REVISITING VERGIL AND ROMAN RELIGION

Symposium Cumanum 2015

24-26 June 2015
Villa Vergiliana, Cuma - Bacoli

Sponsored by

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Revisiting Vergil and Roman Religion
Symposium Cumanum 2015

Organized by

Christopher Nappa, University of Minnesota
John F. Miller, University of Virginia

Tuesday, June 23

by 7:00 pm **Arrivals**

7:30 **Dinner**

Wednesday, June 24

7:30 **Breakfast**

9:00 – 9:30 **Welcome**

9:30 – 10:30 **Session 1: Fate, Fortune, and Prophecy**
Presider: Christopher Nappa, University of Minnesota

James O'Hara, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
"Prophecy in the *Aeneid* Revisited: Lying, Exaggeration and Encomium in *Aeneid* 8 and the Shield of Aeneas"

Calypso Nash, Oxford University
"*Fatum* and *fortuna*: Religion and Philosophy in Virgil's *Aeneid*"

10:30 – 10:45 **Break**

10:45 – 1:00 **Session 2: Ritual**
Presider: Vassiliki Panoussi, College of William and Mary

Nandini Pandey, University of Wisconsin
"In the Name of the Father: Perverted Sacrifice under the Laurel in *Aeneid* 2"

Sergio Casali, Università di Roma, Tor Vergata
"Dido's Gods: Reading the Sacrifice Scene at *Aen.* 4.56–67"

Barbara Weiden Boyd, Bowdoin College
"Fire Walking on Soracte: A Modest Proposal"

Petra Schierl, Universität Basel
"Reconsidering Ritual in the *Eclogues*"

1:00 – 2:30 **Lunch**

2:30 – 3:45 Session 3: Religion as Category
Presider: Peter Knox, Case Western Reserve University

Richard Thomas, Harvard University
"*Di meliora piis:* Revisiting the Efficacy of Religion in the *Georgics*"

Carey Seal, University of California, Davis
"Cacus, Hercules, and the Natural History of Religion"

3:45 – 4:00 Break

4:00 – 5:45 Session 4: Vergil's Gods 1
Presider: Richard Thomas, Harvard University

Rachael Cullick, University of Minnesota
"*Saturnique altera proles:* Divine Wrath and Authority in the *Aeneid*"

Elina Pyy, University of Helsinki
"*Nunc etiam manis . . . movet:* Chthonic Deities and Cults in the *Aeneid*"

Tammy Di-Giusto, University of Adelaide
"Vergil's Faunus: Augustan Innovation"

7:30 Dinner

Thursday, June 25

7:30 Breakfast

9:00 – 11:15 Session 5: Intertextualities
Presider: John F. Miller, University of Virginia

Brittney Szempruch, Stanford University
"Marcellus' Spoils: Performing a Callimachean Hymn in the Underworld"

Joseph M. Romero, University of Mary Washington
"Touched by Heaven (*de caelo tactas . . .*): Philosophy and Religion in Vergil, *Ecl.* 1"

Spencer Cole, University of Minnesota
"Mapping the Posthumous Path: Vergil, Cicero, and the Afterlife"

John Schafer, Northwestern University
"Vain Address: The Catullan Brother in the *Aeneid*"

11:15 – 11:30 **Break**

11:30 – 1:15 **Session 6: The Politics of Religion**

Presider: James O'Hara, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Stephen Heyworth, Oxford University
"Vergil and the Calendar"

Anton Powell, Classical Press of Wales
"Virgil and Neptune: Plastic Theology?"

Vassiliki Panoussi, College of William and Mary
"She Who Shall Not Be Named: Isis and the Politics of Religion in Vergil's *Aeneid*"

1:15 – 2:45 **Lunch**

2:45 – 4:30 **Session 7: *Georgics***

Presider: Leah Kronenberg, Rutgers University

Anne-Angèle Fuchs, Université de Genève
"A Strange Rite Alluded to in Vergil, *Georgics* 1.156–57"

Christine Perkell, Emory University
"The Poetics of *Bugonia:* Ritual and Literary Contexts"

Julia Hejduk, Baylor University
"If Isaiah Speaks: Original Sin and an Astonishing Acrostic in Virgil's *Orpheus and Eurydice"*

4:30 – 4:45 **Break**

4:45 – 6:30 **Session 8: Rituals and Death**

Presider: Stephen Heyworth, Oxford University

Ingo Schaaf, Universität Konstanz
"Death and the Maiden: Sibyls, Cumae, and Necromancy in and outside *Aeneid* Book 6"

Arduino Maiuri, Università di Roma, La Sapienza
"La grotta della Sibilla: luogo fisico o costruzione mentale? Alcune osservazioni su una *vexata quaestio*"

David Wright, Rutgers University
"Anna and Anna Perenna in the *Aeneid*"

7:30 **Dinner**

Friday, June 26

Sessions at the Seconda Università degli Studi di Napoli (Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Caserta)

7:30 **Breakfast**

8:15 **Departure for Santa Maria Capua Vetere**

9:30 – 9:45 **Welcome**

9:45 – 12:00 **Session 9: *Bucolics***
Presider: John Van Sickle, Brooklyn College

Giampiero Scafoglio, Seconda Università degli Studi di Napoli
"The Orpheus-theme and Orphism in Vergil's *Bucolics*"

Leah Kronenberg, Rutgers University
"Virgil's Pastoral God: Daphnis as Lucretius"

Caleb M. X. Dance, Washington and Lee University
"Gods, Vision, and World-Changing Laughter in *Eclogue* 4"

12:00 – 1:45 **Lunch**

1:45 – 3:45 **Session 10: Vergil's Gods 2**
Presider: Julia Hejduk, Baylor University

Anne Rogerson, University of Sydney
"Virgil's Tiber: River and God"

Anna Everett Beek, University of St. Thomas
"The Gods Unmasked"

John Makowski, Loyola University Chicago
"Cybele, Troy, and Rome"

3:45 – 4:00 **Break**

4:00 **Excursion to Anfiteatro campano and return to the Villa Vergiliana**

7:30 **Dinner**

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ABSTRACTS

Anna Everett BEEK University of St. Thomas

The Gods Unmasked

The *Aeneid* presents many encounters between gods and mortals, whether the gods appear to mortals in dreams or in waking life. Usually these gods appear in disguise, and the gods attempt to pass themselves off as a trusted friend of their addressee. Often, however, these disguises are unsuccessful (as in the cases of Venus disguised as a huntress, Iris disguised as Beroe, and Allecto disguised as Calybe), and the mortal is able to easily recognize the disguised god. Juturna's disguise as Metiscus (12.468-85) falls into this category, since Juturna replaces Metiscus in effort to save Turnus from attacks on the battlefield, but Turnus admits that he recognized her immediately (12.614-49). Juturna is much more desperate in her efforts to successfully stand in for a mortal than these other gods are. She is utterly devoted to her brother and frantic to keep him alive; she depends on her disguise to remain unnoticed by the gods on the battlefield. Although she is a goddess, praised by Juno for her dominion over local waters (12.138-53), within the narrative Juturna functions primarily as an adjunct to her mortal brother, and has no goals beyond preserving his life—although Juno has admitted to her that the Fates have arranged his death. When Turnus admits the inevitability of his death, Juturna laments the fact that she will have to endure immortality without him (12.869-86), her words resembling those of a jilted heroine in Ovid's *Heroides,* and not those of an unmasked goddess in the *Aeneid:* when their disguises are revealed, Allecto and Iris respond with defiance and impose their wills upon their mortal addressees regardless. Juturna's inability to disguise herself or to obtain the desired results of her disguise accentuates the inevitability of Fate in the end of the *Aeneid,* though the gods themselves resist.

Barbara Weiden BOYD Bowdoin College

Fire-Walking on Soracte: A Modest Proposal

At *Aen.* 11.785-93, Arruns prays to Apollo *custos* to help him as he aims to strike Camilla, referring as he does so to his participation in fire-walking as part of the god's worship. Beginning with Servius (if not before), Virgilian scholars have been hard-pressed to explain the existence of a fire-walking ritual on Mt. Soracte—is this the expiatory ritual of a cult of the dead (thus Miller 2009: 165), or another, less specific type of ecstatic ritual (thus Horsfall 2003 on 11.785)? And why, in any case, does Virgil include this detail in his portrayal of Arruns?

In this talk, I offer two interconnected hypotheses, one based on analogy with another apparently cult-related episode in the *Aeneid,* the consultation of the Sibyl in Book 6, and the other based on personal observation: 1) Virgil's description, while suggesting personal observation, is in fact a "revision"of that observation through a literary lens; and 2) Soracte today preserves evidence of a centuries-old (at least) technology of charcoal production that likely continues a tradition going back at least several centuries before Virgil's time, when access to a nearby supply of charcoal for both household use and metal-working would have been a key factor in Rome's expansionist successes. As god of medicine, Apollo would have been an important protector of workers tending the charcoal piles (cf. *Aen.* 11.786, *pineus ardor aceruo)* constructed on Soracte (cf. Varro ap. Servius on *Aen.* 11.787, *Hirpini, qui ambulaturi per ignes, medicamento plantas tingunt).* In making Arruns a member of a fire-walking cult of Apollo, then, Virgil combines local knowledge with literary models to mark the exceptionality of Arruns and his actions.

Sergio CASALI Università di Roma, Tor Vergata

Dido's gods: reading the sacrifice scene at *Aen.* 4.56-67

This paper considers Dido's relationship with the gods, especially in the sacrifice and extispicy scene of *Aen.* 4.56-67. Special attention is given to line 58, where Dido sacrifices to a triad of gods, Ceres, Phoebus, and Bacchus, plus Juno in the next line. Why Vergil chooses these three gods is an old problem. Vergil does not say what is the outcome of the sacrifices. Lines 65-6 (*heu uatum ignarae mentes! . . .*) pose an ancient problem of interpretation, starting with the construction of *uatum:* subjective, or objective genitive? In a fascinating article, O'Hara (1993) suggests that we have an irresoluble ambiguity of language on Vergil's part. But maybe it is possible to be more precise at least on some of the problems raised by this passage.

Spencer COLE University of Minnesota

Mapping the posthumous path: Vergil, Cicero, and the afterlife

Literary texts do not operate at an autonomous remove from religious life at Rome: they are instrumental parts of the dynamic cultural processes that characterize Roman religion. While Vergil's works have distinctly literary dimensions, they also frame and effect debates about religion in a phase of accelerated change. This paper explores Vergil's vision of an afterlife in *Aeneid* book 6 as a seminal intervention during decades when new and consequential concepts of death and afterlife were taking shape.

Vergil's conceptual sampling and hybridization in *Aeneid* 6 includes pronounced Platonic and Pythagorean dimensions—also key elements of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis,* an innovative dream-vision with vital connections to *Aeneid* 6. This talk will consider Vergil and Cicero as innovators and early adopters of incipient ideas with major impact: the notion of an individuated posthumous immortality and the idea that immortality is realized through earthly excellence. The Roman *Manes* were traditionally conceived as an undifferentiated whole, but in the late republic and early empire evidence from Cicero and Vergil suggests that the idea of an individuated posthumous existence was emergent. Cicero provides the earliest evidence for this vital change (*Pis.* 16), and Anchises makes a similar pioneering distinction at 6.743. This novel claim of a surviving self connects to another pivotal part of the inventive formulations of Cicero and Vergil: the idea that merit paves the path to a privileged posthumous existence. Ciceronian ideas from the *Somnium Scipionis* reverberate at *Aeneid* 6.660-5, when poets and civic benefactors are said to attain an exclusive afterlife.

Related material evidence supports claims about literary texts being enmeshed in religious negotiations. D.M. dedications to individuals emerge in the early Augustan period as do funeral inscriptions detailing an individual's earthly achievements. Texts of Cicero and Vergil do not just reflect these developments, they helped effect and sustain them.

Rachael CULLICK University of Minnesota

Saturnique altera proles:* Divine Wrath and Authority in the *Aeneid

Juno's multivalent role in the *Aeneid* has been well demonstrated (Feeney 1984), as have the ambiguities of Jupiter (Hejduk 2009). Views of the *Aeneid* and its religious context, however, still tend to assume that Juno both opposes Jupiter's divine order and violates her own correct role as a god. In fact, her antagonism is not only essential to the plot, but recognized and even valued by Jupiter himself; her actions, furthermore, are not those of a renegade god, but precisely those befitting the queen of the gods and goddess of marriage. This final point has remained underexamined, particularly given the importance of marriage to the *Aeneid* and the fact that Juno's reconciliation can be seen as necessary for the required ritual union. By examining Vergil's structural use of both marriage imagery and hellish punishing figures, this paper demonstrates the centrality of Juno's role and a key parallel with Jupiter. The marriage imagery set up in Book 6 is taken up by Juno in Book 7 as she summons Allecto and demonstrates her own destructive power. This is then answered inBook 12,when Jupiter acknowledges Juno's authority and kindred wrath before releasing his own Dirae.

Antagonism and marriage come together in Jupiter and Juno, whose fundamental mythic pairing is a constant dance of mutually dependent strife and reconciliation which drives far more than one plot. This integrated opposition also reflects, at a profound and pervasive level, Vergil'spresentation of power as dangerous, no matter how productive. Juno and Jupiter, with his Dirae in attendance, are both quite traditional inthat it is precisely their power to punish that defines their divinity; this often troubles readers, but is fundamental to Roman religion and to our understanding of Vergil's *Aeneid.*

Caleb M. X. DANCE Washington and Lee University

Gods, Vision, and World-Changing Laughter in *Eclogue* 4

The conclusion of Vergil's Fourth *Eclogue* establishes a riddling link between the laughter of a mysterious *puer* and specific interactions between humans and gods. This paper examines the final four verses of *Eclogue* 4 alongside an excerpt from Catullus's c. 64 (vv. 384-408) and an earlier passage in the eclogue (vv. 15-25) to argue that the end of Vergil's poem connects laughter to contact between gods and humans, and visual contact in particular, in order to describe the necessary conditions for the dawning of a Golden Age.

Building upon Clausen's (1994) and Arnold's (1995) detection of verbal correspondences between the final verses of *Ecl.* 4 and c. 64, I revisit the motif in Catullus' description of the Golden Age that this period involved the "cohabitation" of the world by immortals and mortals. Moreover, the interactions that Catullus details occur on an explicitly visual plane (vv. 384, 407-8). Although an explicit reference to vision is absent from the closing verses of *Ecl.* 4, vision receives emphatic attention in vv. 15-16 of the eclogue when the poet describes the boy and the Golden Age that will accompany his birth: *ille deum uitam accipiet diuisque uidebit / permixtos heroas et ipse uidebitur illis* [. . .].

Thus, the child who laughs for his parent—and the *puer* of *Eclogue* 4 may yet do so when the poem ends—opens himself up to the possibility of communing with the gods, of sharing a table or a bed, and of witnessing the mixing of gods and men. For the child of *Eclogue* 4, to laugh for his parent is more than an act of recognition. This laughter, when read through Catullus's c. 64 and the rest of *Eclogue* 4, stands to precipitate the beginning of a new Golden Age.

Tammy DI-GIUSTO University of Adelaide

Vergil's Faunus: Augustan Innovation

An ancient and oracular Latin deity, the Vergilian Faunus is a prominent figure of the Latin landscape in the second half of the *Aeneid.* Vergil inserts this deity into the narrative of Rome's origins and I will consider why it is that the poet, who ignores Faunus in favour of the fauns and Pan in the *Eclogues* and *Georgics,* includes Faunus in the *Aeneid.* While my focus will primarily be on the role Faunus plays in the relationship between the Trojans and the Latins, I will also examine how Faunus is introduced into the epic and suggest reasons for Vergil's innovative characterization of the deity.

Faunus first appears in book 7 of the poem (7.47-49) and he is constructed as part of the Italian landscape upon which the Trojans will encroach. The Trojan Ilioneus acknowledges Faunus as father and king when first greeting Latinus (7.212-213) yet the Trojans eventually desecrate his sacred oleaster (12.770-1). I will argue that the treatment of Faunus by Vergil is representative of the relationship between the Trojans and the Latins and we can map its breakdown by closely examining episodes which feature this deity in books 7 to 12 of the *Aeneid.*

The prominence which Vergil gives Faunus in his epic makes sense in light of Augustan transformation of Roman religion, including old Italic cult sites (Scheid, 2005). For Rupke (2001) it is Italian patriotic fervour that fuels Augustan interest in the ethnic roots of their culture which has implications for how Romans thought about religion. Although Fantham (2009) discusses the role of Faunus in the *Aeneid,* much remains to be said about how the treatment of this deity reflects the ways in which the Italian identity concedes to the Roman.

Anne-Angèle FUCHS Université de Genève

A strange rite alluded to in Vergil, *Georgics* I, 156-157: how to master the uncontrollable

Et sonitu terrebris auis et ruris opaci

Falce premes umbras uotisque uocaueris imbrem

At first sight, these two verses seem to deal with the theme of obscurity, which is an important topic in the first *Georgic.* However, an uncommon rite is alluded to. Servius, *ad. loc.* totally ignores the religious aspect of these verses. A comparison with other literary sources, both in latin and in greek language, shows striking parallels. For instance, the witch's ability to force the descent of the moon upon earth—described notably by Lucan in the sixth book of the *Pharsalia* (vv. 499-506)—is to be linked with the rite shortly described by Vergil. Tupet, in *La magie dans la poesie latine* (1976) offers further ways of exploration.

The present contribution aims to show that, beyond the qualification of this ritual as "magic", we deal here with a literary reference to a *carmen* which is not marked negatively, in the likeness of those transmitted by Cato. These gestures and uttered words show that an action, which is understood as rational in our modern eyes, is to be doubled by a rite which ensures its efficiency.

It illustrates a means of dealing ritually with non-otherwise manageable forces, while some non-religious deeds are also done to attain a general purpose of fertility. This interpretation is also coherent with a main theme of the text, the reflection on divination and on the status of sign. As it is shown for instance by Prescendi and Jaillard in *Religions antiques* (ed. by Borgeaud in 2008) and by Georgoudi, Koch-Piettre and Schmidt's *La raison des signes* (2012), both practices are, at different textual levels, ways to master the uncontrollable.

Julia HEJDUK Baylor University

If Isaiah Speaks: Original Sin and an Astonishing Acrostic in Virgil's *Orpheus and Eurydice*

For two millennia, readers have been intrigued by the messianic strains in Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue*. Recently, Nicholas Horsfall's "Virgil and the Jews" (*Vergilius* 58 [2012]: 67-80) argues persuasively that Virgil was, in fact, familiar with some Hebrew literature and incorporated it into the *Aeneid* as well. But the Fourth *Georgie* offers even more startling evidence for Virgil's acquaintance with the Bible: the acrostic *SI ISAIA AIT* appears four lines into the prophet Proteus's Orpheus and Eurydice story (*Geo.* 4.453-527), which ends with yet another acrostic (*VAE)*. Though the Isaiah acrostic—the longest in extant classical Latin poetry—has been noticed by a handful of readers, it has generally been dismissed as a curiosity. I suggest rather that recognizing a deliberate Biblical allusion here may have profound interpretive consequences.

After a brief discussion of acrostics in general and Virgil's in particular, I argue why I believe this one to be significant. As with most acrostics, Virgil plants mischievous markers in the text: like the serpent (458-59), the clause is (for an acrostic) "huge" (*immanem*), "before the feet" (*antepedes*) of Eurydice/the hexameter, and "clinging to the bank/margin" (*servantem ripas*) of the river/poem. Proteus's exordium threatens wrath and punishment from a great and mysterious divinity, the central theme of Isaiah, while Eurydice's snake-induced death followed by universal mourning recalls the story of the Fall in Genesis. I conclude by discussing a fascinating association between Eve and Eurydice in Virgil's best Christian reader: the poets Orpheus and Dante both descend into the underworld and, at the point of emergence, glance back to find their loved ones gone—a loss that brings to Dante's mind Eve's loss of Eden (*Purg.* 30.49-54).

Stephen HEYWORTH Oxford University

Vergil and the calendar

One of the most radical changes in Roman religion was the introduction of the fixed Julian calendar. Quickly, however, its fixity was disrupted as Augustus changed the names of months and added festivals. From the first *Eclogue* on Vergil already shows awareness of the importance of the calendar and its evolution. Recurring sacrifices are promised for the *iuuenis deus* in *Ecl.* 1, for Daphnis and the nymphs in 5. The *Georgics* give advice based on the months and the seasons, and sanction ritual within the recurrent year (1.338-50, 2.380-96). Twice the *Aeneid* envisages use of a lunar calendar (1.269, 6.453), and it presents sacrifice as repeated (e. g. 2.202, 3.301) and associates games with the passing of the year (3.278-85). My paper will explore Vergil's placing of religious observation in time, with particular attention to *Aeneid* 5 and 8.

When Aeneas arrives back in Sicily nearly a year after he had left, he sees the opportunity to mark the anniversary of his father's funeral, and so institute a custom for the future (5.45-71). The archery contest in the games looks ahead to the comet that appeared during the funeral games for Julius Caesar; these were turned into an annual event, the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris,* which appear in the inscribed Fasti.

Book 8 by contrast includes the most ancient festival in the calendar, the celebration of Hercules' founding of the Ara Maxima to commemorate victory over Cacus. When Aeneas arrives at the Forum Boarium, he find Evander and his people holding the rites, with the implication that it is the Arcadian equivalent of August 12th. The dating famously informs the end of the book, where the shield depicts the Triple Triumph of 13th-15th August 29. The poem thus enshrines and associates the principles of antiquity and innovation.

Leah KRONENBERG Rutgers University

Virgil's Pastoral God: Daphnis as Lucretius

Since antiquity, readers have interpreted the figure of Virgil's Daphnis allegorically. Most frequently, Daphnis is associated with Julius Caesar (e.g., Du Quesnay 1976/77), though critics have also noted a strong Epicurean and Lucretian flavor in the songs about Daphnis and his apotheosis in *Eclogue* 5 (e. g., Castelli 1967; Mizera 1982; Hardie 2009). In this paper, I will support a Lucretian reading of Daphnis in *Eclogue* 5 by focusing on the other appearances of Daphnis in the *Eclogues* in order to argue that Daphnis is a sustained allegory for Lucretius.

The brief references to Daphnis in *Eclogues* 2, 3, and 7 depict him as a master-poet of an older generation and already the subject of song (*Eclogues* 5, 8, and 9). In *Eclogue* 9, he is gazing up at the stars—not just a topic of the *De Rerum Natura* but also a metaphor for philosophical speculation. In *Eclogue* 8, Alphesiboeus impersonates a love-sick woman trying to win Daphnis back through magic. This song not only utilizes an extended Lucretian metaphor (8.85-88; cf. *DRN* 2.355-65), but also depicts Daphnis as caring nothing for gods or spells (8.103). It ends with a further Lucretian reminiscence (8.108; cf. *DRN* 1.104-5) that potentially casts doubt on the efficacy of magic and underscores the delusions of lovers—all Lucretian themes. There is even a possible play on the name of T. Lucretius Cams in the speaker's reference to the *pignora cara sui* ("dear pledges of himself,"8.92).

It is not a coincidence that the Lucretian Daphnis recalls the deified Julius Caesar or the deified *iuvenis* of *Eclogue* 1.6-7: these are the competing political and philosophical gods of the *Eclogues* and the competing creators of pastoral *otium-though* only the political gods condition their *otium* on *discordia.*

Arduino MAIURI Università di Roma, La Sapienza

La grotta della Sibilla: luogo fisico o costruzione mentale? Alcune osservazioni su una *vexata quaestio.*

Alla grotta, luogo di ricovero istintivo e universale, e stata variamente associata nelle culture antiche un'intima virtù simbolica. Porta d'accesso agli inferi, luogo di morte, dimora delle ombre, essa illustra al meglio l'immagine orfico-pitagorica dell'anima umana dannata alla prigionia corporea, secondo il concetto platonico di *soma-sema.* Tomba, quindi, ma anche spazio genetico o palingenetico, in virtù della sua valenza ctonia e di un'intensa qualita evocativa. E se la cultura giudaico-cristiana ospita un ricco florilegio di cavità naturali e artificiali, alle quali sono legate numerose tradizioni di *apparitio* o di fondazione di luoghi di culto, nel mondo greco-romano campeggia la proprietà oracolare dell'antro della Sibilla o dell'*adyton* della Pizia.

La celebre descrizione virgiliana (*Aen.* VI, 237 ss.) e stata sempre oggetto di pareri discordanti: spazio mentale e poetico o effettiva realtà geografica? Nel mio contributo, facendo il punto sulle più recenti pubblicazioni in argomento (come riassunte per esempio nell'Appendix II della recente edizione del VI libro dell'Eneide pubblicata da Nicholas Horsfall per la De Gruyter), cercherò di chiarire sugli ultimi orientamenti critici in argomento, e insieme di veri:ficare l'influenza su Virgilio di forme di religiosita italica preromana (in particolare il culto di Mephitis).

The cave has always been considered a place of instinctive and universal shelter and it has been variously associated to the intimate symbolic virtues in ancient cultures. It has also been regarded as the gateway to the Underworld, the place of Death, the residence of the shadows, since it better shows the Orphic-Pythagorean image of the human body condemned to imprisonment according to the Platonic concept of *soma-sema*. Therefore the cave-body is like a tomb, but it is also a genetic or palingenetic space mainly due to its *chthonic* virtue and the intense evocative quality. The Judeo-Christian culture has a rich anthology of natural and artificial grottoes; and the oracular property of the cave of the Sibyl or of the *adyton* of Pythia is really outstanding in the Greek-Roman world.

The famous description of Virgil in Aen. VI, 237 ff. has always been a point of discussion among scholars: a mental and poetic space or a real geographic place? Examining the most recent publications on this topic (as summarized, for instance, in the Appendix II of the new edition of the sixth book of the Aeneid, edited by Nicholas Horsfall for De Gruyter), I will discuss the latest guidelines from a historical-critical perspective and I will try to show how the pre-Roman Italic forms of religiosity (especially the cult of Mephitis) had impacted Virgil's thought.

John MAKOWSKI Loyola University Chicago

Cybele, Troy, and Rome

Although Cybele was welcomed into the Roman pantheon in the 3rd century BC, her cult always posed a problem of identity from the perspectives of ethnicity, gender, and sexuality. Anatolian in origin but later Hellenized, the religion of the Mater Deum, with so many of its cultic elements at odds with Roman sensibilities, elicited from Roman writers (Lucretius, Catullus) a schizophrenic reaction. Profoundly disturbing was the priest figure of the *gallus,* the self-castrated eunuch who because of his dress and proclivity for exotic music and frenzied dancing represented the Asian Other. As men who had given up their masculine identity, the *galli* or *semiviri* posed a threat to the traditional conception of the identity of the Roman male.

The tension of ethnicity and gender presented by the devotees of the Magna Mater is apparent in Vergil's *Aeneid.* For on the one hand Cybele, their patron goddess as tutelary deity of Troy, plays an important soteriological role in the *Aeneid* and comes in for high praise as for example at 6.784 ff. in the famous simile comparing her to Rome.

On the other hand, her *galli* are the target for abuse and ridicule, most notably in the Numanus episode of Book 9 where the Italic speaker vents his xenophobia on the Trojans singling out their effeminacy and connecting it to their worship of Cybele. Later in Book 11 there is the juxtaposition of the egregiously exotic Chloreus, priest of Cybele, with the heroic and Italic Camilla. Even Aeneas himself because of his Trojan identity does not escape being associated with the *semiviri.* Throughout the epic Vergil does a deft balancing act in extolling the goddess as patroness of future Rome but also exploiting native Roman bias against oriental androgyny and luxury. Vergil's solution to the problem comes at the end of the poem when the Aeneadae must give up their Asian ways and in their new identity adopt the masculine manners and dress of Italic peoples. In the end, the *Aeneid's* handling of Cybele presents a telling case-study of gender and ethnicity in Augustan Rome.

Calypso NASH Oxford University

fatum and _fortuna:_ religion and philosophy in VirgWs _Aeneid_

Virgil predominantly uses three words (and their cognates) to designate fate in the *Aeneid: fatum/a* (132 times), *fortuna* (71 times), and *Parcae* (eight times). *Fatum* and *fortuna,* by far the most popular of the three, have attracted considerable attention and discussion, interwoven as they are with issues of philosophy, religion, narrative and the justification of Roman history. However, there is little consensus on their meaning and usage in the poem.

I will show that the common assumption that *fatum* and *fortuna* are almost synonymous is due to misinterpretation of the evidence of Seneca and Servius. In fact, *fortuna* in this period has religious and philosophical associations that encourage it to be contrasted with *fatum.* There is no evidence for *fortuna* as an equivalent to or sub-section of *fatum* in Roman philosophical texts before Virgil. In fact, comparison with Stoic and Aristotelian sources shows that Cicero and others use *fortuna* as a translation of τύχη, the very antithesis of *fatum,* and indeed a force that is necessarily non-existent within a fated universe. What is more, the long-standing role of *fortuna* in Roman religion encourages many further associations: with femininity, agriculture, sea-travel, civil war, and certain prominent individuals in the Republic (most notably Caesar). None of these is shared by *fatum.*

Virgil's apparent alignment of *fatum* and *fortuna* is therefore a striking innovation, and one that would have emphasized rather than dulled the different meanings of the words. I will conclude by suggesting several passages in which Ithink that the richly layered religious and philosophical context to which this innovation contributes can inform and enrich literary interpretation of the poem.

James J. O'HARA University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Prophecy in the *Aeneid* Revisited: Lying, Exaggeration and Encomium in *Aeneid* 8 and the Shield of Aeneas

This paper returns to issues treated in my *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's* Aeneid (1990) to examine in more depth, and with the help of recent work on Roman Religion and on panegyric, a passage largely ignored in that book: the prophetic scenes on the shield of Aeneas made by Vulcan in *Aeneid* 8. I begin by surveying passages earlier in *Aeneid* 8 that seem to involve lying, exaggeration, or suspicious and inverifiable stories (especially those told by Evander), then look closely at curious details in the shield, especially in the descriptions of the Battle of Actium, and of Augustus' triple triumph after it, which present a mix_\ture of accurate information, exaggeration, and outright falsehoods, in a way almost reminiscent of what Vergil says in Book 4 about Fama: *pariter facta atque infecta canebat.*

Nandini PANDEY University of Wisconsin

In the Name of the Father: Perverted Sacrifice under the Laurel in *Aeneid* 2

This paper examines the religious context and sacrificial dimensions of Pyrrhus' murder of Polites and Priam in *Aeneid* 2.469-568 in order to shed light on the *Aeneids* complex engagement with *pietas* and the incipient imperial cult.

First, it explores some interpretive ramifications of this episode's religious setting at an altar of Zeus Herkeios overhung by a laurel (*veterrima laurus,* 2.513). This tree, an evident Vergilian innovation (Fig. I), symbolically places Apollo at the scene of Pyrrhus' perverted 'triumph' and sacrifice at Zeus' altar. It thereby foreshadows the god's eventual retribution against Pyrrhus at Achilles' own altar at Delphi (*Aen.* 3.332). In juxtaposing the father/son pairs Priam/Polites, Pyrrhus/Achilles, and Apollo/Zeus, this episode problematizes other acts of familial retribution that are (mis)framed as religious rituals within and outside the epic.

Most obviously, Pyrrhus provides an analogue for Aeneas' later human sacrifice to Pallas and execution of Turnus, analyzed by Pannousi for their denial of religious closure. I revisit these scenes in light of the laurel's programmatic linkage of victory with extirpation disguised as religious offering, as underscored by other arboreal images like Priam's headless 'trunk' (*Aen.* 2.556-58).

Given its connection with Augustan victory, highlighted by Ovid's belated aetiology in *Metamorphoses* 1.452-567, the laurel also suggests a parallel between Pyrrhus' decapitation of Priam and Octavian's own beheading and abuse of vanquished enemies in Caesar's name during the civil wars. Reread against recent history, the *Aeneid* 2 passage thereby links Octavian and Pyrrhus in rejecting their fathers' examples of *clementia* and misusing the symbolic language of ritual and *pietas* in exacting revenge. However, while the laurel in *Aen.* 2 foreshadows Pyrrhus' eventual punishment, the ones on the Palatine (Fig. 2; *RG* 34) rewarded Augustus' victories, connected him with Apollo, and anticipated his own ruler cult despite his equally problematic sacrifices to his deified father.

Figure 1. Neoptolemus attacking Priam at altar, with dead Astyanax on his lap. Note the presence in the background of the palm tree, rather than a laurel; the latter appears to be a Vergilian innovation. Detail from Athenian red-figure clay vase, c. 500-450 BCE. Museo Archaeologico Nazionale, Napoli (H2422). Reproduction from the Beazley Archive.

Figure 2. Aureus of Lucius Caninius Gallus Rome, 12 BCE. Obverse: Head of Augustus with legend *AVGVSTVS DIVI F[ILIUS]*. Reverse: Wreath above double closed doors flanked by laurel trees, as displayed on the Palatine after the settlement of 27 BCE *RG* 34). Legend *L CANINIVS GALLVS OB C[IVIS] S[ERVATOS]*. *RIC* I^{2} 419; *BMC* 126. London, British Museum.

Vassiliki PANOUSSI College of William and Mary

She who shall not be named: Isis and the Politics of Religion in Vergil's *Aeneid*

The Egyptian goddess Isis is not named anywhere in Vergil's *Aeneid* (or in Vergil's corpus). She is only indirectly mentioned in the description of the battle of Actium on Aeneas' shield (8.696-700).

In this tableau, Cleopatra is identified with Isis: she holds a rattle, a well-knovn accoutrement of the goddess. Furthermore, she is singled out, along with the dog-god Anubis, in what appears to be a parade of other (also unnamed) divinities. Despite these indirect references, it has long been recognized that Vergil's narrative openly displays a negative attitude toward these deities (and Egyptian religion in general). This representation shows that Vergil's view of Egyptian reiigion is in alignment with Augustus' later policies against Isis' worship in Rome.

Yet Vergil's description of Cleopatra as Isis embraces the queen's self-representation as Isis, ample evidence of which we find in art and other written sources. Moreover, Vergil's seemingly hostile attitude toward Isis stands in stark contrast with the widespread worship of the goddess in Rome during that time. In addition to the material record, positive descriptions of Isis can be found in narratives of Vergil's contemporaries, particularly in the works of the elegists (Tibullus 1.3, Ovid *Amores* 2.13). In the *Metamorphoses,* Ovid portrays Isis as a benevolent deity who helps mortals in need (9.666-797).

In this paper, I would like to delve deeper into Vergil's creation of an artificial opposition between Egyptian and Roman religion. I argue that the poet, in not naming Isis and in representing Cleopatra through the lens of her own propaganda, creates an interpretive space for his audience: readers can fill in the gaps with their own knowledge of and views on Egyptian religion. Vergil may equate Isis with the foreign queen but Isis was Romanized in various ways, not least of which through her identification with Io. I will compare Vergil's description of Isis with other portraits of the goddess in contemporary poets (mainly Tibullus and Ovid) and will suggest that the portrait of the goddess inthe *Aeneid* is more complex than previous analyses have allowed.

Christine PERKELL Emory University

The Poetics of *Bougonia:* Ritual and Literary Contexts

Ritual context

If normative Roman sacrifice includes "gushing blood," feast, repetition, aimed at *pax deorum,* we may assume that for the Roman reader these features would constitute the intertext against which *Georgics* sacrifices would be read. *Bougonia* has no blood, feast, or repetition; nor is it a sacrifice for *pax deorum.* Instead ancients read it as instrumental, observing that bees never get that sick; the calf is too valuable to expend for bees. Bougonic practice requires suffocation of a calf, bloodless "slow contusion," thereby preserving the calf's soul in its corpse to animate the bees, thus an economy of exchange or transfer, not resurrection.

Literary context

Georgics 4 is concerned—exceptionally for didactic—with persons and narrative. Farrell notes the movement from Hesiodic and Lucretian allusions to Homeric in G. 4; Gale notes increasing sympathy for animals and alienation from sacrifice as the poem progresses. Insufficiently interrogated are Vergil's major innovations in his Aristaeus/Orpheus narrative: Aristaeus, elsewhere a true culture hero, here attempts rape of Eurydice, a nature figure, inadvertently causing her death; Orpheus here first—as far as is known—fails to retrieve Eurydice from death; here first are the stories of Aristaeus and Orpheus joined. To what end? if not to illuminate thereby oppositions constructed throughout the poem (farmer/ poet, Iron Age/ Golden Age, aggression against vs. harmony with nature, observation/ revelation, *praecepta/myth,* profit/beauty or uselessness, etc.)?

Poetics in context:

Bougonia entails suffering of a highly individualized, sentient, resisting victim to gain a swarm of unindividuated new (not resurrected) bees. That *bougonia* constitutes, not resurrection, but exchange of one life for another is clarified by Orpheus' failure, precisely, to resurrect Eurydice. *Bougonia* signifies neither as *praeceptum* nor as practiced sacrifice, but as symbol of Iron Age culture, wherein "progress" requires violence. To Aristaeus new bees constitute a gain, a profit, a redemption. But do they so signify to readers? In foregrounding this question, Vergil does poets' "cultural work."

Anton POWELL Classical Press of Wales

Virgil and Neptune: Plastic Theology?

I propose to compare the treatment of Neptune at the start of Georgics I, where the sea-god pointedly disappears (to be replaced by Octavian), with the very different status accorded to Neptune in Aeneid 1, where the god is shown intervening at sea to save Octavian's ancestor, Aeneas.

I propose to contrast Virgil's elaborate interest in the traditional forms of religion and poetry with his inversion of crucial elements of each: Neptune no longer supreme at sea (Georgics 1), Neptune no longer the unique divine persecutor of the hero at sea (as he had been in the Odyssey) but now his saviour (Aeneid I). And this contrast I propose to explain by reference to the first contrast mentioned above, that between the status of Neptune in the two Virgilian poems. I shall suggest that Virgil's portrayal of Neptune changed to meet changes in the political needs of Octavian/Augustus at the different periods in which Virgil's poems were produced. I shall also adduce Hellenistic analogies for the portrayal of divinity as a studied reflex of contemporary autocracy.

Should this proposal be of interest, some further idea of my thinking may be had from references to Neptune in my 'Virgil the Partisan' (2008). But the main argument in the short presentation now proposed would be something which I have not made before: a detailed comparison between the drastically different images of Neptune given in Virgil's two poems.

Elina PYY University of Helsinki

nunc etiam Manis … movet:* Chthonic deities and cults in the *Aeneid

In the *Aeneid,* Vergil uses Roman religion in a flexible manner. His depictions of the religious practices offer valuable information about the Roman cult life and the religious ideas; however, often the religion appears to be first and foremost a narrative element—it is utilised to develop the plot, or to evoke reactions in the audience.

From this perspective, one of the most intriguing aspects of the *Aeneid* is how the poet utilises chthonic deities. Gods and goddesses of the underworld have a crucial role in Vergil's epic; they repeatedly appear in the turning points of the narrative, as if to create a powerful dramatic effect. In the war scenes, the *furiae,* in particular, have a significant role. In book VI, also, the chthonic forces are naturally omnipresent. As for the fine line between religion and magic, this theme is elaborately discussed in book IV, where Dido's chthonic rites appear as a distortion of the appropriate cult practice.

The confrontation (and the collaboration) of the Olympian and the chthonic deities is one of the ways in which the poet maintains a captivating tension in the narrative. The clash between the appropriate religious practice, and 'the grey area' becomes evident in Venus' accusations towards Juno: *nunc etiam Manis* (*haec intemptata manebat/sors rerum*) *movet.*

Vergil's way of using chthonic deities—a loan from Athenian tragedy—had a tremendous influence on the Roman epic tradition. In the Flavian war epics, the role of chthonic cults is strongly built on the Vergilian ground. This is the key issue in my paper; I examine how Vergil utilises the grey area of Roman religious life as a narrative tool, and how this aspect becomes one of the defining characteristics of the Roman epic tradition.

Anne ROGERSON University of Sydney

Virgil's Tiber: river and god

Rome's river, the Tiber, appears in many guises throughout the *Aeneid.* Its harbour-mouth stands opposed to Carthage as the poem opens (*Aen.* 1.13), and thereafter it is closely associated with the end goal towards which Aeneas journeys (e. g. *Aen.* 2.781-82, 3.500, 5.83, 5.797). It symbolises the battles to be fought to gain that goal, destined to foam with blood as Aeneas finds himself embroiled in a second great war (*Aen.* 6.87, cf. 6.873-84, 8.538-40, 11.393-94, 12.35-36). And its names, too, point to the movement (and connections) between Troy and Italy: called both Tiberinus and Thybris, and the recipient of multiple ethnic epithets, it blurs the boundaries between origin and destination (Cairns (2006); Reed (2007), 5-6).

The Tiber, however, is more than an evocative feature of a contested landscape: the Tiber is a god. He is the subject of prayer (e. g. *Aen.* 8.72, 10.421), and appears to Aeneas, fully personified, in an important prophetic dream (*Aen.* 8.31-65). There are also several moments where Tiber takes part in the action not in human form, like the Scamander fighting in the *Iliad,* but in his watery manifestation. This paper will examine those moments, when the river reverses its course (*Aen.* 8.86-89), slows its flood (*Aen.* 9.124-25), and—most startlingly—saves and cleanses the bloodied Turnus after the havoc wreaked in the Trojan camp (*Aen.* 9.815-18). Comparing Horace on the flooding of the Tiber (*Odes* 1.2.13-20) and the river's response to the death of Drusus in the *consolatio ad Liviam* (221-52), this paper's primary focus will be the blurring of boundaries of the Tiber itself. Both geographical feature and embodied divinity, and something in-between, the Tiber is a test case for the "brain-balkanisation" of religion in Virgil, and for the place of the Virgilian divine "on the edge of representability" (Feeney (1988), 107).

Joseph M. ROMERO University of Mary Washington

Touched by Heaven (*de caelo tactas* . . .): Philosophy and Religion in Vergil *Ecl.* 1

In this paper, I examine intersections between religion and philosophy in Vergil's first eclogue. I argue *ecl.* 1 is an example of Augustan poetry's arrogation of the subject of religion from late republican philosophy. For example, Vergil places *religious* methods of interpreting the present and knowing the future-both prophecy and other signs of divine disposition-in dialogue with other, *philosophical,* means of knowing, such as epistemology and logic. In addition to bad luck and a corrupt system (59-78), Meliboeus cites as principal cause of his misery his misapplication of prophetic *ars* (*saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset, / de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus* 16-17. Obversely, Tityrus appears to bypass the need for *ars* through an immediate, epiphanic audience (40-454). Of particular significance, I contend, is Tityrus' point that this religious knowledge appears to supercede the analogical thinking (19-25) with which he had been equipped hitherto, the empirical logic which he had inherited from the philosophical tradition. Philosophical knowledge does not dissolve before religion but rather is restructured and reoriented in light of that newly revealed, religious Truth. Vergil's point, I would contend-and this is quite at odds with Epicureanism and a reason to read this and the other *Eclogues* as an extended *oppositio in imitando* of Lucretius-is that philosophy does what it can, which is quite a lot, but at a certain point religion trumps it. Throughout the paper, I also examine areas of immediate relevance for this argument, among which I include the divine status of *ille deus* and the ethical dimension contributing to Tityrus' success.

Giampiero SCAFOGLIO Seconda Università degli Studi di Napoli

The Orpheus-theme and Orphism in Vergil's *Bucolics*

The Orphic influence, which runs through all of Vergil's poetry, was explored at the time by M. Desport, *L'incantation Vergilienne. Vergile et Orphee* (Bordeaux 1952), a work that today is not well known and not often quoted by scholars. Later, several researches have enlightened previously unknown aspects of Orphism, beginning with the discovery of the famous 'Derveni Papyrus' (1962) and related studies, up to the recent and fine edition of *Orphicorum et Orphicis similium testimonia et fragmenta* by A. Bernabe (Leipzig 2004). Thus, today Orphism is much better known than fifty or sixty years ago.

However, there is no recent and comprehensive study on Orphic influence in Virgil's work. I would like to undertake such a research, beginning with *Bucolics:* this is the subject I would deal with at the next *Symposium Cumanum,* analyzing the following points:

- the Orpheus-theme, running through some characters and attitudes, such as the Orpheus-like characters Daphnis (*Buc.* 5) and Silenus (*Buc.* 6), the amazing power of the song on nature (e. g. *Buc.* 6.69-71; 8.1-4), and so on;
- mentions and representations of Orpheus himself (*Buc.* 3.46; 6.27-30) and/or characters belonging to its cultural and religious context, such as Linus (again 6.27-30);
- cosmogonic ideas evoking the Orphic cosmogony, though mixed with both Pythagorean and Stoic elements (*Buc.* 3.60-61, to be compared with some 'Derveni' passages; as well as *Buc.* 6.31-40);
- references to other mystery religions, such as the cult of Bacchus and that of Ceres (*Buc.* 5 and 6*, passim),* which have relationships with Orphism.

In the light of this analysis, some provisional conclusions can be drawn on Virgil's Orphism, as the first step of a larger research, that later will involve the *Georgics* and *Aeneid,* as well.

Ingo SCHAAF Universität Konstanz

Death and the Maiden: Sibyls, Cumae, and Necromancy in and outside *Aeneid* Book 6

Aeneid Book 6 is not only the centerpiece of a grandiose mythhistoric tale of far-reaching macro-*translationes* 'from Troy to Tiber'—notably, it also features the perhaps best known literary depiction of a Sibyl in ritual action, with an immense impact on Sibylline imagery of subsequent centuries. However, the *Aeneid'*s enormous influence on post-Virgilian perceptions of this prominent seer-figure(s) at times seems to make us forget, how artificially blended the functions of his religious expert really are. In fact, the later on firmly established connection of Apollinian prophetess and priestess of Hecate, Medea-like magician and necromancer, i.e. tour-guide through the underworld, must be regarded as a bold innovation of the Augustan poet himself.

The paper aims at reassessing transdisciplinarily one of these various religious roles of Virgil's Sibyl combining textual analysis with the methodology of *Religionsgeschichte.* Special focus will lie on the literary and material attestations of a supposed oracle of the dead in the Cumaen area and the Sibyl's alleged pre-Virgilian associations with this ancient cult site. Pursuing the question, to which degree the existence of such a νεκυομαντεῖον in connection with the local Sibylline tradition may have served as the historical context of the ritual activities described in the Augustan epic, the effectiveness of Virgil's construction of Roman religion will receive appropriate attention as well.

John SCHAFER Northwestern University

Vain Address: The Catullan Brother in the *Aeneid*

The larger project underlying the proposed paper examines Vergil's reception in the *Aeneid* of Catullus 101, the poet's address to his deceased brother. It finds that this intertext extends far beyond the well-known recurrence of *per aequora uect-* in the poem (101.1; 5x in *A*.), appearing rather in nearly every funerary context in *A.* 1-6, and recurring at crucial moments in 7-12. From these intertexts it reads Vergil reading 101 in these ways: 1) as precedent for his own pointedly Roman adaptation of the plot and *incipit* of the *Odyssey;* 2) as speech of arrival *and* departure, with the boundaries between these categories blurred by death and crystallized in *aue atque uale* at 101.10; and 3) as literary mimesis of Roman ritual practice. In respect to 1) and 2) at ieast, Catullus insists on the vanity or failure of the action 101 dramatizes: Catullus' "Odyssey" to his brother's tomb is unheroic, his "reunion" unreal, his address neither responded to nor heard (*mutam* and *nequiquam* respectively, 101.4).

In keeping with the themes of the conference, the paper touches on 1) and 2) just enough to contextualize and adequately put its central questions: does failure in poem 101 extend throughout its Vergilian reception, even in respect of 3), ritualized funerary practice itself? If so, to what extent and why? A "skeptical" or "cognitivist'' answer posits that practices *for* the benefit of the dead are justified by belief in the survival of bodily death and at least *prima facie* undercut by the denial of same; may we plausibly read such an argument in Vergil's Catullus? If not, in what ways and to what extent is Catullan failure mitigated or corrected in *A. ?*

Two passages are particularly crucial: Anchises' and Aeneas' initial reunion in Elysium (6.679-702) and the Marcellus coda to the *Heldenschau* (6.860-86). 101 is activated in both scenes: in the former Anchises triumphantly corrects Catullus' "failed address" to his brother; in the latter, he himself "vainly" performs anticipatory funerary rites for Marcellus (6.692-93; 885-86).

Petra SCHIERL Universität Basel

Reconsidering Ritual in the *Eclogues*

Herdsmen and gods have a special relationship. For the lonely countryside where herdsmen pasture their flocks is the place where gods may be encountered. The presence of the divine is thus a feature of the pastoral world of Theocritus' *Idylls*. In the *Eclogues,* Vergil exploits the idea of the divine encounter in a novel way: with the deified benefactors of *Eclogues* 1 and 5 he establishes a new category of the divine in the pastoral world. His herdsmen are the first to proclaim new gods and take an active part in their divinization as they announce ritual worship in their talk and song. The institution of a cult for Daphnis in Menalcas' song corresponds in this regard to Tityrus' plans of sacrificing once a month a lamb to his savior, the *iuvenis* in Rome. It is commonly accepted that Octavian stands behind the *iuvenis,* and the *Georgics* seem to confirm this assumption. Even though there is evidence for the inclusion of Octavian among the tutelary gods of Italian communities in the mid-thirties BCE (App. *Bell. civ.* 5.132, cf. Cucchiarelli, *Le Bucoliche,* Roma 2012, 155), it should not be assumed that Tityrus' cult simply mirrors personal or communal religious practice.

Building on metapoetic readings of the *Eclogues,* it is my aim to show that the actions envisaged by the herdsmen in *Eclogue* 5 find their referential reality in the songs themselves and that *Eclogue* 5 provides a key to the understanding of Tityrus' references to future worship. This paper will argue that the rituals evoked by herdsmen pertain entirely to the world of song, to the *carmina pastorum* written and sung, and gesture towards the poetic commemoration of the new gods.

Carey SEAL University of California, Davis

Cacus, Hercules, and the Natural History of Religion

Evander's speech describing the combat of Hercules with Cacus and its aftermath offers an extended account of the origins of the Ara Maxima. This paper traces Vergil's engagement in that account with late Republican reflection on the genesis and social function of religious practice and in particular with Lucretius' *De rerum natura* and Cicero's *De natura deorum.* I argue that this episode draws upon, without unambiguously affirming or rejecting, naturalizing and historicizing accounts of religious activity to achieve its purpose in the larger design of the poem.

Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Diodorus Siculus all represent Cacus merely as a cattle thief, without supernatural powers or associations. Vergil, by contrast, assigns him a suite of such powers, all suggestive of geological processes. By assimilating Cacus to natural forces, Vergil invites us to consider the terror he inspires in light of the Lucretian thesis that religion has its origins in fear of such forces. An equally unique feature of Vergil's account is his dissociation of Hercules from the actual beginnings of the cult. Unlike in the other Augustan accounts,where Hercules ordains or oversees the establishment of the rite, in the *Aeneid* there is no indication that he is even aware of it, despite the mention of his visit to Evander. Hercules' standing as a divine *alexikakos* is thus inflected here by the Epicureanizing suggestion that the exchange relation implied in the rite exists only in the minds of its human participants.

Cicero's Cotta (*ND* 3.88) argues that people who believe they are aided by Hercules assign him credit for exogenous benefits rather than the products of their own virtue. Vergil uses this line of reflection, in conjunction with the hints that Evander, despite his protests to the contrary, has a clouded understanding of divinity, to point up the inadequacy of the Arcadians to the task of founding Rome.

Brittney SZEMPRUCH Stanford University

Marcellus' Spoils: Performing a Callimachean Hymn in the Underworld

What is the relationship between Callimachus' *Hymn to Delos* and Vergil's *Aeneid*? While scholars have already clarified many of the theocentric (Miller 2009) and technical (O'Hara 2001) aspects that link Callimachus' and Vergil's poetry, the intersection between the Hellenistic author's Delos hymn and Vergilian hero cult in Book 5 and the 'Parade of Heroes' in Book 6 has yet to be satisfactorily explained. By using Beard and North's *Religions of Rome* and Feeney's *Literature and Religion at Rome* as a contextual lens for Vergil's portrayal of Marcellus in *Aeneid* 6.854-92, I will begin at 6.833's *'tu Marcellus eris'* and its Callimachean counterpart of Ptolemy II in *Hymn to Delos* 188 to trace how the intertextual connections between the two passages extend to the entire end of Anchises' speech rather than 833 alone. Next, I will consider what Vergil achieves by the Callimachean reference. By framing Marcellus and Ptolemy in similar terms—though Marcellus' destiny will not come to pass—Vergil uses hymn not only to preserve a hero's glory in the manner of a king's, but adopts the Callimachean context to ensure his own prophetic power by equating Anchises with Apollo; Vergil uses the power of the god to lend his poetic play credence. More specifically, I argue that Vergil's re-presentation of the hymn in Book 6's *katabasis* context foreshadows Marcellus' sad heroic fate before it is even sung; unlike the tangible glory of the Callimachean Ptolemaic games, Marcellus is to remain *victor* only through the Gallic *spolia opimia* (like those of Ptolemy II in *hDelos*), his cultic memory, and the confluence of the two in Vergil's poem.

Richard F. THOMAS Harvard University

Di meliora piis:* Revisiting the efficacy of religion in the *Georgics

The *Georgics,* like its most recent model, the *Res Rusticae* of Varro, opens with a prayer for the success of the farmer. Similarly it closes with a sacrifice the result of which is the recovery of the bees of Aristaeus, lost to a pestilence caused it seems by the anger of Orpheus at the loss of Eurydice, laid by the mythic singer at the door of Aristaeus, the Coan herdsman who by the end of the poem has morphed into the catch-all farmer, and who has been seen as prefiguring the Virgilian Aeneas. But the opening prayer is utterly literary and allusive, not even naming some of those it invokes, and the sacrifice at the end is economically ruinous, involving the killing of several oxen, a sheep and a calf (4.534-58).

Does the *Georgics* permit a rational view of how, indeed of whether, religion and religious ritual are involved in the workings of the poem. Tue paper will approach this topic via a number of passages, whose coherence it is hard to comprehend, including: 1.335-339 (to avoid damage from unseasonable storms) *hoc metuens caeli mensis et sidera serva . . . inprimis venerare deos*; 2.490-93 *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas / atque metus omnis et inexorabile subiecit pedibus . . . fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis.* What is the role of the Olympians, above all, of Jupiter who both imposes *labor* as a means for instilling human progress (1.129-35) but a few lines later (1.328-33) leads the assault on the farmer's wheatfield. The only other sacrifice of the poem, at 3.486-93, not only fails to bring relief, it cannot even be completed, and shows the break-down of ritual when that ritual is performed in a setting of natural disorder and chaos.

Are the failures the result of religious neglect or shortcomings in human understanding of how the natural world works? Are prayer and piety effective? Could it be that the *Georgics* situates itself in an intermediate space between the pure Epicureanism of the Lucretian source model and an evolving sense that piety and religious practice, as seen in the final act of Aristaeus and in the sacrificial scene on the Ara Pacis, or the elaborate ritual of the *ludi saeculares* form some sort of teleological ideal which the *Georgics* can not as yet realize.

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Anna and Anna Perenna in the *Aeneid*

On the Ides of March, the Romans celebrated the festival of Anna Perenna, which involves drinking and fraternizing between the sexes on the banks of the Tiber River (*Fast* 3.523-542). In the *Fasti,* Ovid gives three *aitia* regarding the true identity of the goddess and the origins of the festival. One of these origins connects the deity to Anna, Dido's sister, who became a nymph by drowning in the Numicus River in Italy after her flight from Carthage (*Fast.* 3.543-656). Ovid's is the first extant text to make a connection explicitly between Anna Perenna and Dido's sister, though Giancotti (1970: 63-4) has suggested that the plot of Decimus Laberius' mime, *Anna Peranna,* may have involved a love triangle between Anna, Aeneas, and Lavinia. Panayotakis (2009:117-123) counters Giancotti and provides a plausible argument for associating the mime instead with the tradition in which Anna acts as a "go-between" for Mars in his love for Minerva, a tradition also recounted by Ovid in *Fasti* 3.676-94. Regardless of the plot of Laberius' mime, however, I argue that Ovid is not the first to connect Dido's sister Anna with Anna Perenna and that Vergil alludes to this tradition in the *Aeneid* by associating Anna with water (*lympha*).

The Latin word *lympha* most basically means "water", but the Romans connected it with the Greek *nympha* by popular etymology as evidenced by Varro (*L. L.* 7.87). The Augustan poets frequently engaged in wordplay exploiting this etymology (Hor. *Carm.* 2.3.15-16, Prop. 1.2.12 et al.). I maintain that Vergil makes similar puns in Book 4 of the *Aeneid.* The word *lympha* only appears twice in the entire book. Both times, the word is in connection with Anna. Once Dido decides that she wants to die, she enjoins her maidservant to instruct Anna to sprinkle her body with water (*lympha*) from a river (*fluviale*) to prepare herself for Dido's ritual (4.634-6). It seems striking that Dido here specifies that water must come from a river given that Anna Perenna was associated with the Numicus River.

When Anna realizes that Dido has stabbed herself, she asks for water (*lymphis*) so that she can wash (*abluam*) Dido's wounds (4.683-4). Once again, *lympha* is used of Anna. Also, the verb *abluere* has a special significance. Every other time this verb appears in the *Aeneid,* it describes a cleansing with *river* water (2.720, 9.818). The verb elsewhere has a connection to a divine or ritualistic *lavatio* in a natural body of water (Ov. *Met.* 14.601, Tac. *Germ.* 40, V.Fl. 9.208 et al.). This punning of *nympha* and *lympha* would be in line with wordplay Vergil employs throughout his poetry as treated by O'Hara (1996). It also seems fitting that Anna's *lympha* is needed for sacrificial and funerary occasions since Servius tell us that the water used in libations to Vesta had to come from the Numicus (ad *A.* 7.150), and this is the body of water in which Anna drowned in Ovid's version of the story (*Fast.* 3.647-654). Furthermore, the remains of a fountain with dedications to Anna Perenna were discovered in 1999 which shows evidence of cult activity dating back to the 4th or 3rd century BCE (Piranomonte 2010: 191-196). From these finds, we can gather that the connection between Anna Perenna and water goes back long before Ovid.

In light of these observations, I argue that Vergil was aware of this assimilation of Anna Perenna and Anna of Carthage. At the same time, Vergil may also be playing with the other *aition* for Anna Perenna's festival involving Anna's antics with the god Mars. In this account, Anna pretends to act as an intermediary for Mars' love of Minerva (*Fast.* 3.676-94). Anna similarly acts as an intermediary for Dido's love of Aeneas in *the Aeneid* (4.414-449). Furthermore, Anna's role as a "love guru" (4.31-53) seems to be in line with the festival's general amorous spirit. It is not unbelievable that Vergil would exploit such an association since he does seem to play with the alternate version of the myth that Anna was in love with Aeneas (4.421-3, Serv. Auct. ad *A.* 4.682). Through these multi-faceted allusions, we observe that Vergil is constantly engaging with ritual, antiquarianism, and multiple versions of the same myth to add complexity to his poetry.