation is addressed to the ashes, the soul or spirit, and the ghost or shade of Anchises. This is

¹Cf. Williams, Aeneid 5, note on Aen. 5.58: "The word laetus continues the impression built up in this passage that the anniversary rites are to be performed not only in mourning for the dead, but also in joy for the evident concern of the gods for Anchises". Cf. Aen. 5.56-57. On the character of Anchises and his position in the Aeneid see in general Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind at Work, 27ff., 143ff.; R. B. Lloyd, "The Character of Anchises in the Aeneid", TAPhA, 88 (1957), 44-55; Galinsky, Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome, passim.

²See p. 212, and cf. Verg. G. 1.28.

³On the Roman type of tombs see in general Toynbee, Death and Burial, 101ff.

⁴Cf. Hom. Il. 23.219f.; Verg. Ecl. 5.67f.; Aen. 3.66f., 301f. See Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 299f.; Toynbee, ibid., 37.

⁵For the double salve see Williams, Aeneid 5, note ad loc.

reminiscent of the tripartite division of the human person after death.¹ In any case it suggests the complexity of Anchises' figure.

There follows the prodigy of the snake (Aeneid 5.84-93) which Vergil describes with much care. A seven-coiled snake of an impressive appearance emerges from the depths of the soil (adytis...ab imis), encircles the tomb in a kindly embrace, slides over the altar, and while Aeneas looks in amazement it creeps between the sacrificial bowls, tastes the feast, and harmlessly moves back to the base of the tumulus.² Aeneas is uncertain whether the snake is the guardian power of that place or the familiar spirit of his father, but in filial piety he renews the ritual (Aeneid 5.94-99):

hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores,
incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis
esse putet; caedit binas de more bidentis
totque sues, totidem nigrantis terga iuencos,
vinaque fundebat pateris animamque vocabat
Anchisae magni manisque Acheronte remissos.

The association of the snake with the dead was already very old when Vergil decided to suggest it in the present scene. In Greek mythology certain heroes like Cecrops and Erichthonios were represented as snakes.³ The concept had probably something

¹ See p. 192. See also p. 21, on Vergil's plurals.

² On the prodigy see Grassman-Fischer, Die Prodigien, 78ff.; Bömer, Ahnenkult, 12ff.; Putnam, The Poetry of the Aeneid (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), 72f.; Galinsky, "Aeneid V...", 170f.

³ See Harrison, Prolegomena, 225ff.; A. Brelich, Gli eroi

to do with the survival of the bones in the earth.¹ On the other hand the snake could be easily taken to be the tutelary deity of a locality in an animistic religion such as the early Roman religion seems to have been,² and we have this kind of representation in paintings from Pompeii. Vergil has deliberately left the identification of the snake which interrupts the sacrifice of Aeneas vague and ambiguous. In fact, as Williams notes, in presenting the snake appearing at Anchises' tomb Vergil combines the two views of the snake, as the Genius of Anchises,³ and as the Genius of the place.

Aeneas' resumed sacrifice includes the offerings of sheep, pigs, and bullocks and suggests the Roman lustration sacrifice of the Suovetaurilia.⁴ His calling on the soul of his father, released from Hades for the rite, is again in conformity with the Roman custom of conclamatio of the dead.⁵ These are neatly

greci; un problema storico-religioso (Roma, 1958), 220f., 335; Bayet, "Les cendres d'Anchise...", 49.

¹Cf. Serv. Aen. 5.95; Ov. Met. 15.389f.; Plin. HN, 10.188. See Conington, Vergili Opera, II, note on Aen. 5.95. For snakes in the underworld see pp. 278ff.

²See Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome, 157ff.

³On the Genius see in general Radke, Die Götter, s.v.; on its confusion with the Greek concept of the personal divinity (δαίμων) see Latte, Römische Rel., 103ff.; Bayet, "Les cendres d'Anchise...", 49. See pp. 246-247.

⁴Cf. Aen. 11.197-199.

⁵Cf. Aen. 3.68, 303. In Aen. 5.613-614 the Trojan women are pictured lamenting for Anchises.

funerary. The offering of wine, however (v. 98), and the happiness of Aeneas' companions in helping him with the sacrifices (Aeneid 5.100: laeti) suggest again the special status of Anchises as a divinized hero.¹ Servius, in fact, speaks openly several times² of the apotheosis of Anchises, although (it must be noted) Vergil simply suggests it, just as he keeps his allusions to contemporary events, like the divine honours paid to Julius Caesar, discreet.³ On the whole, he seems eager to stress both sides of the spirit of Anchises, the Chthonian and the divine. Anchises is implored like a hero for winds, as observed, and these winds are obtained in due time (Aeneid 5.760-764, 778); he also comes to his son from heaven (Aeneid 5.722, 726f.) and Aeneas offers, after the apparition, a non-Chthonian sacrifice to Lares and Vesta (Aeneid 5.743-745), but Anchises is still attached to the world of the dead. He warns his son that he abides in the realm of Dis (Aeneid 5.731ff.), and the temple which Aeneas is planning to dedicate to him may be no more than a cenotaph similar to that which Dido established in honour of Sychaeus (Aeneid 4.457-461).⁴

¹ Bayet, "Les cendres d'Anchise...", 52, points out the expressions altaria (Aen. 5.54, 94) instead of arae (ibid., 48, 86, 101), adyta (ibid., 84) instead of tumulus (ibid., 86, 93) as also suggestive of a hero.

² See his notes on Aen. 5.45, 48, 50, 78, 95.

³ See Williams, Aeneid 5, 49. See p. 251.

⁴ See Bayet, "Les cendres d'Anchise...", 53-54.

In anticipation of the Imperial emperor cult, however, Vergil has Aeneas surround the tumulus of Anchises by a grove and appoint a priest in its service (Aeneid 5.760f.).¹

The games which crown the ceremonies in honour of Anchises are meant, as observed, to recall the games sponsored by Achilles in honour of Patroclus,² but they also allude to the Roman ludi funebres, the games customarily held after the burial of prominent citizens.³ In general, the character of the honours paid by Aeneas to Anchises is quite different from the honours bestowed by Achilles on Patroclus. In Aeneid 5 we find not a friend honouring a friend but a son and the future founder of a race worshiping his father in a religious and patriotic atmosphere which ties the book with the rest of Vergil's epic. In fact, the piety of Aeneas is as dominant a theme in Aeneid 5 as the holiness of Anchises.⁴

¹See Williams, Aeneid 5, note ad loc.

²See p. 233. See also on this matter RE, 8A2, 1374-1380, s.v. Vergilius (Büchner).

³Cf. Livy 23.30.15; 31.50.4. The Roman funeral games were allegedly taken over from Etruria. See Heurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans, 210-211, 195; I. S. Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art (Rome, 1955), 10; Latte, Römische Rel., 155-156. E. Richardson, The Etruscans: Their Art and Civilization (Chicago, 1964), 228, observes that dancing, which is a frequent feature in Etruscan funeral games, is not found in Aeneas' games in honour of Anchises. The lusus Troiae, however, may be said to have dancing elements. See p. 170. See on this also Galinsky, Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome, 121-122.

⁴On the pius Aeneas theme see in general Galinsky, ibid., 3ff.; Pease, Aeneid 4, 333-334.

3. Hero-Gods

The background of Vergil's highly allusive account of Anchises' Parentalia in Aeneid 5, in which the Roman sacred father tends to assume the garb of a Greek hero and of a Hellenistic deified sovereign, is very rich and worthy of exploration. Before we expand our investigation we should attempt a brief survey of the ancient notions concerning the elevation of mortals to the status of heroes or even gods beginning with Homer,¹ as these notions ultimately converge in Roman Imperial apotheosis which becomes popular in Vergil's time.

The fundamental aspects of a Greek hero, an individual who transcends the limits of family worship and imposes his cult on the whole community or even the whole country,² are that he was once a mortal man, that he can exercise influence, good or bad, on the living on a far greater scale than the other dead, and that he is essentially a Chthonian power often tied to his tomb and worshipped like the other divinities

¹The lavishness of Mycenaean and Minoan tombs shows that the people of the times cared much about their dead, but we have no definite evidence of hero-worship except perhaps in the case of the Hagia Triadha sarcophagus: see Jackson Knight, Elysion, 42. See in general L. Cerfaux and J. Tondriaux, Le culte des Souverains (Tournai, 1957), 101ff.

²Nilsson, History of Greek Religion, 36. See in general Farnell, Hero Cults, *passim*; Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, 231ff.; Harrison, Prolegomena, 325ff.; Rose, Gods and Heroes of the Greeks (London, 1957), *passim*; C. Kerényi, The Heroes of the Greeks (New York, 1960).

of the underworld.¹ Active hero-worship may have started in Greek lands about the time of Homer or earlier,² although Homer himself is inconclusive about the matter, probably because he presents not the popular but the aristocratic point of view.³ It has been observed that the prevailing view of the human soul after death in Homer considers it a helpless being spending an inane existence in the underworld. Achilles himself is only one of these helpless shades in Hades (Odyssey 11.471ff.). There are, however, some suggestions of hero-worship and deification here and there. Apart from the statement about Heracles being in heaven,⁴ we are told of the sea-goddess Leucothea who was once a mortal (Odyssey 5.334-335), of the founder of Athens, Erechtheus, whom the Athenians propitiate with annual offerings of sheep and bulls (Iliad 2.547ff.),⁵ and of Laogonos, the priest

¹That is, with a holocaust, a burnt-offering, unlike the shared sacrifice reserved for the celestial gods. See A. D. Nock, "The Cult of Heroes", HTHR, 37 (1944), 148ff., 157ff.; the two forms of cult are contrasted in Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, 221-222.

²Mylonas, Eleusis, 62, notes that the reverence for the bones of ancestors characteristic of hero worship seems to begin during the Geometric period.

³See in general Rohde, Psyche, I, 12ff.; Farnell, Hero Cults, 5ff.

⁴See p. 192.

⁵See Farnell, Hero Cults, 10f. Later Erechtheus is found worshipped in the Athenian Acropolis in the form of a snake. See pp. 237-238.

of Idaean Zeus, who was honoured like a god by the people.¹
 The funeral of Patroclus in Iliad 23 is also believed to mean much more than the poet implies, that is, that its elaborate ceremonies, including human sacrifice, were simply meant to appease Achilles' anger at the death of his friend.²
 More explicit evidence of hero-worship is found in the Cyclic poets,³ while for Hesiod the men of the Golden age had become good spirits, guardians of mortal men (Works and Days 121ff.), and some of the epic heroes had been translated alive to the Islands of the Blest.⁴

Some heroes, like Trophonios, who are worshipped in Greek classical times may be faded gods of a pre-Dorian period.⁵ This is only one indication of the great variety of application of the term "hero" in Classical Greece.⁶ Heroes, who were generally regarded as "helpers" or "preservers" included some

¹Il. 16.605; see Farnell, Hero-Cults, 17.

²See Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, 296-297. See p. 186.

³See Farnell, Hero cults, 14.

⁴See p. 146.

⁵See Farnell, Hero Cults, 21; Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, 223ff.

⁶See Nock, "The Cult of Heroes", 162ff.; Farnell, Hero Cults, 15f.

of the well-known Homeric warriors and other characters of Greek epic, men of old who had done great things for their native cities and were venerated by their descendants and former subjects, mythical figures of glamour who transcended the borders of their native cities, and even fully historical persons heroized for some notable deed.¹ Of the heroes who appealed to the rank and file of men Heracles was the greatest, so that Pindar could call him a hero-god (Nemean Odes 3.22) and some Greek cities could worship him as both a god and a hero.² The super-hero Hercules is, as we shall see, one of Vergil's favourites. His translation to heaven "only shows us", as Guthrie puts it, "the belief in heroes carried to its logical conclusion".³

Apart from the example of Heracles, the concept of apotheosis of mortal men was remarkably rare in Greece before Hellenistic times.⁴ The change must have something to do with the spreading of the Orphic belief in the divine essence of man, and certainly with the rise of individualism in the fourth

¹See in general Farnell, The Cults, passim; Jackson Knight, Elysion, 57ff.; Brelich, Gli eroi greci. See p. 207, n. 2.

²Hdt. 2.44 attempts to explain the fact by subscribing to the idea that the god Heracles was not the same as the hero Heracles, son of Amphitryon. See Rohde, Psyche, I, 132; Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, 238.

³Ibid., 239; see also Farnell, Hero-Cults, 95.

⁴See Rohde, Psyche, I, 132.

century B.C. and the break-up of the city-state structure. The onset of the tradition which finally issues into the concept of the Roman emperor's divinity is officially dated at the reign of Alexander the Great. The monarchy which Alexander the Great established after his conquest of Asia and Egypt took over the oriental concept of the divinity of kings and rulers and spread it to the West.¹ In time the Romans emerged as the real successors of Alexander and adopted the ruler-cult as a means of both practical politics and religion. Roman magistrates like Marcellus, the conqueror of Syracuse, Titus Flamininus, the conqueror of Philip of Macedon, were among the first of a long series of Roman chieftains, governors, and generals who received divine honours and cults from the cities of the Greek mainland and of Asia.² After his victories over the Cimbri and the Teutones, Marius was hailed as the third founder of Rome,³ and Sulla, Pompey, and Julius Caesar cultivated their associations with divinities.

These were the tendencies of the times, and one wonders how much of the Roman religious tradition contributed to them.

¹On the subject of deification see the extensive bibliography of Cerfaux and Tondriaux, Le culte des souverains, 10-73 (Roman section on 51ff.). Among the items cited I note the article in Hastings, IV, 525-533; Nock's several works on the subject (on 14); and Lily Ross Taylor, The Divinity of the Roman Emperor (Middleton, 1931).

²See Taylor, ibid., 35ff.

³Cf. Plut. Mar. 27.5. See pp. 248, n. 4, 252.

Apart from the concepts of the Di Manes and the Di Parentes with their vague but firm notions of the sacredness of the dead we have hardly anything to compare with Greek hero-worship and apotheosis. Some have thought that the cult of the Lares and of the Genius are meaningful here, especially if we assume that the Lares were worshipped as the ghosts of the family-dead,¹ and on the evidence of the Genius being connected not only with the living but also with the dead.² The Lares, however, seem to have been conceived originally as divinities, friendly and helpful to people; they figure last in Livy's formula of *Devotio* (8.9.6) after Ianus, Jupiter, Mars Pater, Quirinus, and Bellona, and in cult they are found as spirits guarding the house (domestici), supervising crossroads (compitales), farms (rurales), seas (permarini) etc. As gods of the family they are also called familiares. Their association with the dead is a later development.³ Also the Genius, the attendant spirit of a person or even of a place,⁴ does not seem to have had a cult until

¹See Frazer, Ovid. Fasti, II, 464-473.

²See p. 237, and for more examples see A. De Marchi, Il culto privato di Roma antica (Milan, 1896), I, 69ff.

³See pp. 24, 42, and Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, 166ff.; Fowler, Religious Experience, 61, 117.

⁴See pp. 22, 24, 237.

it became a feature of the Imperial worship.¹ On the whole, it is the cult of the Di Parentes, the holy ancestors which, we may say, corresponds to Greek hero-worship, until it becomes fertilized by Hellenistic ideas of deification.²

Just as in the Greek cult of the dead so with the Roman parentatio it is implied that the dead can help. Serva tuos omnes, says an epitaph (CE 576), and this sounds authentic.³ The elaborate funerals of Roman patricians of which Polybius speaks (6.53) were motivated to a large extent by a desire of display,⁴ but also by faith in the power of the dead to influence the lives of their descendants. After the burial, the mask (imago) of the dead, made in wax, was kept in a little chapel together with the other imagines of the family's ancestors to be taken out and paraded at funeral processions by relatives and friends.⁵ Memory of the dead was not thought to be enough.

¹See Taylor, The Divinity, 47; Latte, Römische Rel., 103f.

²The title of honour pater or parens patriae (=head of the state) contains a trace of hero-worship. Plut. Cam. 10 calls the Roman heroes "saviours and fathers"; cf. id., Sull. 34. Pater is equated to deus in Cic. Rep. 1.64. See pp. 220ff.

³Cf. Aesch. Cho. 124ff., and see on this Guthrie, The Greeks and their Gods, 233-234.

⁴See Latte, Römische Rel., 100; Nock, "Deification and Julian", JRS, 47 (1957), 121.

⁵See Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion, 36, n. 76; Toynbee, Death and Burial, 47-48.

Their presence had to be declared by something more concrete. The Romans were, however, reluctant to individualize their dead in cult, especially in the state cult, although at one time or another special honours, like burial inside the city boundaries,¹ were administered to distinguished men. As Lily Ross Taylor says, "in no case that we know in the historical period did the state take the cult of a preëminent man out of the hands of the family, and have it administered by public priests".² Early Roman history has its own characters and heroic personages, but these do not seem to have been worshipped or to have acquired special cults.³

Other native factors which may have promoted the concept of the ruler's divinity are: the sacred character of Roman religious magistrates like the Pontifices, the Flamens, the Vestals etc., the importance of the Triumph which successful Roman generals celebrated and which ended in the Capitol,⁴ the

¹See Toynbee, Death and Burial, 48.

²The Divinity, 46.

³The evidence which we have about public cults to Tarpeia (see pp. 66f.) and Acca Larentia (cf. Varro Ling. 6.23; Gell. 7.7, and see Latte, Römische Rel., 92, and Radke, Die Götter, s.v.) is quite vague and doubtful.

⁴Marcus Furius Camillus, hailed as the second founder of Rome after Romulus who was the first, is said to have driven, after his conquest of Veii, a chariot with four white horses to the Roman Capitol thus simulating Jupiter. The episode angered the Roman populace (cf. Livy 5.23.5ff.; Plut. Cam. 7).

influence of poets like Ennius, who translated into Latin the work of Euhemerus in which the theory that the gods were deified men was set forth,¹ the philosophers who argued that feats and benefits bestowed divinity on rulers,² the conviction of the superiority and eternity of Roman power,³ and especially in the second half of the first century B.C. the longing for saviours created by the social upheavals and suffering of the people.⁴ How easily the word deus could be applied to exceptional people is shown by the example of Lucretius in speaking of Epicurus (5.8-12):

deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi,
qui princeps vitae rationem invenit eam quae
nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem
fluctibus e tantis vitam tantisque tenebris
in tam tranquillo et tam clara luce locavit.

This is of course an extreme application of the word deus with almost no religious content, for the purpose of representing the enlightened man who paradoxically did not believe in popular

¹See Ennius Varia 60ff. V. Cf. Ov. Fast. 4.197; Macrobius 1.7.21 and 24 on Saturn as an ancient king; and Plut. Numa 19 on Janus. Under these influences Plautus was confident enough to translate the Greek ἥρως by Lar in the prologue of his Aulularia.

²Cf. Cic. Cat. 3.2; Somn. Scip. 13. See Cumont, After-life, 114.

³Cf. Polyb. 6.56. Sulla adopted as his tutelary deity Victoria Felix, Pompey Venus Victrix, Caesar Venus Genetrix.

⁴See Nock, "Deification...", 119. In a broader sense this applies to the whole Hellenistic period. See Taylor, The Divinity, 8ff.

notions about the gods.¹ It seems very similar, however, to Vergil's application of deus to Octavian in the Eclogues (1.6-8):

deus nobis haec otia fecit.
namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram
saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.

The poet under the guise of Tityrus is planning to pay divine honours to his benefactor, the humane prince who has restored him his ancestral farm.² Expression of gratitude for bestowed benefits is, indeed, in the core of ruler-cult and hero-worship.³ Augustus, as well as the other Roman leading figures with whom Vergil deals in his works, is subtly associated with those of the Greek heroes who played a serious role in advancing civilization, combatting crime, and conquering death. In this sense the culture hero of Eclogue 5, Daphnis, is believed to represent Julius Caesar in the double character which we noticed in the case of Anchises, as a mortal man who is lamented when he dies and as a deified spirit who blesses nature and revolutionizes human life (vv. 20ff., 56ff.).⁴ It is significant, moreover,

¹See Nock, "Deification...", 120. Cf. Cic. Sest. 144.

²See Taylor, The Divinity, 111; Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art, 42, n. 18, and passim, on Eclogue 1; cf. ibid., 68, n. 35.

³See Nock, "Deification...", 121

⁴See Boyancé, La religion de Virgile, 149; Taylor, The Divinity, 112; Rose, The Eclogues of Vergil (Berkeley, 1942), 117ff.; Leon Herrmann, Les Masques et les Visages dans les Bucoliques de Virgile (Paris, 1952), 107ff.

that Daphnis is associated with the pioneer god Bacchus (ibid., 30, 79).¹ The allegory of Eclogue 5 can be better understood by the reference to the Julian star in Eclogue 9 (47-49):

ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum,
astrum quo segetes gauderent frugibus et quo
duceret apricis in collibus uva colorem.

The star is the comet which appeared in the sky during the games of 43 B.C. instituted by Octavian in honour of Julius Caesar, and which was interpreted as a sign of the dead man's apotheosis.²

The appearance of the star is a good omen for the the fruits of the earth. Death and deification have enlarged the hero's beneficial powers. A new age begins, the better age which Vergil sings in Eclogue 4.³ The future divinity of Octavian and his heroic qualities are treated more openly in the Georgics. There, at the beginning of the poem (1.24ff.), the ruler becomes the main recipient of the poet's special invocation to the divinities who rule nature, love the fields, and give grain and wine

¹See Putnam, Virgil's Pastoral Art, 174, 185-186. On the subject of Daphnis' alleged identification with Julius Caesar, 'see ibid., 188-189; Wormell, in Dudley, Virgil, 15f.

²Cf. Hor. Od. 1.13.46-48: micat inter omnis / Iulium sidus velut inter ignis / luna minores. See Putnam, ibid., 188. See in general Taylor, The Divinity, 78ff.; Kenneth Scott, "The Sidus Iulium and the Apotheosis of Caesar", CPh, 36 (1941), 257-272; Bömer, "Über die Himmelserscheinung nach dem Tode Caesars", BJ, 152 (1952), 27-40; Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion, 39, 55-57, with plate 14.

³See Taylor, ibid., 112ff. On Eclogues 4 and 5 see RE, 8A1, 1212-1219, s.v. "Vergilius".

to people. Vergil wonders whether, after his death, Caesar will be a deity of the earth, of the sea, or of the sky, rejecting the idea that he might become a god of the underworld.¹ In any case he prays to him as if he were already a god epekoos (ibid., 40-42):

da facilem cursum, atque audacibus adnue coeptis,
ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis
ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.²

In the finale of Georgics 1 the heroic stature and qualities of saviour of Octavian are viewed within the context of the history of Rome. Caesar is presented as the man whom the age needs, the gods' favourite, a future divinity himself (498-504):

di patrii, Indigetes, et Romule Vestaque mater,
quae Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia servas,
hunc saltem everso iuvenem succurrere saeclo
ne prohibete. satis iam pridem sanguine nostro
Laomedontaeae luimus periuria Troiae;
iam pridem nobis caeli te regia, Caesar,
invidet atque hominum queritur curare triumphos.

The invocation includes the native gods,³ the deified old heroes of Rome,⁴ the first founder of Rome, Romulus, who was probably the

¹See p. 80.

²The expression adnue, "bow your head in approval" associates Octavian with Jupiter; cf. Hom. Il. 1.528. See G. Wissowa, "Das Proemium von Vergils Georgica, Hermes", 52 (1917), 92-104. For bibliography on the subject see E. de Saint-Denis, Georgiques (Paris, 1968), 11, n. 24.

³See p. 223.

⁴This is a probable meaning of the term Indigetes. Cf. Thuc. 2.74. See Latte, Römische Rel., 43; Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome, 173. See pp. 253-254.

earliest Roman figure to be deified after the intrusion of Greek-Hellenistic hero-worship upon Rome,¹ and Vesta, the Roman hearth-goddess. The royal hall of heaven claims Caesar, but for the time being he is needed more on earth.²

The Aeneid is, of course, primarily the poem of Aeneas, the pious leader and son of divinized Anchises. The divinity, or rather future deification of Aeneas is forecast but vaguely in Vergil's epic (1.259-260: sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli / magnanimum Aeneam; 3.158: idem venturos tollemus in astra nepotes). The clearest indication is contained in Jupiter's speech to Juno at the end of the poem (Aeneid 12.794-795):

indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris
deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli.

On the other hand, the action of the poem and especially the achievement of a catabasis to the underworld are enough to make Aeneas a favourite candidate for deification or heroic worship after his death. We actually have evidence that Aeneas was venerated under the name Aeneas Indiges at Lavinium in early

¹See p.245 . The divinity of Romulus is a frequent motif in Roman sources. Cf. Livy 1.16.6, 40.3; Cic. Nat. D.; Ov. Fast. 2.426 and 507; Plut. Rom. 28. His identification with Quirinus is shown in Verg. Aen.292; Hor. Od. 3.3.15-16. Hor. Epist. 2.1.5: Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux, / post ingentia facta deorum in templa recepti places Romulus in par with Greek divinities (Liber stands for Dionysus) who were considered especially beneficent to man. See on Romulus, Roscher, IV, 174ff.; Taylor, The Divinity, 43 with n. 28.

²Cf. Verg. G. 4.560-562. See in general, Klingner, Georgica, 59ff., esp. 67-68; Taylor, ibid., 149f.

times,¹ and in literature he is mentioned also as pater Indiges and Jupiter Indiges.² In historical times, however, Aeneas was not commemorated in any festival or public games.³

In an indirect way the Aeneid is the poem of Augustus, and the theme of his heroic and divine qualities is suggested more than once. Especially interesting are his associations with the Greek heroes like Hercules. In the pageant of the Roman posterity of Aeneas the association with Hercules takes the form of a comparison (Aeneid 6.801-803):

nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,
fixerit aeripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi
pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu.

The promised man, Augustus Caesar, the son of a god (Aeneid 6.792: divi genus), has surpassed Hercules, and Bacchus for similar reasons (Aeneid 6.804-805), by having pushed the frontiers of the Roman Empire to the ends of the earth. The references to the

¹ Notable is the inscription Lare Aineia D(ono or onum) which may be translated "I give, or gift, to the holy ancestor Aeneas", if we accept that Lares were the deified spirits of ancestors; cf. p. 246. Galinsky, Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome, 158f., thinks that the interpretations of Lares as deities of the farm and as spirits of ancestors are not mutually exclusive. See ibid., 149f. on the divinity of Aeneas; also McKay, Vergil's Italy, 156.

² Cf. Liv. 1.2.6; Arn. 1.36. Horace does not mention the apotheosis of Aeneas, while he includes among the deified dead even Scipio Africanus: Od. 4.8.17; cf. Epod. 9.25.

³ Dio Cass. 56.34.2 reports that Aeneas' imago was carried at the funeral of Augustus. See p. 247. Aeneas is depicted on the Ara Pacis sacrificing and, as a deified man, on the great Cameo of Paris. See Galinsky, Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome, 166.

Herculean labors inevitably suggests the greater scope of Augustus' feats. Augustus is a true successor of Hercules in the works of peace. Hercules pacified the Erymanthian forest by his killing of a wild boar, but Augustus has given peace to the whole world.¹

The association of Augustus with the super-hero Hercules is dramatized in Aeneid 8 and in the account of Aeneas' trip to Evander's Rome;² for Hercules' triumph over the monster of Hell, Cacus, becomes a mythological exemplum on which not only the victory of Aeneas but also the conquests of Augustus are modelled.³ During his visit at Pallanteum Aeneas is told by Evander how the sacrifice and the banquet he has attended were originally established in gratitude to a great hero-god, Hercules, who by ridding them of Cacus,⁴ a primitive Chthonian monster, made a more

¹ On the Hercules pacator theme cf. Prop. 3.11.19; Sen. HO 1990. See J. J. Savage, "Apollo-Hercules: Two Themes in the Fourth Eclogue", The Vergilian Digest, 2 (1956), 5-9. Cf. Hor. Od. 3.3.9-12: hac arte (that is, by being just and firm of purpose) Pollux et vagus Hercules / enisus arces attigit igneas, / quos inter Augustus recumbens / purpureo bibit ore nectar.

² Aeneas' trip to Rome is a sort of catabasis, according to Otis, Virgil, 330; it includes the Herculean and Arcadian past, the present (that is, the time of Aeneas), and the Augustan future. Cf. Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode...", 21ff.

³ Pöschl, The Art of Vergil, 2; Cruttwell, Virgil's Mind at Work, 72.

⁴ Cacus was a son of Vulcan, according to Vergil Aen. 8.198. See Rose, Religion in Greece and Rome, 228f.; Cruttwell, ibid., 28, 99; Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode...", 36f., 39f.

civilized life possible (Aeneid 8.185ff.). The story is described by Vergil at some length and with attention to detail and colouring, as he obviously wants to give his readers a vivid example of the black and white of man's history, of the continuous struggle between the forces of dark and the powers of light, between evil and good, of good triumphing over evil.¹

Hercules' triumph over Cacus is preceded by his victory over the three-bodied Geryon (Aeneid 8.200-203):

attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus aetas
auxilium adventumque dei. nam maximus ultor
tergemini nece Geryonae spoliisque superbus
Alcides aderat...

We may distinguish three important things in the above passage:

Hercules is called a "god" (deus), his coming to Latium is presented as a response to the prayers of Evander's people, and, true hero that he is, he goes from battle to battle driving relentlessly on; his encounter with Cacus is just another episode in the long chain of his labours after his conquest and despoilment of Geryon.² In fact, Geryon is only

¹The story has many ramifications for the rest of the Aeneid. I have already noted the link between the description of the cave of Cacus and Aeneid 6 (see p. 120). Cp. also Aen. 8.195-197 and Aen. 3.623ff.; Aen. 8.206-207 and G. 4.550-551. The element of fire is common between Cacus and Turnus: cp. Aen. 8.198-199, 251ff. and Aen. 7.462-466. See Galinsky, "The Hercules-Cacus Episode...", 28; on the coupling of Turnus with Cacus see Buchheit, Vergil, 126ff. Galinsky, ibid., 26, cites Vergil's literary models; see in general Buchheit, ibid., 116ff.

²See pp. 98-99. On Vergil's association of the story of Cacus with the story of Geryon see Croon, The Herdsman of the Dead, 32; Galinsky, ibid., 38.

the most important of a series of Chthonian powers worshipped with awe at various places and conquered by Hercules.¹

So Hercules, a favourite example of the virtuous man for the Stoics,² is presented as the greatest hero of Evander's Rome, a beneficent divinity whose cult at the Ara maxima has been piously kept ever since the destruction of Cacus (Aeneid 8.268-272):

ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
servavere diem, primusque Potitius auctor
et domus Herculei custos Pinnaria sacri.
hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.

Hercules' triumph which colours Vergil's description of mythical Rome finds its counterpart in the triumph of Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra which is prophetically depicted on the shield of Aeneas (Aeneid 8.675ff.). The two opposing forces are sharply distinguished: Augustus Caesar is supported by the Roman Senate and the Roman people, and by the gods of home and of the country; his brow is shining and his head is topped with his father's star. On the other side there is Antony supported by the alien races of the East and the strange and monstrous

¹See p. 98. On the myth of Geryon see in general Croon, The Herdsman of the Dead, passim; Kerenyi, The Heroes, 163ff. with plates 35 and 36; Bayet, Hercle, 98ff. On Hercules and Cerberus see p. 104. Cf. Aen. 8.296, and see Kerenyi, ibid., 177ff. with plate 39. See also Nilsson, Folk Religion, 78-79.

²Taylor, The Divinity, 53.

Asiatic and Egyptian gods. The turning point in the battle is in Apollo's decision to side with Augustus. The stretching of the god's bow puts the hostile forces to flight (Aeneid 8.704).¹ The aftermath of the battle, Augustus' triumph and his thankful worship of the gods, is also depicted on Aeneas' shield (Aeneid 8.714ff.):

at Caesar, triplici invectus Romana triumpho
moenia, dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat,
maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem.
laetitia ludisque viae plausuque fremebant;
omnibus in templis matrum chorus, omnibus arae;
ante aras terram caesi stravere iuvenci.
ipse sedens niveo candentis limine Phoebi
dona recognoscit populorum aptatque superbis
postibus.

Just as the Potitii and the Pinarii celebrate the triumph of Hercules at the Ara maxima, so Augustus celebrates a triple triumph after his victory, vows to build three hundred temples and shrines in Rome, witnesses the joy of the Roman people at the defeat of his enemies, and raises the trophies of victory at the threshold of Apollo's temple.² The divinity of Augustus is not pressed here, probably in conformity to the wish of Augustus himself not to have divine honours administered to his person while he was still alive; but the presentation of Augustus as a new Hercules who defeats the powers of darkness is, though

¹Cf. Prop. 4.6.55-56: dixerat, et pharetrae pondus consumit in arcus: / proxima post arcus Caesaris hasta fuit, where Apollo's action follows his oral pledge of help to Augustus.

²See Buchheit, Vergil, 132. Here Vergil commits a deliberate anachronism in showing Augustus right after Actium at the entrance of the temple of Apollo Palatinus dedicated in 28 B.C.

discreet, unmistakable.¹ Propertius and Horace are more outspoken in extolling Augustus' heroic and divine character. In the context of the battle of Actium Propertius presents Apollo addressing Augustus as the "saviour of the world" (4.6.37: seruator mundi), and elsewhere he calls Augustus a "god" (3.4.1). For Horace Augustus is the counterpart of Jupiter on earth (Odes 3.5.1-3):

Caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem
regnare: praesens divus habebitur
Augustus...

and in another poem (Odes 1.2.41ff.) he is proposed as the saviour of Rome, Mercury in disguise, who, as in Vergil's Georgics,² is needed more on earth than in heaven (45ff.):

serus in caelum redeas diuque
laetus intersis populo Quirini,
neve te nostris vitiis iniquum
ocior aura

tollat; hic magnos potius triumphos,
hic ames dici pater atque princeps,
neu sinas Medos equitare inultos
te duce, Caesar.

The divine Caesar, an incarnation of Mercury himself, is also the head of the Roman state (pater patriae),³ and the

¹See in general on Aeneid 8 Bömer, "Studien zum VIII Buche der Aeneis", RhM, 92 (1944), 319-369. On the position of Hercules in the Aeneid, especially in connection with Aeneas, see K. Gilmartin, "Hercules in the Aeneid", Vergilius, 14 (1968), 41-47.

²See p. 252.

³See p. 247, n. 2. See Nisbet and Hubbard, Horace. Odes, Book 1, 38-39.

first among equals in the leadership of his country, a religious figure and a political man, to whose Genius one sacrifices (Horace Odes 4.5.34-35; Epistles 2.1.15-16),¹ and who is sure to receive full divine honours after his ashes are deposited in his Mausoleum. The simple sacredness of the Roman Di Parentes is here submerged, although not lost, in the mystique surrounding the Roman-Hellenistic divine ruler.²

¹See p. 247 with n. 1. See Taylor, The Divinity, 151ff. and passim; Ryberg, Rites of the State Religion, plates 28, 29.

²See in general Taylor, ibid., 142ff.; 224ff.; Cerfaux and Tondriau, Le culte des souverains, 313ff.

CONCLUSION

Two general interrelated facts have emerged, I think, from my investigation: flexibility in the use of mythological and religious terms, and fluency and mobility of concepts and ideas about the after-life in Rome of the first century B.C. In this sense my thesis confirms what was already known, although some may think that the presentation has done something to show these facts in relief. The poets record and amplify this syncretism of old and new concepts, Greek and Roman ideas, religion and philosophy. Rome is a Hellenistic city with a Roman background.

The conclusions which emerge from the individual chapters are as follows:

First, the idea of Manes or Di Manes, "the good spirits", is invested, in the first century B.C., with new meanings and more powerful expression under the influence of Greek religion and of native developments, and seems to be a favourite one with the poets. On the other hand, while Di Manes can designate the totality of the dead, the Chthonian gods, the underworld itself, and an individual soul, it is only one of many terms suggesting ghosts and spirits. The spirits of the dead are associated with darkness, fear, sorrow and the like, are thought to be unsubstantial, free from the limitations of the body, and capable of guiding or terrorizing the living. The belief in ghosts inspires dream-scenes in poetry which illustrate the common notions

about ghosts and at the same time enhances dramatically the poems in which it is found. Vergil has made excellent use of this motif in the Aeneid.

Second, the term Di Inferi alludes mostly to the concrete figures of the Greek Chthonian divinities; but like Di Manes it can also mean "spirits of the dead" and "lower world". It is doubtful whether we can speak of native Roman deities of the underworld, with the exception perhaps of Orcus whose nature is, however, vague and hard to define. Veiovis has been said by some to be a Chthonian divinity and has been connected with Jupiter, Apollo, Saturn and other gods, but his true character remains a mystery. Libitina, meaning by metonymy "death", was probably the nymph of the grove named after her and was associated with death due to the establishment of a public funeral office in that grove. Tarpeia is believed by some to be an old Chthonian divinity, by others an example of native Roman hero-worship, but the evidence which we have does not warrant any definite conclusions. There may have been two different Tarpeias. With Dis Pater and Proserpina we tread on firmer ground. They are the king and queen of Greek Hades introduced to Rome at a known date, 249 B.C. Like Orcus they are not honoured in private or public Roman cult; they receive sacrifices only at the Secular Games. Dis Pater is found associated with various Italic figures of a real or believed Chthonian nature. In poetry Dis Pater and Proserpina are found in their proper mythological

context and also as personifications of death. Hecate is prominent in the Latin poets obviously due to her connection with magic. In Aeneid 6 she represents the ancient Chthonian deity whose cult preceded that of Apollo at Cumae. Vergil records the fusion of the two cults in the figure of the Cumaean Sibyl. The poets present ghost-raising scenes (which were officially under the protection of Hecate) but they seem to do this for parody or for decorative reasons.

Third, Vergil's account of the demons and monsters of Hades in Aeneid 6 is, broadly speaking, Hellenistic. The mythological figures keep more or less their traditional characteristics, but they are described with a vividness and empathy which are Hellenistic. The inclusion of the personified evils in the antechamber of the underworld has philosophical overtones. Especially interesting is the role which Vergil assigns to the Furies in the upper world. The other Latin poets show a similar freedom in their treatment of the underworld demons and monsters; metaphorical uses alternate with ornamental ones.

Fourth, Vergil's underworld is fairly well mapped but not overly. The concepts of Hades as a land and as a house are blended together and appropriately coloured by references to darkness, spaciousness, etc. The entrance to the underworld is aptly placed at Lake Avernus in the area of Cumae which had plenty of associations with the dead, one of which was the

existence there of an ancient oracle of the dead. Vergil has divided his underworld into different regions separated by forests and rivers. Tartarus is a castle or a walled city. The rulers of Hades live in a palace. Elysium is a pleasant area with scenic beauties. Vergil gives it an underworld setting, although some hints in his description point to the concept of a lunar or heavenly Elysium. Mystery is also added to the topography of Hades by the motif of the Gate of Dreams.

Fifth, Vergil's sources for Aeneid 6 were undoubtedly many and varied but present several problems. The catabasis of Aeneas is a skillfully composed version of a traditional catabasis and can be interpreted in more than one way. Vergil has interrelated it with the rest of his epic and displays much originality in the handling of borrowed material and in the Roman touches he imparts. Aeneas is the prototype of the hero who finds illumination in Hades and is allowed to return to earth to create new and better forms of life.

Sixth, the emotional commitment of man to an expectation of future life is evident in the preoccupations of ancient poetry with death and after-life. The Romans gave expression to their feelings by means of forms which they borrowed from the Greeks and which superseded their own primitive concept of survival in the tomb and in a mass of undifferentiated spirits. In Roman poetry we find the concept of post-mortem life in a mythological underworld, the idea of metempsychosis, the notion of complete

annihilation at death, the concept of celestial immortality for the chosen few, etc. Vergil records most of these concepts, but with an eye to their ethical values. He makes his after-life a corrected replica of this world. On the other hand what he presents about the fate of the dead can be interpreted in symbolic terms, and this applies also to what the other poets, especially Horace, have to say on the subject. Vergil's classification of souls in Hades follows traditional lines but it is also motivated by the moral and national feelings of the Romans. The combination of Greek and Roman elements is particularly felicitous in the treatment of reincarnation, a theme which gives Vergil an opportunity to present his pageant of Roman heroes.

Seven, the sacredness of the Roman family-dead, a concept involving feelings of both reverence and fear, was fertilized and expanded by the Greek notion of hero-worship and the Hellenistic concept of the deified ruler. The Roman festival of the Parentalia presents several problems of structure and interpretation but on the whole it seems to preserve the old Roman belief in the holiness of the Di Parentes. This belief is deliberately combined with notions of hero-worship and apotheosis in Vergil's account of Aeneas' ceremonies in honour of Anchises in Aeneid 5. The concepts of the hero and of the deified ruler can be traced back to Greek and Hellenistic religions. Of the two concepts the second was virtually thrust upon the Romans and was adopted as an effective means of government. Both concepts inspire notable scenes in Vergil.

APPENDIX 1

LEMURES AND LARVAE

It has been observed that, according to the evidence we have from Roman literature and epigraphy, the ordinary appellation for the dead in late Republican and early Imperial times was Manes or Di Manes,¹ although frequent use was also made of such terms as umbrae, imagines, species etc.² We find, however, two other, probably generic, terms designating ghosts, especially the noxious ghosts, which, though not occurring in epitaphs or higher poetry, need some investigation. These are Lemures and Larvae.³

The first recorded occurrence of Lemures in Horace (Epistles 2.2.209: nocturnos lemures portentaque Thessala rides?) does not make clear what the Lemures were exactly, although it is evident that they were thought to be fearful spirits. Porphyrio, commenting on the passage, states that the Lemures were the night-wandering shades of the prematurely dead, to be dreaded since, as it is implied, they were angered at having to leave their bodies against their will.⁴ Acro's scholion on the same passage identifies

¹See pp. 13ff.

²See pp. 24ff.

³The words are of obscure etymology. See Walde-Hofmann; Radke, Die Götter, s.v.

⁴Cf. Verg. Aen. 11.831 (=12.952): vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras. See pp. 26, 203.

the Lemures with the shades of those who died violently.¹

The spirits of the dead whom the Roman house-father tries to eject from his house by means of various gestures and formulas of a magic character at the annual festival of the Lemuria described by Ovid (Fasti 5.421ff.)² seem to be of a definitely hostile nature. This suits the Horatian passage and its scholia as well as Persius 5.185: nigri lemures, and we seem to have a basis on which to distinguish sharply between two different concepts of ghosts: the concept of the Di Manes, "the good ones", who were honoured under the official title of the Di Parentes in the festival of the Parentalia,³ and the concept of the Lemures, "the noxious ones" who were propitiated in the festival of the Lemuria in May.

The matter is not so simple, however. In his description of the Lemuria Ovid appears to think of the Manes and the Lemures as synonymous (Fasti 5.422), and the magic formula in the ritual by which the ghosts are exorcized is Manes exite paterni (Fasti 5.443).⁴ The problem is not made clearer by our later sources. The scholiast of the Persius passage refers to the black Lemures

¹See pp. 203ff.

²See Latte, Römische Rel., 437.

³See pp. 220ff.

⁴See Frazer, Ovid. Fasti, IV, 37-38.

as the Dii Manes and to the Lemuria as the days when the Manes are propitiated. Nonius Marcellus (p. 197 L.) defines the Lemures as "night larvae and terrors of shades and of beasts". Apuleius (On the God of Socrates 15) complicates things further by taking Lemures to mean the souls of the dead in general, of whom the placated ones are called Lares familiares, the unsatisfied ghosts are called Larvae, while Manes is reserved for those souls about whom there is doubt.

The problem of identification and range of reference of the Lemures is closely associated with the origin of the term and of the festival of the Lemuria. Ovid (Fasti 5.449ff.) derives Lemuria from Remuria arguing that the festival was originally established by Romulus in order to placate the angry spirit of his slain brother Remus,¹ but this explanation which is also found in Porphyrio's scholion on Horace² is untenable on both linguistic and historical grounds.³ On the other hand it has been suggested that Lemures may have been coined from Lemuria and made available to poets in the meaning "ghosts".⁴ This is

¹Cf. Serv. Aen. 1.276, 292.

²See p. 266.

³See Theodor Mommsen, "Die Remuslegende", in Gesammelte Schriften (Berlin, 1965), 4A, 6-7; Frazer, Ovid. Fasti, IV; Bömer, P. Ovidius Naso. Die Fasten (Heidelberg, 1957), II, notes ad loc.

⁴See RE, 12, 1932, s.v.

probable, although I am inclined to think that the term Lemures had been, like the other words in Horace's passage, in common use long before its occurrence in Horace. On the whole we must confess that we do not know much about the origin of either the Lemures or the Lemuria.

We are left with the problem of what exactly Lemures meant to the Romans of Ovid's time. The literary evidence cited so far establishes, I think, that the Lemures were seen as noxious spirits. Porphyrio and Nonius may well reproduce learning of the Augustan period and seem in general to be more trustworthy than Apuleius;¹ but they may be narrowing the meaning of the Lemures or committing an anachronism in defining them as the souls of the prematurely or violently dead.² One wonders whether these noxious spirits represented for the ordinary Roman only some classes of the dead and not the whole range of them. To put it in another way, the question before us is whether the primitive fear of the dead was still so strong in Augustan Rome that the dreadful Lemures could include in the minds of many also the family-dead.

Ovid's mixing of the Lemures with the Manes and especially with the Di Parentes³ can be explained either as a result

¹See Fowler, Roman Festivals, 108.

²See Bömer, Ovid. Die Fasten, II, note on 5.419; Latte, Römische Rel., 99, n. 1.

³See p. 267.

of poetic licence or as evidence of fact, namely that the Lemuria was indeed a festival for the propitiation of all dead, including the family-dead who could be thought capable of doing harm to their descendants.

The crux of the problem is the interpretation of the formula Manes exite paterni. Scholars are divided on this. Fowler considers the formula to be either a loose use by Ovid or a euphemistic appellation of the hostile spirits by the Roman house-father, and suggests that the Lemures were probably the unburied dead thought to return to their former homes seeking burial.¹ Frazer, on the contrary, accepts the formula as authentic and believes that for Ovid the Lemures were the family-dead.² Not so Bömer, who thinks that the Lemures cannot be the Roman family-dead and that Ovid's formula was modelled on the Greek $\thetaύραξ$; ὁ κῆραξ, οὐκέτ' Ἀνθεστήρια, or that it is simply incorrect.³ Latte seems to agree in general with those who distinguish the Lemures from the Di Parentes and thinks that it was Ovid who first confused the two by using the formula in

¹Roman Festivals, 109, n. 3.

²Ovid. Fasti, IV, 38; see also Banti, "Il culto dei morti...", 184, n. 3.

³Ovid. Die Fasten, II, note on 5.443; see also id., Ahnenkult, 39. See Harrison, Prolegomena, 35-36. See p. 232. Rose, "Manes exite paterni", CPCPh, 12, 6 (1941), 89ff., takes the formula to be a blunder of Ovid and criticizes Frazer for accepting its authenticity. See also Dumézil, Religion archaïque, 361.

question.¹

It is obvious that Ovid's Manes exite paterni poses a problem, but this problem is not made easier by blaming the poet for confusion of two different concepts, that of the good spirits with that of the hostile ghosts. The confusion is found elsewhere, in the pronouncements of ancient scholars on the matter of spirits and in literature and epigraphy.² The Di Parentes were thought capable of being nasty occasionally.³ Provided that the Lemures were the hostile ghosts, the term could be applied to all dead if they were thought of as hostile or at least unwelcome.⁴ In turn, such a general application of the term might be taken to mean that the Lemures was a generic term indicating ghosts, not necessarily friendly or inimical. It is possible that such loose or distorted uses of the term were more frequent in poetry, but we do not have a wide range of examples by which to judge. In confusing the good and the bad spirits in his description of the Lemuria Ovid may have worked as a poet rather than as a scholarly antiquarian; still, as observed, such a confusion of concepts and ideas which are related

¹See Latte, Römische Rel., 99; Schilling, "Roman Festivals...", 47; Toynbee, Death and Burial, 296, n. 263.

²See pp. 13ff.

³See p. 227.

⁴Cf. CIL 1.818.

to the dead is found elsewhere and testifies to the fluency of religious ideas in the first century B.C. Finally, the plural form Lemures may be taken to preserve, like the plural Manes, the primitive Roman belief in the collective dead.

The Larvae are usually grouped by modern scholars with the Lemures as the bad or noxious spirits of the Roman dead.¹ The idea is not, in fact, new, but found in many ancient authors.² There are two places, however, where the Larvae seem to be distinguished from the dead. In both (Seneca Apocolocyntosis of Claudius 9.3; Pliny Natural History, Preface 31) the Larvae appear to be the tormentors of souls in Hell, or at least demonic figures hostile to them. One wonders whether we have here the preservation of an earlier meaning of Larva, especially as we do not have any evidence of a class of ghosts who harassed the souls in the underworld, and thus the Larvae of Seneca and Pliny could not be easily explained as ghosts.

In Plautus Larva is used as a term of abuse, while Larvae seems to denote bad spirits of some sort which affect men with insanity.³ In view of the later literary evidence which couples Larvae with Lemures in the meaning "ghosts" the Larvae

¹See Fowler, Roman Festivals, 108; Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, 235; Bailey, Religion in Virgil, 241.

²Cf. Apul. Met. 6.30; 9.29; Paul. Festus p. 77.24ff. L.; Varro in Arn. 3.41; cf. also Petron. 62; Sen. Ep. 24.8.

³Cf. Cas. 592; Merc. 981; Aul. 642; Capt. 598. The insane man is called larvatus: Plaut. Men. 890; cf. Non. p. 64 L.

are conveniently interpreted as mischievous ghosts; yet, for Plautus and his audience the Larvae may have been something more or less different, perhaps spirits of a demonic nature equivalent to the Greek demons and the Furies, not spirits of the dead. On the other hand, the singular Larva in the meaning "ghost" would seem to contradict the often repeated statement that the early Roman concept of the dead recognized an undifferentiated plurality. It is true that the only example of Larva which we have from the Augustan age (Horace Satires 1.5.64: nil illi larva aut tragicis opus esse cothurnis) and which is taken to mean a "ghostly" theatre mask¹ points to an original meaning "ghost" for Larva; but we cannot say when exactly this type of grisly theatre mask was called Larva or whether it was called so from the very beginning.²

In any case, assuming that at least during the Augustan period both Larvae and Lemures indicated the noxious spirits of the dead we must question their absence from literature and especially the poetry of the same age. One argument in answer to this could point out the taboo aspect of the words which made them unsuitable for higher poetry, whereas Manes being a euphemistic word was acceptable and frequently used.³ The fact that

¹ A πορρολυκεῖον. See A. Kiessling and R. Heinze, Q. Horatius Flaccus (Berlin, 1957), II, note ad loc.

² See pp. 280-281.

³ See p. 18.

the words are found in Horace's lighter poetry, the Satires and the Epistles, but not in the more serious Odes, seems to support the hypothesis.¹

¹On the subject of noxious ghosts see also E. Jobbé-Duval, Les morts malfaisants d'après le droit et les croyances populaires des Romains (Paris, 1924).

APPENDIX 2

THE ETRUSCAN UNDERWORLD AND THE ROMANS

Many ancient Roman authors including Cicero, Varro, Livy and Macrobius testify to the great influence which the Etruscans were believed in antiquity to have exerted on Rome, her political institutions and her religious concepts and cults.¹ The Etruscans were reputed to be a very religious race.² Modern scholarship on the whole appears to support the idea that Etruria was the producer and mother of superstition (Arn. 7.26: genetrix et mater superstitionum), and that the Etruscan religion was mostly one of fear and of punctiliousness generated by fear.³

This assertion, however, is not entirely justified since our knowledge of Etruscan religion is very incomplete. Etruscan epigraphy is intelligible only in part, and our literary evidence is very scanty and of a late period. We have, it is true, a wealth of archaeological remains from the Etruscan cemeteries,

¹See Heurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans, 165-166, 228ff. and passim; H. H. Scullard, The Etruscan Cities and Rome (London, 1967), 218ff., 243ff.; G. A. Mansuelli, Etruria and Early Rome (London, 1966); McKay, Vergil's Italy, 78ff. See also Galinsky, Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome, 103ff.

²Cf. Livy 5.1.6; D.H. 1.30.3. See in general Bouché-Leclercq, Histoire de la Divination, IV, 3ff.; C. O. Thulin, Die etruskische Disciplin (Göteborg, 1906-1909), I-III, passim.

³See Conway, Ancient Italy and Modern Religion (Cambridge, 1933), 50; Latte, Römische Rel., 155; M. Pallottino, The Etruscans (Penguin, 1955), 154ff.

but their interpretation is not always easy.¹ In fact, we cannot say that we have a clear picture of Etruscan ideas about death and after-life as yet,² and consequently it is hard to determine what exactly Rome borrowed from Etruria in this area, especially as the influence of Greek mythology and religion was notably vast on both Etruria and Rome.

Like the Jews and the Christians and unlike the Greeks and the Romans, the Etruscans had a revealed religion. The revealed truths and facts of this religion were denoted by the general term disciplina Etrusca. We hear of various books which treated different aspects of the Etruscan religious life and cult among which were the Libri Acheruntici, guide-books outlining the dangers that awaited the dead on their way to Hades and the ways in which these dangers should be countered.³ According to Arnobius (2.62) these writings also indicated that the sacrifice of certain animals to certain gods was effective in raising the soul of the dead to divinity.⁴ It has been suggested

¹See Grenier, Les religions, 55.

²Pallottino, The Etruscans, 169.

³See Conway, Ancient Italy, 59-60; Bloch, Les prodiges, 56f.; in general, Heurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans, 230-231.

⁴Cf. also Cic. Div. 1.72; Serv. Aen. 3.168, 321; 8.398; Mart. Cap. 2.142. Prescriptions as to sacrifices to infernal deities are allegedly preserved also in the Etruscan text of the Capua tile dating from the fourth century B.C. See Pallottino, The Etruscans, 171.

that the very title of these books betrays a Greek tradition and the probable influence of Orphism and Pythagoreanism.¹ This may be so, although the title may have been given to the books by the Romans in later times.

It has been observed that the Romans did not have originally the concept of a common abode of the dead, of an organized underworld.² The primitive Roman belief was that the dead continued to live in the grave, and this was probably the early notion of the Etruscans themselves, if we judge by the, so to speak, "earthly" scenes of banquets, dances and sports which adorn the archaic Etruscan tombs, and the construction of the interiors of tombs, as in Caere, in such a way as to resemble the interiors of houses. The banquet motif is, in fact, the main feature of the generally happy paintings of Etruscan tomb art of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. It is an optimistic art of people who love life and want to preserve its joys beyond death; realism and sensuality prevail. The image of death is rarely evoked, or if it is, the artist idealizes it in the fashion of the Greek funerary monuments.³

Then, with the beginning of the fourth century B.C. the happy scenes give way to representations of a gloomy underworld,

¹See Cumont, Lux Perpetua, 277.

²See pp. 71, 190-191.

³See de Ruyt, Charun, 182; Heurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans, 189-191, and passim; Toynbee, Death and Burial, 12.

where scenes of slaughter and violence prevail. The comparatively sharp change in the outlook of the Etruscan funerary paintings¹ may have been caused by more than one reason. Earlier aristocratic ideas were probably pushed aside by folk beliefs which viewed death as cruel and implacable. The decline of Etruscan political power may have been another reason, and the intrusion of Orphic-Pythagorean eschatological ideas from South Italy still another.² On the whole it may have been that a native Etruscan belief in some primitive kind of underworld developed gradually under Greek influence and established itself with the arrival of the fourth century B.C.³

At that time the rulers of the underworld depicted in Etruscan paintings seem to be Eita (Greek Hades) and Phersipnai (Greek Persephone).⁴ Both divinities usually hold scepters and wear crowns. A snake is sometimes found entwined around Eita's scepter, while a number of snakes occasionally adorn Phersipnai's hair. In the tomb of Orcus from Tarquinii the divine couple is shown presiding in Hades with the triple-headed Geryon standing

¹Sibylle von Cles-Reden, The Buried People: A Study of the Etruscan World (London, 1955), 80, reports that a similar sharp change of ideas about death occurred in Egypt, in the Middle kingdom under the twelfth dynasty.

²See de Ruyt, Charun, 182; Toynbee, Death and Burial, 13.

³See Pallottino, The Etruscans, 170.

⁴The rape of the goddess by Pluto is represented on several funerary urns. See de Ruyt, Charun, 71ff.

by.¹ Eita has a wolf-skin cap on his head. This feature is also found in the tomb of Velii from Orvieto and the sarcophagus of Torre San Severo. The tradition which associated the wolf with the underworld was probably, as noted, widespread in Italy,² and seems to have persisted down to medieval times as Dante's reference to Hades (Inferno 7.8: maledetto lupo) suggests.³ The figure of Hermes conductor of souls is also found in numerous Etruscan paintings.⁴ Turms, as Hermes' Etruscan name is, carries a staff (caduceus) and wears a travelling mantle and a winged hat and sandals.⁵

The question arises whether there were any original Etruscan divinities of the underworld. Our evidence is very

¹See pp. 97-98, 256.

²See p. 23 . Serv. Aen. 11.785 reports the existence of the Hirpi Sorani, priests of Dis Pater on Mount Soracte living like wolves (hirpus meaning "wolf" in the Sabine language) with the purpose of expiating a prodigy involving wolves that presumably came out from the underworld. See Radke, Die Götter, s.v. "Soranus"; Michels, "The Topography...of the Lupercalia", 55.

³Pluto with a wolf-head is also found in a drawing of Michelangelo. See de Ruyt, Charun, 153.

⁴On a crater of the fourth century B.C. from Vulci Turms is represented entrusting a soul to Charun who, in a kind of syncretism with the Hermes figure, appears to be carrying a staff himself. See de Ruyt, ibid., 81. On Etruscan mirrors of the later period the figure of Hermes assumes the name of Roman Mercury. See Bloch, Les Prodiges, 154.

⁵See p. 82, n. 4.

obscure. The name Vetisl found on the bronze liver of Piacenza is taken by Grenier to refer to an Etruscan god of the underworld parallel to the Latin Veiovis,¹ but this is too bold a hypothesis, especially since Vetisl does not figure in Etruscan funerary inscriptions, which is odd if he were indeed a Chthonian divinity, nor is the Roman Veiovis safely established as an underworld god.² The case of Mantus is similar. On the basis of Servius (Aen. 10.198) that the Etruscan Dis Pater was called Mantus some scholars have taken Mantus to be the early Etruscan king of the dead and have associated the name with Latin Manes and Mania.³ Servius' testimony, however, is not enough to make Mantus an infernal god. The etymological connection of his name with the Latin words is not easy to prove. Mantus, moreover, does not figure in Etruscan paintings, unless we apply the name to the figure of Charun.⁴ Further, Manducus is not to be taken as another Hermes conductor of souls (maniducus=manium dux)⁵

¹Les religions, 34, 43; see also Blumenthal, "Zur römischen Religion...", 313.

²See p. 55.

³See Müller-Deecke, Die Etrusker, II, 97f., 104.

⁴See de Ruyt, Charun, 234. See in general Altheim, Roman Religion, 102, 118, 164; Radke, Die Götter, s.v.

⁵Müller-Deecke, Die Etrusker, II, 103.

but simply for what it seems to have been, the mask of a glutton with large jaws and gnashing teeth paraded, as Festus (p. 115.96ff. L.) reports, among other effigies of a grotesque character at the circus procession.¹

Besides Eita, Phersipnai and Turms, as well as Charun, the most characteristic figure of the Etruscan underworld with whom we will deal later, the Etruscan tomb frescoes represent a great variety of demonic figures, some of them familiar from Greek art, monstrous animals, Tritons, hippocamps, and even a Sphinx and Silenus. The feminine demonic figures who are usually called Furies are found helping Charun in his various tasks and even replacing him sometimes. Some Furies have large wings, others winglets on their heads, and they are usually depicted with snakes in their hands, and on their heads instead of hair. Their most prominent attribute is the torch. The general type of Etruscan Fury was probably taken from Greek art, but on the whole the graceful demonic figures whom we see on Greek vases look different from the ugly Furies of Etruscan paintings.²

¹ Manducus seems to derive from mandere, "to chew", like caducus from cadere. See Walde-Hofmann, II, s.v. Cf. Plaut. Rud. 535f. :--quid si aliquo ad ludos me pro manduco locem ?/ -- quapropter ? -- quia pol clare crepito dentibus. See de Ruyt, Charun, 244; J. G. Preaux, "Manducus", in M. Renard, ed., Hommages à Albert Grenier (Collection Latomus 58), 1282-1291.

² See de Ruyt, ibid., 208-209; Banti, Il mondo degli Etruschi (Rome, 1960), 129. In scenes from the Oresteia the Etruscan Furies play the part of the Greek Erinyes.

Of the names designating the Etruscan Furies in inscriptions on paintings frequent use is made in books of Lasa.¹ Etruscologists tend to call all Furies whose names are not indicated Lasae, although the term figures only once in a funerary context on an engraved mirror preserved at the British Museum. On the other hand Lasa seems to indicate on several Etruscan mirrors a divinity of an essentially erotic nature who assists the goddess Turan-Aphrodite.² Lasa, which has been etymologically associated with Lares (Lases was the old form), Lara, and Larenta,³ may be a generic term meaning "nymph".

The Fury most often found with Charun is called Vanth. She figures in the François tomb from Vulci attending the execution of twelve Trojan prisoners to the shade of Patroclus administered by Achilles (cf. Iliad 23.175-176). Vanth may represent a sort of messenger of death, or she may simply personify death.⁴ It is significant for the great importance

¹ See Banti, Il mondo degli Etruschi, 129; Pallottino, The Etruscans, 158; de Ruyt, Charun, 210f.; R. Enking, "Lasa", RM, 57 (1942), 1-15.

² See Richardson, The Etruscans, 243ff.; Galinsky, Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome, 117, on the goddess Turan.

³ See Grehier, Les religions, 54. See p. 248, n. 3, and Radke, Die Götter, s.v. "Lara".

⁴ See de Ruyt, Charun, 211ff.; Pallottino, The Etruscans, 170; Enking, "Culsu and Vant", RM, 58 (1943), 48-69.

of Charun in Etruscan funerary art that the Etruscan Furies tend to assume, as time goes on, a more and more sinister, Charunian, so to speak, appearance.¹ Occasionally the role of the Furies is played by male demons carrying torches.

The most remarkable figure of Etruscan demonology is Charun. De Ruyt's detailed examination of a great number of representations of Charun suggests that, although some of Charun's attributes and even his name seem to have been borrowed from the Greek Charon,² the Etruscan demon represents a national tradition and is handled by the artists as the main male expression of death in the Etruscan iconography of the underworld.³ In what may be his earliest appearance in Etruscan painting, the fresco of the tomb of Orcus dating from the fourth century B.C., Charun is pictured as a monster of a man, dressed in a short sleeveless tunic, with bluish flesh and yellowish wings, a long hooked nose, snakes for hair, and animal ears.⁴ In the painting of the

¹See de Ruyt, Charun, 216f.

²Charun, or rather Xaru(n), as the name appears in the inscriptions, seems to derive from $\chi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega\nu$, like Aplu(n) from $\alpha\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu$, Tritu(n) from $\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\nu$ etc. To recall the Greek ferryman of Hades, Charun is presented sometimes carrying an oar.

³See de Ruyt, Charun, 208. See pp. 99ff.

⁴Similar in appearance is another male demon from the tomb of Orcus, Tuchulcha, pictured guarding the prisoners of Hell Theseus and Peirithous. Tuchulcha is wearing a sleeveless tunic and has large wings, two huge ears, two small snakes on the forehead and two large ones in the hands, and a vulture's beak for face, which, like the wolf-skin on Eita's head, represents the rapacity of death. See pp. 210, 231.

execution of the Trojan prisoners mentioned above, Charun, who is depicted brandishing a mallet, his most typical attribute, fulfils one of his many functions: he attends and at the same time personifies death. In this capacity he also figures on a crater from Vulci which represents the sacrifice of a Trojan prisoner by Ajax.

In other Etruscan paintings Charun announces death, separates the dead from their family, guards the tomb, attends the journey of the dead to Hades (made on foot, on horseback, or in a chariot), is present at the arrival of the dead at the underworld, and plays the part of gate-keeper there.¹ In most cases Charun does not seem to use his mallet.² The tradition of Charon as conductor of the dead persists down to the Etrusco-Roman period. In the tomb of Typhon from Tarquinii, which has both Latin and Etruscan inscriptions, the fearful figure of Charun dominates the scene of a funeral procession. On the whole, the uniqueness of Charun may derive from the concentration in his figure of multiple features taken from the Greek demonic spirits: Thanatos, the Harpies, the Keres, the deities Hermes and Hecate, and others.³ On the other hand, Charun anticipates the type of

¹See de Ruyt, Charun, 31ff., 44ff., 48ff., 52ff., 68ff., 73ff., 79ff.

²See ibid., 89ff., for examples where Charun seems to use his mallet.

³On the theory that Charun is of Asian provenance see ibid., 237ff.; von Cles-Reden, The Buried People, 82.

medieval devil.¹

Charun relates to the problem of whether the Etruscan underworld involved more or less elaborate punishments for the souls of the wicked. In his article "The Etruscan Influence on Roman Beliefs" Conway has made a case for this.² He believes that the Etruscans borrowed from the Orphic-Pythagoreans the doctrine of rewards and punishments in the after-life,³ but that they emphasized in their funerary art scenes and episodes of punishments. He cites some examples of paintings like the one from the tomb of Typhon from Tarquinii where souls seem to be marched off to torments and another painting from Tarquinii which presents Teiresias and Memnon and an asphodel tree with little souls suspended by their limbs. He connects this evidence with passages in Plautus which refer to penalties inflicted on slaves (Asinaria 301, 549) and to underworld tortures presented in paintings.⁴ Conway also mentions the cruelty reportedly displayed by some Etruscan historical figures,⁵

¹See Pascal, Le credenze, II, 67.

²See Ancient Italy, 59ff. See also Bailey, Phases, 196, 219; id., Religion in Virgil, 263; Mansuelli, Etruria and Early Rome, 183-185.

³See pp. 207ff.

⁴See p. 132, n. 4.

⁵Cf. Verg. Aen. 8.483ff. on the cruelty of Mezentius, mythical king of Caere; see Heurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans, 33.

the bloody gladiatorial games believed to have originated in Etruria, the dreadful force expressed by the statue of Apollo of Veii, etc.

Louisa Banti agrees with Conway that the Etruscans held a belief in punishments in the after-life and makes a distinction between the frightful Etruscan paintings and those on South Italian and Sicilian ceramics which mostly illustrate the joys of the Blest, and the traditional penalties of the Danaids, Sisyphus, Tantalus etc. A graphic passage of Lucretius (3.1016-1017):

carcer et horribilis de saxo iactu' deorsum,
verbera carnifices robur pix lammina taedae

reflects, according to Banti, things believed to take place in the Etruscan underworld and probably depicted in Etruscan paintings.¹ We do not have, however, enough evidence in order to assume a general or widespread concept of after-life penalties among the Etruscans. Scenes like that of Orpheus surrounded by demons in Hades and of Tuchulcha menacing Theseus and Peirithous² may be traditional essays and may represent the aesthetic influences of particular Greek myths upon the Etruscan artists. Plautus probably refers to Greek funerary paintings,³ and the

¹"Il culto dei morti...", 109ff.

²See p. 283, n. 4.

³Cf. Plaut. Men. 143.

tortures to which Lucretius refers were those inflicted on living people (3.1014: metus in vita poenarum pro male factis), not those traditionally assigned to the underworld.¹ According to de Ruyt, whatever appears to represent infernal punishments in Etruscan paintings should be simply interpreted as an imaginative attempt on the part of the artists to represent the inexorability of death.² New discoveries of Etruscan paintings may shed more light on this problem.

The realism, serene first and later morbid, of Etruscan funerary art may have expressed the Italic temperament in general and may have inspired more than we can estimate in Roman poetry and art. It is probable that the Romans knew the Etruscan tomb paintings and that they were acquainted with Etruscan beliefs and sentiments in regard to the underworld by means of the oral tradition and above all the theatre.³ Tertullian's statement (To the Nations 1.10): Dis pater...gladiatorum exsequias cum malleo deducit indicates, one is tempted to assume, an early

¹Cf. Pascal, Le credenze, II, 102-103.

²See Charun, 41f., 224ff.; see also Banti's revised view in Il mondo degli Etruschi, 129.

³According to Livy (7.2) scenic games were introduced to Rome from Etruria, and the Etruscans used to represent their infernal demons in mimes (7.3-5). See Heurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans, 241ff. A. Piganiol, Recherches sur les jeux romains (New York, 1923), 32-42, thinks that much of what the cemeteries of the Etruscans show may have been enacted on stage.

identification of Charun with Latin Dis Pater.¹ The statement of Tertullian, however, may denote the common name used for the figure of Charun in Roman Imperial times and may not point to an old syncretism of the Roman ruler of Hades with the Etruscan demon armed with the mallet.²

Like his patron Maecenas Vergil may have had Etruscan blood. Mantua, a city reportedly founded by Mantus, was his native place.³ The background of Aeneid 6 is, as we saw, overwhelmingly Greek, but the description of the underworld attempted there looks at times as strikingly realistic as the Etruscan paintings.⁴ Such an observant artist as Vergil cannot have missed the vivid and suggestive forms of those paintings, provided of course that they were accessible to the Romans. Vergil's Harpies, Scylla, the Furies (especially Allecto), and Charon may have been inspired by the Etruscan demonic figures painted or made in sculpture; but it is impossible to measure this inspiration. Vergil's references to human sacrifice in the

¹See Wissowa, Religion und Kultus, 312, n. 7; Pascal, Le credenze, I, 80f.

²See de Ruyt, Charun, 246. Salmon, Samnium, 174, reports that, although a demon is occasionally shown to accompany the dead on their last journey in Sabellian paintings, the influence of gruesome Etruscan eschatology on the Samnites was not very strong.

³See Scullard, The Etruscan Cities, 215f.; McKay, Vergil's Italy, 58, 78.

⁴Von Cles-Reden, The Buried People, 188.

Aeneid (10.518-520, 11.81-82) are obviously meant to recall Homer (Iliad 23.175f.). The custom of human sacrifice, however, seems to have been popular with the Etruscans,¹ and the Etruscans may have suggested it to the Romans who practised it on certain special occasions.² On the whole, the influence of Etruria on Rome's eschatological preoccupations appears to have been greater in the area of ritual (funeral procession, funeral games) than in the area of religious concepts and theological speculation.³

¹See Heurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans, 242, 252, 262f.

²See in general Cichorius, Römische Studien, 7ff.
A form of human sacrifice is also the custom of devotio, the self-consecration of a man to the infernal gods on behalf of his country, which Salmon, Samnium, 146f., considers an Italic institution rather than strictly Roman. See pp. 14-15, 53, 76, and Grant, Roman Religion, 23.

³See Latte, 155ff. See pp. 240, 247.

APPENDIX 3

THE MUNDUS

Macrobius reports that the Mundus was sacred to Dis Pater and Proserpina and that it served as a sort of gate for the spirits of the underworld (1.16.17-18).¹ This and other evidence suggesting the Chthonian connections of the Mundus would have normally warranted its treatment within my investigation of the topography of Roman Hades.² The problem is so obscure and uncertain, however, that I have preferred to examine it separately.

The ancient literary evidence in regard to the Mundus was rightly divided by S. Weinstock into two groups: those testimonia which associate it with the foundation of Rome, and those which connect it with the underworld, or at least with the earth.³ In the first group we may distinguish two passages, one of Ovid (Fasti 4.821ff.), and one of Plutarch (Life of Romulus 11). According to the more detailed passage of Plutarch, at the time of Rome's foundation Romulus invited Etruscan priests to help him with the ceremony.⁴ A pit called Mundus was dug at the

¹See p. 26.

²See pp. 122ff.

³"Mundus patet", RM, 45 (1930), 111ff.

⁴Cf. Varro Ling. 5.143. See Héurgon, Daily Life of the Etruscans, 165-166.

site of the later Comitium, the assembly place of the Romans near the Forum, and into this they threw first-fruits and earth which the Roman colonists had brought from their respective homelands. Ovid seems to be concerned with the same ritual, although neither the name Mundus nor the location of the pit are mentioned in his account:

Fossa fit ad solidum, fruges iaciuntur in ima
et de vicino terra petita solo.
Fossa repletur humo, plenaque imponitur ara,
et novus accenso fungitur igne focus.

Plutarch's first-fruits (ἀπαρχαί) are here simply fruges, and the first lump of earth thrown into the pit comes from Rome. The pit is filled with earth and topped with an altar. This type of ritual seems to be old,¹ and the accounts of Ovid and Plutarch should not be dismissed as fanciful. They concern an essentially symbolic act associated with the beginnings of a city; the earth and the fruits thrown into the pit represent the new settlers and whatever they are carrying with them from their old homes. The association, or rather confusion of this ritual with the sacrificial pit Mundus sacred to the Di Inferi was probably introduced by some antiquarian, and is not original.²

Similarly the identification of the Chthonian Mundus with the sacred spot on the Palatine which is called Roma quadrata (Festus p.258 L.) is not proven, although it has been accepted

¹See Weinstock, "Mundus patet", 117-118.

²See Latte, Römische Rel., 141f.

as a fact by many scholars.¹ There is no archaeological evidence of a Mundus-type pit from the Palatine,² and it seems that the alleged associations of the Mundus with the foundation of Rome are on the whole pseudo-history.

The other group of evidence concerns, as observed, a Chthonian type of Mundus. Drawing his information from Ateius Capito and Cato, Festus reports that the Mundus stood open three days every year, that is, on the twenty-fourth of August, fifth of October, and eighth of November, that it had received its name from the dome-shaped Mundus (=Universe) which it resembled, and that its lower part was sacred to the Di Manes and was kept shut at all times except the three days mentioned. The opening of the Mundus made the three days unsuitable for public business (p. 144.14ff.; cf. Paul. Festus p. 145.12ff. L.).³

Another piece of evidence is found in the scholia on a riddle which Vergil puts on the lips of one of his shepherds (Eclogues 3.104-105): Dic quibus in terris.../ tris pateat Caeli spatium non amplius ulnas, "Tell, where in the world is the sky no more than three yards wide?". The Bernese Commentary on the Eclogues records several answers to this riddle, of which the two following are notable (p. 104 H.): Alii specum in Sicilia

¹See Weinstock, "Mundus patet", 118ff.

²See Latte, Römische Rel., 142, n. 1.

³The unholy character of the days during which the Mundus stood open is also mentioned by Macrobius 1.16.17.

angusto ore, profunda altitudine, per quam rapta est Proserpina a Dite patre, alii 'mundum' in sacro Cereris, et caelum pro 'mundum' positum dicunt. The first explanation is also found in the Scholia of Junius Philargyrius and the Explanatio (pp. 68-69 H.) with the extra piece of information that the cavern in question (specus) was at Aetna. The reference to the Sicilian cavern becomes meaningful only if we assume that it was called Mundus,¹ and it is interesting to note that the Brevis Expositio on Vergil Georgics 1.38 (p. 213 H.) states that the Sicilian cave through which Ceres descended to Hades to recover her daughter was called Mundus.

One wonders how a Roman cult place like the Mundus could exist on the Greek island of Sicily.² It may be that the Vergilian commentators confused two different answers to Vergil's riddle, that is, the answer which involves the Sicilian cavern and the other which has to do with the pit Mundus in sacro Cereris, the association being based on the fact that the words caelum and mundus may be taken as synonyms. The statement "in the sanctuary of Ceres" reminds one of Festus p. 126.4 L. Cereris mundus, and seems to be associated with the inscription

¹Weinstock, "Mundus patet", 114, n. 1.

²There is no other mention of a Mundus in Sicily. Cic. Verr. 4.48.107 describes the infernal chasm (spelunca) through which Dis Pater was reputed to have seized Proserpina but he gives it no special name.

from Capua (CIL 10.3926): sacerdos Cerialis Mundialis.

The association of the Mundus with Ceres is intriguing as the goddess is, on the one hand, the Italian counterpart of Demeter, the mother of Persephone, but also the Italian corn-goddess, an essentially agricultural divinity. Fowler tried to explain the opening of the Mundus three times a year with reference to the latter aspect of Ceres. He noted that in the Roman calendar the twenty-fourth of August falls three days after the festival of the harvest (Consualia) and is the eve of the storing away of the grain (Opiconsiva). In view of this and also on the assumption that the fifth of October was the day when the Romans used to clear out from the stored grain the unsuitable spelt (far), while the eighth of November was the day when they would draw grain for sowing, he concluded that the Mundus was the sacred place where the Romans used to store grain for sowing.¹

The hypothesis rests vaguely on the evidence which names Ceres in association with the Mundus, and also on Plutarch's and Ovid's statements of the throwing of first-fruits into the pit of Romulus. Plutarch and Ovid, however, refer to single events, not customary openings of the pit. On the other hand, the three days mentioned are marked as open to public business

¹ See Roman Festivals, 212; Religious Experience, 101-102; "Mundus patet", JRS, 2 (1912), 25ff. See also N. Turchi, La religione di Roma antica (Bologna, 1939), 29.

in the Roman calendar.¹ Be that as it may, we have no explicit evidence that the Mundus was used as a public storeroom for grain. We are left with a lot of questions: "What exactly is the sacrum Cereris? Is it a small temple built around or above the pit Mundus or is it a sacred area, some kind of grove sacred to Ceres in which the Mundus was? Is the Mundus Cereris the same pit as that in the Comitium, and was there a custom of making sacrificial offerings at the Mundus on fixed occasions? Was there more than one Mundus? In other words, was Mundus a generic term designating some sort of subterranean altar like the one at the Tarentum on the Campus Martius?² Does the inscription from Capua suggest the existence of a Mundus there? "

The problem is further complicated by the etymological obscurity of the word Mundus,³ and by its association with the lapis Manalis. Festus (p. 128 L.) refers, indeed, to the so-called lapis Manalis as a sort of "mouth of Orcus" through which the spirits of the dead poured out from Hades, adding that such was also the name of a stone kept outside the Porta Capena and

¹See Latte, Römische Rel., 440-443.

²See pp. 71ff. Serv. Aen. 3.134: quidam aras superorum deorum volunt esse, medioximorum, id est marinorum focos, inferorum vero mundos seems to be a construction on a Greek model. See Weinstock, "Mundus patet", 115; RE, 16A, 561, s.v. "Mundus" (Kroll).

³See Walde-Hofmann, II; Ernout-Meillet, s.v.; RE, ibid., 563.

used as a rain-charm in periods of drought.¹ The first connection, however, may not be valid as it seems to rest on an erroneous derivation of Manalis from Manes.²

The notion of Mundus serving as an opening for the underworld has attracted the attention of many scholars who did not fail to make comparisons between the Mundus and other reputed underworld openings like the Tullianum, that is, the subterranean execution-cell of the prison at Rome, the Lacus Curtius in the Roman Forum,³ the puteal-type openings seen in Etruscan paintings, and others.⁴ We also have the hypothesis that the Mundus was an artificial substitute for the cavern-type natural entrances to Hell.⁵ On the whole, however, we lack definite evidence which would seem to connect the Mundus with the other places mentioned or show its real character beyond doubt.

¹Capitalizing on Festus Cumont, After-life, 71, and Grenier, Les religions, 57, take the lapis Manalis to be the lid of the Mundus. See RE, 16A, 562, s.v. "Mundus" (Kroll).

²See Latte, Römische Rel., 78 with n. 4.

³See Platner-Ashby, s.v.

⁴A. Piganiol, Recherches sur les jeux romains, 1ff., notes that there seems to be an analogy among such Etruscan "mouths of Hell" and the underground altar to Consus at the Circus Maximus in Rome, the altar at the Tarentum of the Campus Martius, the Mundus etc. See also G. Rohde, Die Kultsatzungen der römischen Pontifices (Berlin, 1936), 99, 122; Latte, Römische Rel., 142, n. 2, is critical of the so-called Mundi from Etruria. See also Dumézil, Religion archaïque, 628, n. 1.

⁵Wagenvoort, Studies, 114ff. See pp. 118ff.

Even the association of the Mundus with the world of the Manes is not beyond doubt, according to Latte. In view of the fact that no ritual in relation to the dead is reported by ancient tradition on the three days during which the Mundus is said to have been opened,¹ this kind of association may have been introduced by some ancient scholar who knew the part played by a pit in Homer (Odyssey 11) and wished to explain the opening of a pit called Mundus on certain taboo days.² We still have the notice in the Roman calendar: Mundus patet, but what the Mundus was exactly and for what purpose it was opened we have not found as yet.

¹Whereas we have definite indications that ghosts used to wander in the upper world during the periods of the Parentalia and the Lemuria. See pp. 227, 267.

²See Latte, Römische Rel., 142.

ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AC</u>	<u>L'Antiquité Classique</u>
<u>AClass</u>	<u>Acta Classica</u>
<u>AJPh</u>	<u>American Journal of Philology</u>
<u>ArchClass</u>	<u>Archaeologia Classica</u>
<u>ARW</u>	<u>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</u>
<u>BJ</u>	<u>Bonner Jahrbücher des Rhein</u>
<u>CE</u>	<u>Carmina Latina epigraphica</u> (See Bibliography: Collective Works)
<u>CF</u>	<u>Classical Folia</u>
<u>CIG</u>	<u>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</u> (See Bibliography: Collective Works)
<u>CIL</u>	<u>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</u> (-----)
<u>CJ</u>	<u>The Classical Journal</u>
<u>CPCPh</u>	<u>University of California Publications in Classical Philology</u>
<u>CPh</u>	<u>Classical Philology</u>
<u>CQ</u>	<u>Classical Quarterly</u>
<u>CR</u>	<u>Classical Review</u>
<u>CW</u>	<u>The Classical World</u>
Dar.-Saglio	(See Bibliography: Works of Reference)
Dessau	(See Bibliography: Collective Works)
Diels	(-----)
Ernout-Meillet	(See Bibliography: Works of Reference)

<u>GIF</u>	<u>Giornale Italiano di Filologia</u>
<u>Gloss.Lat.</u>	(See Bibliography: Works of Reference)
<u>GRBS</u>	<u>Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies</u>
<u>G&R</u>	<u>Greece and Rome</u>
Hastings	(See Bibliography: Works of Reference)
<u>HSPh</u>	<u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</u>
<u>HThR</u>	<u>Harvard Theological Review</u>
<u>JRS</u>	<u>Journal of Roman Studies</u>
Kaibel	(See Bibliography: Collective Works)
<u>LEC</u>	<u>Les Etudes Classiques</u>
Lewis-Short	(See Bibliography: Works of Reference)
<u>MAAR</u>	<u>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</u>
<u>MH</u>	<u>Museum Helveticum</u>
<u>NSA</u>	<u>Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità</u>
<u>OL</u>	<u>Orbis Litterarum</u>
<u>OLD</u>	<u>Oxford Latin Dictionary</u>
<u>PBSR</u>	<u>Papers of the British School at Rome</u>
<u>PCA</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Classical Association</u>
Platner-Ashby	(See Bibliography: Works of Reference)
<u>PVS</u>	<u>Proceedings of the Virgil Society</u>
<u>RE</u>	<u>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie</u> (See Bibliography: Works of Reference)
<u>REA</u>	<u>Revue des Etudes Anciennes</u>
<u>REL</u>	<u>Revue des Etudes Latines</u>
<u>RhM</u>	<u>Rheinisches Museum</u>

<u>RHR</u>	<u>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions</u>
<u>RM</u>	<u>Römische Mitteilungen</u>
Roscher	(See Bibliography: Works of Reference)
<u>SIFC</u>	<u>Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica</u>
<u>SMSR</u>	<u>Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni</u>
<u>SO</u>	<u>Symbolae Osloenses</u>
<u>TAPhA</u>	<u>Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association</u>
Walde-Hofmann	(See Bibliography: Works of Reference)
<u>WS</u>	<u>Wiener Studien</u> , new series
<u>ZPE</u>	<u>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</u>

Note: Abbreviations for ancient authors and texts follow the system of the Oxford Classical Dictionary.

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