LUCRETIUS IN THE GRECO-ROMAN DIDACTIC TRADITION

Abstract

This dissertation aims to assess the importance of tradition and origality in Lucretius's didactic technique, including the part played by "poetry" in its success; by following the Greco-Roman didactic tradition up to and past Lucretius as far as the Georgics; and by examining the consistency with which Lucretius uses these techniques.

The first chapter distinguishes two branches of the tradition: magnis de rebus beginning with the Theogony, ancestor of De Rerum Natura, and in tenui beginning with the Works and Days, ancestor of the Georgics. The didactic techniques used in the Works and Days, which resembles a Homeric persuasion speech, are considered more successful than those of the Theogony. The Monists' prose tradition is seen as the successor of the Theogony; verse is reintroduced to the tradition by Xenophanes. Parmenides and Empedocles then adapt the didactic techniques of the Works and Days. Empedocles is recognised as a model for Lucretius.

The second chapter considers the Alexandrian in tenui tradition, successor to the Works and Days, by reference to Aratus's Phaenomena. Difficulties caused by the poem's lack of argument are seen, but the Weather Signs are found to be distinguished by a new subjectivity and sympathy with nature. Translations of an Aratean passage by Cicero and Varro of Atax are seen to enhance this quality. Cicero is shown to be a model for Lucretius, and both translators for Vergil, whose further development of the subjective style is noted. Using it Lucretius and Vergil are found to give their poems a previously unknown unity.

The third chapter considers Lucretius's influence on the Georgics. More consistency but less grandiloquence are seen in Vergil.

The last chapter tests assertions of subjectivity, consistency and grandiloquence. Three passages of Lucretius's poem and one from the Georgics are compared. The assertions are found to be broadly true.
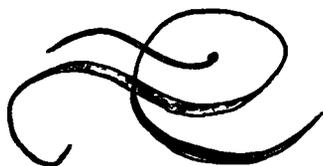
LUCRETIUS

IN THE

GRECO - ROMAN

DIDACTIC TRADITION

A DISSERTATION

FOR THE DEGREE OF M A

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by

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- mcmlxxvi -

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Труд

(многолетный

Мне вожделенный настал; окончен мой труд
Что же непонятная грусть тайно тревожит меня?
--- Или жаль мне труда, молчаливого спутника
(ночи,
Друга Авроры златой, друга пенатов святых?

TEMPUS ADEST QUOD AVES, STUDIUM LUSTRALE PERACTUM EST.

   QUAE NUNC TE INSOLITA, STULTULE, CURA PREMIT?

ESTNE OPERIS PIETAS, TACITURNAE NOCTIS AMICI,

   AURORAE SOCII, DIS COMITISQUE FOCI?

   A S Pushkin, On finishing <u>Evgieny Oniegin.</u>

INTRODUCTION

In a famous passage of Do Rerum Nature (DRN), Lucretius lays claim to originality;

> avia Pieridum peragro loca nullius ante
>
> trita solo. iuvat integros accedere fontis
>
> atque haurire, iuvatque novos decerpere flores
>
> insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
>
> unde prius nulli velarint tempora musae;   930
>
> primum quod magnis doceo de rebus et artis
>
> religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo,
>
> deinde quod obscura de re tam lucida pango
>
> carmina, musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.
>
>   i 926-34 (=iv 1-9)

Claims to originality are a Hellenistic τόπος and much of the imagery of the first five lines is Hellenistic.[1] But there is no reason to doubt that the claims made by the poet in the following four lines are sincere. Four claims are put forward;

i 'magnis de rebus' - that the subject is of high philosophical importance. But here both Empedocles and Parmenides had anticipated him.

ii 'obscura de re tam lucida pango carmina' - the first part of this claim, that it is difficult to understand, could equally be said of Parmenides and Empedocles. The second part, that it is clearly set out all the same, could not. But that part of the claim, though justified, is influenced by poetic precedent.[1]

iii 'musaeo contingens cuncta lepore' - that he is able to touch all the argument with the charm of the Muses. Depending on how 'touch' is interpreted this might also be said of Empedocles.

iv 'artis religionum etc.....pergo' - that he has the moral purpose of freeing men from superstition; he is the first anti-religious didactic

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[1] On the τόπος nature of the claim to originality see H. Paratore, quoted by Kenney,'Doctus Lucretius' p.370. Kenney records that the association of the untrodden path and the fountain is Callimachean (eg. Epigram xxviii Pfeiffer) and names a parallel from Antipater of Sidon (epigram to Sappho, AP. vii 14 3-4, where Πιερίδων is mentioned as in DRN i 926) for the garland. The contrast between obscurity and lucidity in 933 has Callimachean parallels too (ibid. p. 371). But the Hellenistic element can be exaggerated. The clearest parallel for the untrodden path of philosophy is from the proem to Parmenides's didactic poem (ἡ γὰρ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων ἐκτὸς πάτου ἐστίν ; fr. 1 25, Diels Kranz: on the proem see also p. 21). The Muses present Hesiod not with a garland but with a rod of laurel in the Theogony (30). Both examples are cited by Kenney.

Vergil in turn imitates Lucretius at Georgic iii 292-3 (see also on Georgic ii 37, p.153).

poet. Empedocles and Parmenides both have moral aims, but not this specific one.

The last claim amounts to saying that Lucretius is the first poet to versify the doctrines of Epicurus. As such it is not concerned with didactic technique but with subject matter *per se*. It is not relevant to my theme of the place of Lucretius in the development of the techniques of didactic poetry.

The second claim, if not irrelevant, is at least self-evident. The philosophical subject-matter is naturally obscure; and Lucretius's claim to lucidity, as has been said, has an element of the traditional in it.

The claim 'magnis de rebus' is more significant. The fact that Lucretius chose to write on a theme of high philosophical importance marks his poem out clearly as belonging to one branch of the didactic tradition; for, as will be seen, there is another branch which can be called 'in tenui'[1] after its less exalted subject-matter. But it is clear from many similarities of language in DRN that Lucretius knew the work of both Parmenides and Empedocles (cf. pp. 48ff on Empedocles; a Parmenidean example has already been cited in p.1n), and in addition Empedocles receives a generous tribute (i 716-33). Lucretius could be claiming originality because he is the first Roman poet to write 'magnis de rebus' and perhaps because his poem is considerably longer than Empedocles's. In that case his originality will lie in the skill with which he transfers their didactic techniques into Latin. To measure that skill it will be necessary to examine first the achievement of Parmenides and Empedocles. But they themselves cannot be considered in isolation because they belong to a tradition which goes back to Hesiod.

It might be said, coming to the third claim, that Empedocles too had touched all - or at least a good part of his poem - with the "charm of the Muses". But the distinction between 'all' and 'part' may be important; in any case the charm of the Muses varies from one language to another. Latin acquired a new poetic outlook from late Greek writers which had considerable influence on Lucretius's poem - an outlook which permeates the whole Latin tradition, not just didactic poetry. Naturally it is impossible here to trace the entire Latin tradition from Ennius on, though some brief reference is necessary. But the development of this new outlook can be seen summed up in the 'in tenui' didactic genre which culminates in the Georgics

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[1] 'in tenui labor' - Georgic iv 6.

of Vergil, and one way to assess the completeness and originality with
which Lucretius applies the charm of the Muses will be to compare his
poem with Vergil's. Another will be to contrast different parts of DRN
with each other.

It is evident, then that in order to test the validity of the two import-
ant claims to originality made by Lucretius – to assess the parts played
by tradition and originality in DRN – the whole didactic tradition down to
Lucretius must be considered. The tradition began with Hesiod, and there-
fore starting from Hesiod I shall consider the whole course of the tradition
encompassing the landmarks of Parmenides and Empedocles. In fact there
are two traditions, as has been seen; one philosophical magnis de rebus
going back to the Theogony, and the other practical going back to the Works
and Days. (The convenient label in tenui for this second tradition only
applies to it, strictly speaking, after Hesiod). Lucretius stands in the
first tradition, like Empedocles and Parmenides, but since the two traditions
interact they will both have to be considered. And since even Hesiod
cannot be considered in isolation because he was strongly influenced by the
oral epic tradition of Ionia, I shall begin by relating his work in certain
respects to the Iliad and the Odyssey.

My principle throughout the first two chapters has been to trace back
to its source each element in the didactic tradition that Lucretius drew on,
and subsequently to follow it past Lucretius as far as the Georgics of
Vergil.*

CHAPTER 1

MAGNIS DE REBUS - THE GREEK DIDACTIC TRADITION

1 The Greek didactic before Empedocles

A Hesiod and the Homeric epics

The first didactic poet known to us is Hesiod, who seems to have flourished around 700 BC.[1] He was a rhapsode (Lesky p.92) and as such he composed poems in the metre of the oral poetry of his school, which for us means the metre of Homer, with all its associated conventions of language and diction.[2] From the very outset therefore didactic poetry was composed in an elevated medium, the normal medium of epic. Lucretius's use of the epic metre and manner can thus be traced straight back to Hesiod.

i Hesiod's common ground with the epic

The Iliad and the Odyssey are narrative poems, while the Theogony and the Works and Days are concerned to instruct and give information. Granted this difference, we might expect Hesiod's common ground with the epic to end with his poetic language but it extends well beyond that.

a. For example, both the Iliad and the Odyssey begin with an <u>invocation to the Muse</u>. So too does the Catalogue of Ships, a part of the Trojan cycle which has "survived independently of that version of the story which culminates in our Iliad" (D L Page, History and the Homeric Iliad, p.134). Its own invocation is addressed to all the Muses and more elaborate than those which begin the two Homeric poems (Il. ii 484-93). Hesiod's Theogony, itself a type of Catalogue of Gods, begins with a hymn to the Muses which is over a hundred lines long (1-115), and this with its descriptive beauty seems to have made a particular impression on Parmenides (see p.22) and

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[1] It is impossible here to do anything more than note the controversy over the relative dating of Hesiod's and Homer's works. M L West (Hesiod's Theogony, pp.40-48) argues that the Theogony, at any rate, is older than the Iliad and Odyssey "at least in their present form" (p.46). G P Edwards (The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context, pp.200-06) argues from the increased proportion of relatively late Ionic features in Hesiod (p.201) that his work is later, and he specifically rebuts West's view (pp.203-06). Both critics agree with the generally held view (cf. Lesky p.91) that Hesiod's work should be dated around the turn of the eighth century. Homer's, if Edwards is correct, will then be a little earlier (p.206). Lesky (ibid.) also notes that some parts of Hesiod show a resemblance to parts of Homer and mentions "the generally held view that in all such cases Hesiod was the borrower". In other words Homer's work was to some extent at least known to Hesiod.

[2] cf. G P Edwards, op. cit. p.190. Hesiod's composition may be more "laboured" (West p.40) than Homer's, but nevertheless he "follows the habits of an oral poet in the same way as Homer does" (Edwards, ibid.).

on all subsequent didactic poetry. The invocation which begins the Works and Days, like those which begin the Odyssey and Iliad proper, is much shorter (1-8).

b.   Hesiod also shares with Homer a <u>technique of using digressions.</u> This is already familiar from speeches like Nestor's and particularly from the Catalogue of Ships where it is vital to retain the interest of the audience.   Hesiod in the Theogony expands the overthrow of Uranus and the birth of Venus (154-210), Hecate (404-52) and the birth of Zeus (453-506) into stories to diversify his catalogue of created things.

But the problem of holding the attention of his brother Perses calls for rather more digressions in the Works and Days (which is closer to the Homeric speeches than to the Catalogue of Ships - see below, p.10).   The Works and Days is famous for its opening with the myths which Hesiod uses as <u>parables</u> to emphasise the necessity of hard work and honesty, like Pandora's box (47ff) with its pessimistic conclusion (101-05).   Also the myth of the Four Ages of Man (109-201) which is if anything more gloomy, and the parable of the hawk and the nightingale (203-11) with the moral that princes may be strong but Zeus is stronger (see also p.10).   The myths themselves interest us, so they probably interested Perses.

c.   There is another type of digressions which is familiar in Homer, though not from the speeches.   These are <u>descriptive digressions;</u> they have no moral but , as used by Hesiod, are calculated to retain the interest of Perses purely by their poetic effect.   Thus he uses his instruction to avoid January (504) as an excuse for a brilliant description of winter (504-63), and when it comes to summer not all his advice concerns work (588-9€).   L P Wilkinson ('Georgics', p.5) mentions both as examples of the fact that description in poetry can give pleasure; he quotes Summer because he says it was more influential: perhaps also because it is sh⸳rter, since Winter is if anything more striking.[1]

Insofar as Hesiod uses description to help get his message across to Perses - ie. with a didactic purpose - he seems to be original here.   But descriptions that give pleasure and have no other purpose are quite common in Homer; for example, Calypso's Cave (Od. v 59-74), and the Beguilement of Zeus passim, especially Hera dressing herself (Il. xiv 166-186) and nature responding to Zeus's love for Hera (id⸳ 347-51).   Wilkinson (op. cit.

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[1] see Appendix i, p.163f.
On the part that digressions play in the structure of the Works and Days see pp.56ff.

p.4) quotes the moon simile (id. viii 555-9). Delight in description, though
of a different kind, is evident in Empedocles (see pp.39ff); its effect-
iveness in Lucretius is too well known to need citing here (but cf. pp.125ff).

d. Description to please Perses and thereby keep his attention - a crucial
problem for Hesiod, as will be explained shortly - also occurs incidentally.

The descriptive conventional epithet is a familiar part of the Ionic
tradition; every schoolboy knows of the wine-dark sea, many-founted Ida
and Hector of the shining helmet. Apart from the odd descriptive line or
conventional epithet Hesiod extends the tradition with periphrases like

$$\Delta \eta \mu \acute{\eta} \tau \epsilon \rho o\varsigma \ \acute{\iota} \epsilon \rho \grave{o} \nu \ \grave{a} \kappa \tau \grave{\eta} \nu \qquad 597 \qquad \text{(bread)}$$

$$\delta \tilde{\omega} \rho \alpha \ \Delta \iota \omega \nu \acute{\upsilon} \sigma o\upsilon \ \pi o\lambda \upsilon \gamma \eta \vartheta \acute{\epsilon} o\varsigma \ 614 \ \text{(wine)}$$

or a dicolon -

$$\chi \acute{\omega} \rho \omega \ \grave{\epsilon} \nu \ \epsilon \grave{\upsilon} \delta \epsilon \iota \ \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \ \epsilon \grave{\upsilon} \tau \rho o\chi \acute{\alpha} \lambda \omega \ \grave{\epsilon} \nu \ \grave{a} \lambda \omega \tilde{\eta} \ [1] \ 599$$

Pleasing rather like the periphrases just mentioned is personification,
a relative of metaphor. Homer uses it in phrases like $\grave{a} \nu \epsilon \mu o\tau \rho \epsilon \phi \grave{\epsilon} \varsigma \ \grave{\epsilon} \gamma \chi o\varsigma$
(Il. xi 256) or when Paean is healing Ares's wound, in the simile of the
fig-juice rushing ($\grave{\epsilon} \pi \epsilon \iota \gamma \acute{o} \mu \epsilon \nu o\varsigma$) to curdle the milk (Il. v 902-3). Hesiod
uses it often in the Works and Days; for example, when he mentions $\acute{E} \rho \iota \varsigma$
$\kappa \alpha \kappa \acute{o} \chi \alpha \rho \tau o\varsigma$ (28) or when he describes diseases roaming abroad (101-05,
already cited) or dawn (578-81). It is common in Empedocles (see pp.41-3)
and Lucretius is very fond of it - cf. the laughing atoms (ii 976-9, p.148)
to take one example among a great many.

Allegory is a very extended form of personification which Homer
resorts to (in a few late passages of the Iliad) in order to symbolise
the effects of Prayer (Il. ix 502-12) or the nature of Folly (Il. xix
91-94). It is difficult to know how many of the endless personifications
of Hesiod's Theogony have the deeper symbolism of allegory, but obviously
Memory, mother of the Muses, is one such (53ff.). In the Works and Days
there is the allegory of Justice, Outrage, Faith and Peace (213-47), the
steep path to Virtue (286-92), the triumph of Envy and the departure of
Shame and Nemesis (197-201). Most of the pre-Socratics use personification
shading into allegory like Hesiod; and it must be involved in the mysterious
opening invocation ot Venus (DRN i 1ff. - see p.43n.) or such appearances

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[1]Unlike Homer, Hesiod twice refers to different animals by a sort of imagin-
ative metaphorical nickname

$\grave{a} \nu \acute{o} \sigma \tau \epsilon o\varsigma$ (octopus) 524 and $\phi \epsilon \rho \acute{\epsilon} o\iota \kappa o\varsigma$ (snail) 571
These elliptical expressions -"kennings" - are quite common in Beowulf
and other Anglo-Saxon poetry.

of 'rerum natura' as iii 930ff.

e. The Ionian oral tradition could also draw on a number of striking
metrical and rhythmical effects. Ὀδυσσεϙ ix, chosen almost at random, will
serve as an example of Homer's maatery of metra;

$$\text{σὺν δὲ δύω μάρψας ὥς τε σκύλακας ποτὶ γαίῃ}$$
$$\text{κόπτ' ἐκ δ' ἐγκέφαλος χαμάδις ῥέε, δεῦε δὲ γαῖαν}$$
(289-90)

Here we have an expressive use of enjambement followed by pause and
expressive alliteration in gutturals and dentals. Shortly afterwards we
find Homer expressing his distaste for Cyclops's brutality with synizesis:

$$\text{σὺν δ' ὅ γε δὴ αὖτε δύω μάρψας ὁπλίσσατο δόρπον}$$
(344)
$$\text{Κύκλωψ, τῆ, πίε οἶνον, ἐπεὶ φάγες ἀνδρόμεα κρέα}$$
(347)

Hesiod has a suggestive synizesis in the line decrying Ascra;

$$\text{θέρει ἀργαλέη, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῇ.}$$
(640)

and the rapid succession of pauses with enjambement, which draw attention
to his dislike of sailing in spring (682-5), shows considerable artistry.
The impressive line of only three words with which the second section of
the poem opens -

$$\text{Πληϊάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων}$$
(383)[1]

will serve as a final example of his metrical skill.

In the dawn description referred to above Hesiod uses the striking
stylistic effect of anaphora.

$$\text{ἠὼς γὰρ ἔργοιο τρίτην ἀπομείρεται αἶσαν,}$$
$$\text{ἠὼς τοι προφέρει μὲν ὁδοῦ, προφέρει δὲ καὶ ἔργου,}$$
$$\text{ἠὼς, ἥτε φανεῖσα πολέας ἐπέβησε κελεύθου}$$
(578-81)

These effects help to create variety and to emphasise important points.
Hesiod (and Homer) does not use them often; nevertheless they show a level
of technical ability which it is hard to detect in Parmenides and Empedoc-
les. In fact within the didactic tradition they are not found again until
Aratus's Phaenomena.[2]

f. The Ionian tradition also used striking epigrams or gnomai. For ex-
ample, when Achilles proposes to consult an ὀνειροπόλος;

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[1] cf. Appendix i, p.162.

[2] and in Latin, cf. Appendix iii, p.180.

$$\text{καὶ γάρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διός ἐστιν} \qquad \text{(Il. i 63)}$$

or Hector's cry to the Trojans

$$\text{εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης} \\ \text{(Il. xii 243)}$$

Clearly Homer only uses a gnome where appropriate to a speech; not because of any didactic intention but because audiences like pointed phrases. But gnomai are particularly well suited to didactic poetry because they are a compressed method of teaching - teaching by rule of thumb - quite apart from their entertainment value as a succession of brilliant phrases. Therefore Hesiod uses them more often than Homer, particularly to round off a paragraph (eg. Works 447, 463-4, 265-6). The moral at the end of the Pandora myth, though longer (the diseases, 101ff.), has a similar effect. In fact the last line of every section tends to be gnomic or epigrammatic, providing a striking end to the paragraph and seeming to sum it up whether or not it does so. (The elaborate _first_ line of the second section of the is a parallel effect). So useful a technique was not to be neglected by Hesiod's successors like Empedocles (see p.34), or Lucretius -

tantum religio potuit suadere malorum	(i 101)

or more didactically

corporibus caecis igitur natura gerit res	(i 328)
hic Acherusia fit stultorum denique vita	(iii 1023)

and so on.

ii Differences between epic and didactic

a. Hesiod's relationship with Perses

Within the oral tradition, the greater use of gnomai by Hesiod is one aspect of an essential difference in approach between epic and didactic poetry. As compared with epic, didactic is liable to the great disadvantage that, as Quintilian said of Aratus, it affords "no scope for pathos, description of character or eloquent speeches" (Inst. x 1 55). The Works and Days is not subject to this criticism because it is composed for Hesiod's brother Perses and is addressed specifically to him. The two brothers are, as it were, the characters of the poem, and the poem itself is a sort of speech made by Hesiod to Perses.

Compare it with the Theogony, which is addressed to a general and unspecified audience, and the difference in liveliness is at once clear. It gained the Works and Days several imitators among the pre-Socratics who were anxious to present their philosophy in the most persuasive form possible.

No doubt it is because Hesiod was so anxious that Perses should remember everything he has to say that the poem is so successful. Perses is constantly addressed, named and encouraged, and as if to emphasise the

personal nature of his advice Hesiod often mentions himself in the first
person.

For example, straight after the invocation he declares his aim:

$$\text{κλῦθι (Ζεῦ) ἐγὼ δὲ κε Πέρση ἐτήτυμα}$$
$$\text{μυθησαίμην}$$ (8, 10)

and speaks directly to Perses,

$$\text{ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα τεῷ ἐνικάτθεο θυμῷ}$$ (27)

followed by some homely advice and lively criticism.

After the myth of Pandora he continues,

$$\text{εἰ δ'ἐθέλεις, ἕτερόν τοι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφώσω}$$
$$\text{εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως· σὺ δ'ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν}$$
(106-7)

Likewise as regards the Age of Iron (174-5), with hints of impatience or
irony (286; 299), even open autobiographical reference (396-7; 633-40; or

$$\text{ὥς περ ἐμός τε πατὴρ καὶ σός, μέγα νήπιε}$$ 633)
$$\text{Πέρση}$$

Actually the aside to Perses – who may not be specifically referred to –
is often used as a simple but effective means of transition to begin a
paragraph, as at line 201.

The impression of stolid farmer Hesiod and his feckless brother
which comes across is so strong that the reader has no difficulty in
becoming involved in the homily. When Empedocles comes to address his
poem On Nature to Pausanias – or Lucretius his to Memmius – he may well
be imitating Hesiod, but the imitation is no livelier than the original.

And a third set of people are involved in the argument, besides Perses
and Hesiod. They are the unjust princes – $$\text{βασιλῆας}$$
$$\text{δωροφάγους, οἳ τήνδε δίκην ἐθέλουσι δικάσαι}$$
$$\text{νήπιοι, οὐδὲ ἴσασιν ὅσω πλέον ἥμισυ παντός}$$
(38-40).

Later (248-64) Hesiod addresses them directly. These princes have a
minor part as the third person – 'them' – in the background as Hesiod –
'I, the poet' – tries to convert Perses – 'you' – to his point of view.
They are the opposition, who in philosophical verse become the other philo-
sophers, roundly abused from Parmenides on.

So here in the main Hesiod escapes Quintilian's censure on didactic
poetry (but not in the Theogony).[1] But Hesiod is not consistent; in the
last hundred or so lines (695-828) he seems to forget Perses, who is no

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[1] With this realisation of the poet-reader relationship cf. on Parmenides
(p.23) on Empedocles (p.30ff) on Lucretius and Vergil (np.155ff) and on
Vergil (p.105f). For the phrase cf. Gordon Williams, Tradition and Origin-
ality in Roman Poetry, p.257, and discussion p.157 below.   (PTO

longer mentioned.[1] Empedocles does the same thing in <u>On Nature</u>. So does
Lucretius (cf. p.32f).

b. The technique of addressing a whole poem to one person was dictated
by Hesiod's circumstances when he composed the Works and Days; as such it
is original and we might expect no parallel in Homer.

But in fact the idea exists in embryo form in <u>Homer's speeches</u>, which
are often lengthy and addressed to one person throughout. Here there are
formulas like ὥς σε κελεύω (Works 316); even

$$εἰ δ'ἐθέλεις ,ἔτερόν τοι ἐγὼ λόγον ἐκκορυφώσω$$
$$εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως· σὺ δ'ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν$$

(101-2, cited p.9)

has its parallel in Homer; compare Agamemnon to Odysseus

$$ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ'ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῇσιν$$

(Od. xi 454)

– the speeches of Nestor provide good examples too. But perhaps the most
striking similarities occur in Phoenix's speech to persuade Achilles to
forgive Agamemnon (Il. ix 434-605). This begins with autobiographical
reminiscence (438-95; cf. Hes. Works 633-40), passes on to describe
"Prayers, the daughters of Zeus" (allegory, cf. Works 197-201 etc. p.6),
the gods being invoked as paragons of justice just before the allegory,
and ends with the parable of Meleager (529-96) including moral (597-9)
and application to Achilles (600-05).[2] During the speech Achilles is
addressed by name at 434, 485, 494 and 513. The resemblance to the Works
and Days, with Phoenix in the part of Hesiod and Achilles as Perses, is
clear.

Similarly the idea of calling the unjust princes νήπιοι (40) which
Empedocles borrows for other philosophers (Diels Kranz fr.11) has a Homeric
parallel. The poet says of the companions of Odysseus

$$νήπιοι, οἱ κατὰ βοῦς Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο$$
$$ἤσθιον·$$

(Od. i 8-9)

The companions of Odysseus share the epithet with Perses – μέγα νήπιε
πέρση– as well. Odysseus says

note (cont.) Though non-didactic poets do not use it as a technique in
the Hesiodic sense, the impulse to address a poem to one person is natur-
ally not confined to Hesiod. For example many of the elegies of Theognis
are addressed to individuals.

[1] And may not always be at the front of Hesiod's mind before then – cf. Ver-
denius pp.158-9 on Hesiod's oscillation between addressing his poem to
Perses and to a general audience.

[2] For parables in other Homeric speeches cf. Nestor's account of Orestes's
vengeance to Telemachus and Menelaus's story of his wanderings, also to
Telemachus (Od.iii 196ff.; Od.iv 351-86)

ἔνθ᾽ ἦ τοι μὲν ἐγὼ διερῷ ποδὶ φευγέμεν ἤμέα
ἠνώγεα, τοὶ δέ μέγα νήπιοι οὐκ ἐπίθοντο.

(ix 43-4).

Resemblances like these, unexpectedly close, become less surprising
if the Works and Days is viewed as an exceptionally long persuasive speech
to Perses, longer than that of Phoenix to Achilles and standing by itself,
without any context other than what Hesiod tells us about his circumstances
during this diatribe. Later when the art of persuasive speaking was taught
and given the name of rhetoric Homer became known as 'optimus rhetoricus'.
No wonder that Hesiod's manner of presenting his case has its parallels in
the work of this "best of Persuaders".

It is noteworthy also that Empedocles is traditionally said to have
invented the art of rhetoric. He was the master of Gorgias of Leontini
(Diogenes Laertius vii 58). There is even some evidence to connect Parm-
enides with dialectic (see p.25). Hence from Homer onwards there is a con-
tinuing link between persuasive speaking, or rhetoric, and didactic poetry.[1]

Summary. The ancient didactic tradition derives from two poems of Hesiod;
one (Works and Days) practical, the other (Theogony) theoretical. These
give rise to two separate genres of didactic poetry.
     Hesiod's manner has more in common with Homer's than the resemblances
of metre and language which would be expected as a matter of course from
two members of the Ionic oral tradition. In the Works and Days Hesiod puts
this manner* to the novel use of instructing a specific person about farm-
ing. This poem has features in common with long Homeric persuasion speeches
such as that of Phoenix to Achilles.

* F J Williams reasonably points out the possibility that the παραίνεσις
poem was a traditional mode, of which the persuasion speeches in the Iliad
and Odyssey are developments, and of which the Works and Days happens to
be the earliest extant survival.

B The tradition 'magnis de rebus' before Parmenides

Hesiod covers a wider field with his two didactic epics than any of
his successors, who wrote either magnis de rebus in the tradition of the
Theogony or in tenui in the tradition of the Works and Days. Moreover.
the two traditions did not evolve simultaneously. For a long time after
Hesiod the tradition magnis de rebus (to which Lucretius belongs) was dom-
inant - the in tenui subject matter of the Works and Days had no influence.
Indeed, at first the magnis de rebus tradition takes a purely scientific
turn. The rest of this chapter is concerned purely with that tradition.
The in tenui genre, which was not taken up again until the Alexandrians,

[1] On Hesiod and the Homeric simile see below, p.44.
On the underlying poetic structure of the Works and Days see pp.56ff.

is left to the next chapter.

i The Milesians

The simile, one of the most characteristic features of the didactic technique of Empedocles and Lucretius, was not exploited by Hesiod (except once - cf. p.44) although its Homeric origin is obvious. It seems to have been used as a scientific analogy by Anaximander, a natural philosopher who wrote in prose; he may have adapted the technique from Homer or developed it independently. All the first scientific thinkers in whose wake Parmenides and Empedocles followed wrote in prose, like Anaximander, if they wrote anything. Yet they form a clear link between Hesiod and the later didactic poets for two reasons; obviously because they speculate about the nature of the universe, like Parmenides and Empedocles, and also like Hesiod in the Theogony, which provided their most important precedent; but also because they used language in a poetic way, as was natural when prose was in its infancy and the only written precedent was poetry - poetry, in fact, like the Theogony. At the same time, as the Milesians' use of prose and Anaximander's introduction of the scientific analogy show, the writing of the first natural philosophers forms a quite separate genre from the work of Homer and Hesiod. Didactic poetry magnis de rebus owes as much to the scientific approach of Thales and his successors as it does to Hesiod.[1]

The Theogony and the Works and Days were composed around the turn of the eighth century (p.4n). Less than a hundred years later - by 600 - the first rationalistic philosopher, Thales of Miletus, was active in Ionia. He died about 550 (Kirk and Raven (KR), The Presocratic Philosophers, p.74; cf. Herodotus i 74-5). Thales seems to have written nothing (KR pp.84-6) and in any case nothing survives.

a. Personification

But a fragment of Anaximander (probably Thales's pupil and active just after him, c. 590-547) is preserved in Simplicius (Phys. 24 17, ap. KR p.117)

$$\dots \dot{\epsilon}\xi \,\tilde{\omega}\nu \,\delta\dot{\epsilon} \,\dot{\eta} \,\gamma\dot{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma \,\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota \,\tau o\hat{\iota}\varsigma \,o\hat{v}\sigma\iota, \kappa\alpha\dot{\iota} \,\tau\dot{\eta}\nu \,\varphi\theta o\rho\dot{\alpha}$$

$$\dot{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma \,\tau\alpha\hat{v}\tau\dot{\alpha} \,\gamma\dot{\iota}\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota \cdot$$

$$\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha} \,\tau o \,\chi\rho\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu \cdot \,\delta\iota\delta\dot{o}\nu\alpha\iota \,\gamma\dot{\alpha}\rho \,\alpha\dot{v}\tau\dot{\alpha} \,\delta\dot{\iota}\kappa\eta\nu \,\kappa\alpha\dot{\iota} \,\tau\dot{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu$$

$$\dot{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\dot{\eta}\lambda o\iota\varsigma \,\tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma \,\dot{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\dot{\iota}\alpha\varsigma \,\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha} \,\tau\dot{\eta}\nu \,\tau o\hat{v} \,\chi\rho\dot{o}\nu ov \,\tau\dot{\alpha}\xi\iota\nu.$$

$$\pi o\iota\eta\tau\iota\kappa\omega\tau\dot{\epsilon}\rho o\iota\varsigma \,o\ddot{v}\tau\omega\varsigma \,\dot{o}\nu\dot{o}\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu \,\alpha\dot{v}\tau\dot{\alpha} \,\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\gamma\omega\nu.$$

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[1] It is quite possible that had it not been for Xenophanes the two traditions would never have been combined in the philosophical poetry of Parmenides and Empedocles (cf. p.14).

"for they pay penalty and retribution to each other for their injustice according to the assessment of Time". The fragment is naturally in prose, but as Theophrastus remarks at the end (if Simplicius is paraphrasing him here as Kirk and Raven think - op. cit. p.117) the quotation is "rather poetic" in expression. It contains the personification of Time, perhaps influenced by the allegorical figures of Hesiod, and also legal metaphor, poetic devices such as the earliest prose might be expected to borrow.

Elsewhere Anaximander used the 'Homerising' formula ' $\dot{\alpha}i\delta iou$ $\kappa\alpha i$ $\dot{\alpha}\gamma\eta\rho\omega$' to describe his infinite material. Maybe in the absence of a technical prose vocabulary he was again borrowing from the poets (KR p.116). But he might have intended to imply that his material was a deity, because Homer uses the words 'of the gods or their appurtenances' (ibid.) eg. Odysseus to Calypso

$$\dot{\eta} \mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho \beta\rho o\tau\acute{o}\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota, \sigma\grave{u} \delta'\dot{\alpha}\theta\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\tau o\varsigma \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota} \dot{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\eta}\rho\omega\varsigma$$

(Od. v 218; cf. Il. ii 447)

Whatever his intentions the practice of introducing material deities or deified materials into the scheme of things was taken up by Empedocles - see pp.41ff.

b. A more important innovation than this is Anaximander's use of the **simile** as an analogy, referred to on p.12 (if the words quoted below are really his).

> "He says that that which is productive from the eternal of hot and cold was separated off at the coming-to-be of this world, and that a kind of sphere of flame from this was formed round the air surrounding the earth like **bark round a tree**". ($\dot{\omega}\varsigma \tau\hat{\omega} \delta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\rho\omega \phi\lambda o\iota\acute{o}\nu$, Ps. Plutarch Strom. 2, ap. Diels Kranz 1951 p.83).[1]

The bark simile is so striking and unusual (cf. KR ad loc.) that it looks like Anaximander's own. From here there is a tradition of similes of a homely nature to illustrate scientific theories; it is continued by Anaximenes (like a lid KR p.153 like a broad kneading trough p.154 like nails in a crystalline sphere p.157 the sun is flat like a leaf p.158 like a felt cap p.159) and so down to Empedocles. For example Empedocles speaks of transient men vanishing '$\kappa\alpha\pi\nu o\hat{\iota}o \delta\acute{\iota}\kappa\eta\nu$' (fr.2 - borrowed by Lucretius of the soul scattering 'ceu fumus in altas aeris auras', iii 456). But Empedocles's simile comes from the Iliad where the soul of Patroclus evades Achilles's grasp '$\dot{\eta}\acute{\upsilon}\tau\epsilon \kappa\alpha\pi\nu\acute{o}\varsigma$' (Il. xxiii 100; cf. below p.38) So Anaximander too could easily have derived from Homer this device for at

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[1] In the rest of this chapter fragments of the philosophers are cited from Diels Kranz (DK) unless otherwise stated.

once clarifying the argument and pleasing his reader which later develops into one of the most characteristic features of the didactic poem.[1]

In adapting these forms of expression from the poets to his needs as a natural philosopher — perhaps because of a sort of 'patrii sermonis egestas' — Anaximander was followed by Anaximenes, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, and hence Parmenides.

ii Xenophanes

Once the first philosophers had begun to write in prose, it is perhaps strange that all philosophers did not do so. Hesiod's Theogony must have seemed like a fairy tale besides their rational speculations and so provided a poor precedent. That the tradition of didactic verse continued may be due to the/versatile figure of Xenophanes.

Xenophanes was born at Colophon, which given the physical separateness of the cities on the Asia Minor coast may have been isolated from the prose tradition of Miletus; though this cannot have been the only reason why he chose to write in verse. He was driven into exile and went to Zancle and Catania in Sicily. He was probably about 40 years younger than Anaximander and seems to have lived to a great age (ca. 570-475; cf. KR pp.163-5). This and his residence in Sicily gave rise to later claims (eg. in Diogenes Laertius ix 21) that he went to Elea and taught Parmenides, but Kirk and Raven (p.164) discount them. Certainly Xenophanes refers to Pythagoras (fr.7) and is attacked by Heraclitus (Heraclitus fr.40) which might suggest a date of around the turn of the sixth century for his work.

a. Poetic interests

Xenophanes was a "poet with thoughtful interests" (KR p.167) rather than a rationalistic inquirer like the Milesians; he was not primarily interested in giving a comprehensive account of the natural world. This status as a poet may explain why he is the first "philosopher" whose works survive in any considerable quantity. The extant fragments run to twelve pages in Diels Kranz and a third of them are elegy with no particular philosophical content. The longest of all deals with the rules for a properly conducted banquet. When Lesky in discussing the latter speaks of this "fine elegy" (Lesky p.208) he underlines the standing of Xenophanes as a poet.

It is worth stressing this because it helps to explain a more import-

[1] If the example given, which was chosen to illustrate the continuity of the tradition, seems too high-flown to influence Anaximander, compare for example Homer's description of Odysseus shipwrecked by Poseidon

ἀμφ' ἑνὶ δούρατι βαῖνε, κέληθ' ὡς ἵππον ἐλαύνων

(Od. ν 371)

ant problem; why a metaphysical thinker as original as Xenophanes should express his thoughts in verse in the sixth century. For it is not surprising that the origin and nature of the gods should lie in the province of an oral poet like Hesiod in a society without writing where the poet is the only learned person and perhaps regarded as a prophet into the bargain (cf. F M Cornford, "Principium Sapientiae", on "The Quarrel of Philosophy and Poetry" p.143ff, especially on the link bard-vates). But a poet like Xenophanes, composing in an age when writing is known and a school of natural scientists and prose writers has already taken on their function as educators, becomes an anomaly when he expresses thoughts as profound theirs and continues to use verse to do so. I suggest that it is his successful example which makes verse a possible medium for philosophers like Parmenides and Empedocles (see p.20).

b. Other interests

There is another link, besides his use of verse, between Xenophanes and Homer and Hesiod. The Milesians ignored the theology of Homer because of an apparent lack of interest in ethics or morality: besides the Homeric gods had very little to do with natural science except for freak phenomena like earthquakes, thunder and the rainbow. But Xenophanes in the Silloi (Satires) is concerned not only with natural science (KR p.166) but also with morals. He attacks the anthropomorphic gods of Homer and Hesiod (DK fr.11) and hence theological and metaphysical speculation, criticism of theological orthodoxy, enters the philosophic tradition. As a final indication of the versatility of the poet's interests there is the fragment about Pythagoras (fr.7) in which he satirises the transmigration of souls doctrine. This is true satire, rather than the scorn for other views of Parmenides and Empedocles (pp.25 and 37). It is much more akin to the satire of Lucretius (cf. pp.19,37).[1]

c. What of Xenophanes's expression? It is impossible to be detailed here because relatively little of his work survives (12 pages of fragments in DK, v. supra). There is no specifically Hesiodic element obvious in his expression (despite fr. 11). Xenophanes is an elegist, that is a literary and not an oral poet, but his style is much influenced by Homer.

Unlike the Works and Days, the Silloi are not addressed to one individual. The poet refers to himself occasionally;

$$\mathring{\alpha}\mu\phi\grave{\iota} \; \vartheta\epsilon\widehat{\omega}\nu \; \tau\epsilon \; \kappa\grave{\alpha}\grave{\iota} \; \mathring{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha \; \lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega \; \pi\epsilon\rho\grave{\iota} \; \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\omega\nu$$

<div style="text-align: right;">fr. 34 (2)</div>

[1] It is doubtful that Lucretius had read Xenophanes - see p.17 r2.

and to experience in common with himself and his audience

$$\text{πάντες γὰρ γαίης τε καὶ ὕδατος ἐκγενόμεσθα}$$

<div align="right">fr.33.</div>

There is also a third person opposition - interestingly enough, this is
the fragment about Homer and Hesiod;

$$\text{πάντα θεοῖσ' ἀνέθηκαν Ὅμηρός θ' Ἡσιοδός τε}$$

<div align="right">fr.11.</div>

But these are statements of fact, without any sense of people involved in
an argument. The poet-reader relationship of the Works and Days is missing.

The impact of the Silloi depends more on Xenophanes's use of rhetoric
and description (if it is legitimate to use the word 'rhetoric' of what
was written before the sophists). For instance, the qualities of his
thought-god are emphasised by anaphora;

$$\text{οὖλος ὁρᾶ, οὖλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὖλος δέ τ' ἀκούει.}$$

<div align="right">fr.24</div>

The second part of fr.34 (cf. p.15) uses comment and epiphonema in a way
which is obviously didactic

$$\text{εἰ γὰρ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα τύχοι τετελεσμένον εἰπών}$$
$$\text{αὐτὸς ὅμως οὐκ οἶδε· δόκος δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι τέτυκται}$$

<div align="right">fr.34 3-4</div>

- "but seeming is wrought over all things", KR p.179. It also uses a dia-
lectic formula 'if x then y', which is unknown to Hesiod. The same formula
occurs again;

$$\text{εἰ μὴ χλωρὸν ἔφυσε θεὸς μέλι, πολλὸν ἐφασκον}$$
$$\text{γλύσσονα σῦκα πέλεσθαι}$$

<div align="right">fr.38</div>

Another piece of dialectic which builds on the same formula is the famous
reductio ad absurdum.

$$\text{ἀλλ' εἰ χεῖρας ἔχον βόες ἵπποι τ' ἠὲ λέοντες}$$
$$\text{ἢ γράψαι χείρεσσι καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἅπερ ἄνδρες,}$$
$$\text{ἵπποι μέν θ' ἵπποισι βόες δέ τε βουσίν ὁμοίας}$$
$$\text{καί κε θεῶν ἰδέας ἔγραφον καὶ σώματ' ἐποίου}$$
$$\text{τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὐτοὶ δέμας εἶχον ἕκαστο}$$

<div align="right">fr.15</div>

But perhaps just as interesting from a Lucretian point of view is the fact
that these are pictorial images. Xenophanes does not use a simile as an
analogy anywhere in the extant fragments, but this combination of dialectic
and description seems curiously like Lucretius.

There are also a number of picturesque natural descriptions which seem
to anticipate DRN, for example of the rainbow

$$\text{ἥν τ' Ἶριν καλέουσι νέφος καὶ τοῦτο πέφυκε,}$$
$$\text{πορφύρεον καὶ φοινίκεον καὶ χλωρὸν ἰδέσθαι}$$

<div align="right">fr.32</div>

with ἰδέϭϑαι in its Homeric sedes at the line-end. The last line means "which happens to appear multicoloured" but is put more poetically - compare Lucretian phrases like 'homines armenta feraeque' for "all mammals".[1] The description of caves (perhaps one of the places where he had seen fossils - cf. KR p.177) is another example;

$$\text{Καὶ μὲν ἐνὶ ϭπεάτεϭϭι τεοιϛ καταλείβεται ὕδωρ}$$

fr.37

Xenophanes, like Lucretius, shows a keen eye for unusual natural pheno- mena.[2] Finally, the idea that water is one of the basic materials of the world provides an excuse for another description;

$$\text{Πηγὴ δ'έϭτι ϑάλαϭϭ' ὕδατοϛ, πηγὴ δ'ἀνέμοιο}$$

fr.30

This is altogether more elaborate, with anaphora (Πηγή) as well as trad- itional elements like periphrasis (ἰϛ ἀνέμοιο, αἰϑέροϛ ὄμβριον ὕδωρ) and personification (πόντοϛ γενέτωρ νεφέων ἀνέμων τε) not to mention the delight Xenophanes seems to take in ringing the changes on 'sea', 'rivers' and 'rain' in lines 3-4. The use of these traditional elements in a philosophical poem to provide an illustration for the argument is quite unhomeric, though it might anachronistically be called Lucretian. In fact the plurality of examples given here needs pointing out as a new technique in itself (naturally, one also used by Lucretius - eg. in iii 381-90, the catalogue of things too small to feel).

Even more fundamental elements of the expression bring Lucretius to mind; in fr.32 the use of πέφυκε is paralleled by Lucretius's (and Homer's) frequent variations on the word 'is'; in the next fragment quoted καὶ μὲν suggests a careful Lucretian building up of the argument 'Praeterea... deinde' etc.. In fr.30 the use of 'γάρ'(in the part of the fragment not quoted) is like Lucretius's 'nam' in the first line of the analogy of the cow that has lost its calf

nam saepe ante deum vitulus delubra decora...   ii 352.

Admittedly the connexion of thought with what precedes is more direct in Xenophanes. Lucretius's 'nam' means practically the same as "for example" (cf. Townend, Lucretius, p.102 on Lucretius's "oblique" connecting words).

While Xenophanes stands apart from the Milesians in his use of verse, his metaphysical and moral speculations and many details, like his eye for

[1] and cf. Latham's remarks (Penguin p 16) on Lucretius's combination of "Biblical stateliness" and "scientific precision".

[2] With this fragment cf. DRN i 348-9. Bailey (ad loc.) points out that Lucretius derives the analogy from Democritus, but unfortunately says nothing of Xenophanes. One would like to know whether Lucretius had direct knowledge of Xenophanes's work or only knew it indirectly from authors like

natural phenomena, it would be hard to imagine that as a thinker who knew of Pythagoras (see above, p.15) he was not also aware of the influential Milesian school. And in fact his statement that "we were all born from earth and water" may be influences by the ideas of the Milesians on originative substances; Anaximenus's air or Anaximander's Indefinite (Τὸ ἄπειρον). When he says that the underneath of the earth ἐς ἄπειρον ἵκνεῖται (fr.28) Kirk and Raven suggest that he probably intended it "as an implied criticism of the dogmatic theories of the Milesians" on the nature of the earth.(ibid. p.176).[1] His thought-god who is all-seeing, all-knowing and all-hearing (fr.2 4), who does not move but "shakes all things by the thought of his mind" (fr.25, ap. KR p.169) is not a direct development of the Milesian tradition; yet it is probably " to some extent based upon the Milesian idea of a divine substance which, in the case of Thales and Anaximenes, was regarded as somehow permeating objects in the world and giving them life and involvement." (KR p.172)

Thus Xenophanes - in his ideas on god for example - shows awareness of contemporary thought. Yet his ideas are strikingly original in the form they take. His observation of fossils demonstrates an unusually alert mind (Lucretius has a similar eye for significant and rare details in nature). Yet the depth and originality of his thought do not prevent the expression of the Silloi, particularly in the passages of dialectic and description, from being both pointed and delightful in itself.

Xenophanes's poem is not a didactic poem setting out a philosophical system, but rather an expression of his metaphysical thought which uses verse because that it his habitual medium. Nevertheless some philosophers found the combination of philosophy and verse so striking as to be worthy of imitation. Parmenides and Empedocles adopted verse as a means of putting over their philosophical systems; they wanted to convert people to their way of thinking and the example of Xenophanes showed that this was the best way for them.

iii Heraclitus

But before dealing with Parmenides and Empedocles it is necessary to discuss briefly one more prose philosopher - Heraclitus. Anaximenes, the last of the Milesians and a pupil of Anaximander, had contributed nothing more than clarity and straightforwardness to Anaximander's range of express-
(ion

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[1] But the similarity may be accidental because the word is undeniably Homeric. It occurs 5 times in the Iliad, 8 times in the Odyssey and twice in the Homeric Hymns.

(cf. Diogenes Laertius ii 3, ap. KR p.143). Heraclitus of Ephesus (ca. 540-480: KR p.182) preferred the example of Anaximander. In the mordent phrase of Lucretius (i 639) he was 'clarus ob obscuram linguam', and this obscurity of his was deliberate. He praises the obscurity of the Delphic oracle (fr.93, "The lord whose Oracle is in Delphi neither speaks nor conceals but gives a sign"), "because a <u>sign</u> may accord better than a misleadingly explicit <u>statement</u> with the nature of the underlying truth" (KR p.212). A sign will be sufficient for those who know and no matter of fact explanation will be adequate for the vulgar who have not been fully initiated. The conviction of Heraclitus that he is exclusively in possession of a profound and difficult truth, and the implied comparison of himself with Apollo uttering oracles show a novel arrogance which is confirmed in the first fragment;

> "Of the Logos which is as I describe it men always prove
> to be uncomprehending both before they have heard it and
> when once they have heard it..."

He is still more contemptuous of the men who never hear his Logos;

> "...the rest of men fail to notice what they do after they
> wake up just as they forget what they do when asleep" (fr.1,
> tr. KR p.187)

He criticises his contemporaries Pythagoras and Xenophanes in the same vein (fr.40).

This contemptuous attitude to those who do not accept the writer's philosophical system later becomes part of the didactic tradition. Empedocles adopts it (p.37). Lucretius shows it in the opening of <u>DRN</u> ii (despicere unde queas alios...9), and in the description of Heraclitus himself just cited; there he combines the contemptuous attitude with Xenophanes's weapon of satire (p.15) to devastating effect.

The image in the last line of the first fragment shows another side of Anaximander's influence. Imagery is quite common in Heraclitus and can be striking - for example

$$\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\sigma\vartheta\alpha\iota\ \chi\rho\grave{\eta}\ \tau\grave{o}\nu\ \delta\tilde{\eta}\mu o\nu\ \acute{u}\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho\ \tau o\tilde{u}\ \nu\acute{o}\mu o\nu$$
$$\acute{o}\kappa\omega\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\ \tau\epsilon\acute{\iota}\chi\epsilon o\varsigma$$
$$\grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \grave{\epsilon}\gamma\rho\eta\gamma\acute{o}\rho\sigma\epsilon\iota\ (\grave{o}\ \nu o\tilde{u}\varsigma)\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\nu\ \delta\iota\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\nu$$
$$\alpha\grave{\iota}\sigma\vartheta\eta\tau\iota\kappa\tilde{\omega}\nu\ \pi\acute{o}\rho\omega\nu\ \acute{\omega}\sigma\pi\epsilon\rho\ \delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\iota\nu\omega\nu\ \vartheta\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\nu,$$
$$\pi\rho o\kappa\acute{u}\psi\alpha\varsigma$$

(Sextus adv. math vii 129, reporting Heraclitus, ap. KR 207)

Compare also frr. 107, 12, 91 etc.. Imagery is used by the Pythagoreans (cf. KR p.259, and below, p.20), by Leucippus and Democritus (cf. KR p.438). In fact it had become part of the philosopher's stock-in-trade.

Summary. A different part of the didactic tradition which culminates in
Empedocles is represented by the Milesian philosophers. They wrote in prose.
It seems to have been Anaximander who first used a simile as a scientific
analogy. Verse is brought back into the tradition by Xenophanes, poet
first and philosopher second, whose Silloi show a dialectic skill and an
organic use of description to illustrate the argument which is unknown in
Hesiod. The obscurity and arrogance of Heraclitus are influential; his
easy use of imagery indicates that it has become part of the philosopher's
stock-in-trade.

C Parmenides and the Pythagoreans

The influence of the Pythagoreans on Parmenides was such that they
are best discussed together.

Pythagoras was a grown man when he left Samos for Croton in Italy around
531 (KR p.217), so he must have been older than Heraclitus. He seems to
have used imagery in a similar way to Heraclitus; but it is hard to be
certain because like Socrates he wrote nothing himself (Plutarch, Alex.
Fort. i 4 328, ap. KR p.221) and when Aristotle sets out Pythagorean doc-
trine he could be drawing on work written anything from a generation to a
century after him. The image of the motes in the sunbeam (DRN ii 114 -
cf. p. 148) is Pythagorean and first mentioned by Aristotle (de Anima A4,
407, b27) who also gives an attractive Pythagorean explanation of why men
don't hear the music of the spheres -

> "What happens to men... is just what happens to coppersmiths,
>
> who are so accustomed to the noise of the smithy that it
>
> makes no difference to them" (de Caelo B9, 290, b12; ap. KR p.259).

Pythagoras differed from his predecessors in that he introduced philo-
sophy as a ὁδός , a way of life. As a result he founded a school of fol-
lowers which, as has been stated, was still active a hundred years later.
Whereas for the Milesians finding out about nature was a sufficient end
in itself, "wherever we can trace the influence of Pythagoras the word
(φιλοσοφία) has a far deeper meaning. Philosophy is itself a "purific-
ation" and a way of escape from the "wheel" (cycle of birth and reincarn-
ation). Science...became a religion" (J Burnet , Early Greek Philosophers,
p.83). Philosophy developed a strong metaphysical bias, partly foreshadowed
in Xenophanes (and in Heraclitus's comparison of himself to the Delphic
oracle) which is reflected in the works of Parmenides and Empedocles.

i   Parmenides's poem - Influences

"Parmenides was the first philosopher to expound his system in metrical
language...for Xenophanes was not a philosopher" (Burnet p.171). There
are no obvious echoes of the Silloi in Parmenides's work, but despite that

the example of Xenophanes seems to be the best way of explaining why
Parmenides wrote in verse. Kirk and Raven (p.265) discount the tradition
that he was taught by Xenophanes. But the tradition that Xenophanes vis-
ited Elea - where Parmenides was born around 510 (KR p.263) - perhaps
in the lifetime of Parmenides, may be sounder. He may even have written
a poem on its colonisation (KR p.166; Lesky p.208). Hence there may be a
link between them other than just Parmenides's interest in the Silloi.

But the evidence linking Parmenides with the Pythagoreans is stronger.
Diogenes Laertius says that he was converted to the contemplative life "by
the Pythagorean Ameinias" (ix 22, ap. KR p.264). Elea is not far from
Croton so the Pythagorean influence is not surprising. It accounts for
the hieratic or mystical tone of part of the poem (written in 490-75, KR
p.268), which is also a feature of the 'Purifications' of Empedocles.

Parmenides's poem is in three parts: an Introduction, the Way of Truth
and the Way of Seeming. As Simplicius in his commentary on Aristotle trans-
cribed a large part of the first, perhaps nine-tenths of the second and
most important, and rather less of the last, "we possess, probably, a higher
proportion of the writings of Parmenides than of any pre-Socratic philo-
sopher" (KR p.266). It is possible to be correspondingly more definite
about his ideas and his expression. This is just as well since the poem
of Parmenides is the first didactic poem magnis de rebus after the Theo-
gony and the first which like DRN is devoted to giving instruction about
a philosophical system. It has therefore a strong claim to be regarded
as the ancestor of DRN.

ii the Prologue

There is a curious difference between the language of the prologue
and that of the argument which means that they have to be considered separ-
ately. The diction of the argument is forceful enough, but it is not easy
to defend it against Lesky's criticism of "harshness" (p.211). The same
critic, on the other hand, praises the introduction highly (ibid.) and
one has only to read it to see why (fr.1 in DK).

The clarity of this proemium stands out in contrast to the obscurity
of the rest of the poem. And yet clarity cannot have been easy to achieve.
Despite the resemblance of the ῾Ηλιάδες κοῦραι (9) to the Muses in the
opening of the Theogony, the passage is novel in using allegory on a scale
unique in early Greek poetry (Bowra, Some Problems in early Greek Poetry,
p.39). Homer's Prayers (Il. ix 502ff, cited pp.6,10) and Hesiod's steep
path to Virtue (Works 281-92, see p.6) are comparable but much simpler and
the personified figures of the Theogony are abstractions rather than symbols

covering a coherent pattern of meaning as here.

This is not to deny that Homer's and particularly Hesiod's influence is strong in the prologue. The proemium of the Theogony with its lyrical account of the Muses and their meeting with Hesiod is an obvious model. The gates of Night and Day with their λάινος οὐδός (12) bear signs of the μέγαν οὐδὸν χάλκεον of the house of Night in Hesiod's Tartarus (Theogony 749-50); perhaps Parmenides is also thinking of Homer's twin gates of Dreams (Od. xix 562-7).But there are other poetic influences. Bowra (ibid. p.43) draws attention to certain similarities which exist between Parmenides's proem and the sixth Olympian of Pindar (22-8) in which the poet describes an ecstatic journey in a metaphorical chariot. Neither, he says, can be imitating the other so it is probable that both are drawing on a common source; if so, if Parmenides is influenced by near-contemporary writing as well as by Hesiod and Homer, we have here an important precedent for Empedocles's susceptibility to the influence of his immediate poetic predecessors (p.29).

But while Pindar is describing a search for inspiration, Parmenides goes further. He is concerned with a celestial journey to the truth; in fact Bowra suggests that the journey may be based on a mystical experience (ibid. p.34) and that the proem "is intended to have the importance and seriousness of a religious revelation" (ibid. p.46). The arrogance and oracular pretensions of Heraclitus would provide some precedent for this, but the mystical nature of Pythagorean philosophy, mentioned above, is a closer influence. Empedocles, also an admirer of Pythagoras (cf. KR p.355 and Empedocles fr.129), takes the mystical and religious element even further; he claims to be a god (fr.112).

Thus the proem establishes a precedent in three ways; it is an ecstatic introduction to a didactic poem, developing the lyrical manner of Hesiod in the proem to the Theogony and followed by Lucretius; it is considerably influenced in language by the previous and contemporary poetic tradition; and, like Pythagorean writings, it is mystical and religious in tone.

c. the Argument

The rest of the poem - after all, the pith of the argument - deserves Lesky's criticism of its "harshness" (cited p.21) on the whole. The expression is obscure and the language mostly prosaic. Moreover, the obscurity is not the deliberate oracular obscurity of Heraclitus. Like Anaximander's it springs from the lack of a sufficiently rigorous technical language. Parmenides's thesis is that "there are only two conceivable ways of enquiry" (fr.2 2): ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν (fr.8 16). But as Kirk and Raven put it: "Unfortunately even to translate these apparently simple words is liable

to be misleading, because of the ambiguity, of which Parmenides himself
was unconscious, between the predicative and existential uses of the Greek
word ἐστί "(p.269). Parmenides also has a liking for strange words formed
by analogy with such Homeric adjectives as πανάωριον, πανάποτμει etc. -
like 'πανάπευθέα ' "altogether inconceivable",(fr.2 6); a liking shared
by Empedocles (p.39) and Lucretius. He uses rather forced metaphors, for
example

$$οὐ γὰρ μήποτε τοῦτο δαμῆ εἶναι μὴ ἐόντα$$

fr.7 1

"This shall never be conquered, ie. proved, that things that are not, are."
Liddell and Scott give no parallels for this use of δαμάω (though 'vinco'
and 'pervinco' are used in Latin in this sense; cf. Lucretius, DRN v 99,
735 etc.). This penchant for the unusual does not make his meaning any
clearer. But it is possible that Parmenides, like Heraclitus, saw a
certain value in obscurity (cf. p.19).

a. Certainly the argument offers compensations; firstly, because of the
introduction of personalities. It is put in the mouth of a goddess[1] (fr.1 22)
who reinforces her point in a way like Hesiod's in the Works and Days (p.8f)
but less lively; for example

$$εἰ δ᾽ ἄγ᾽ ἐγὼν ἐρέω, κόμισαι δὲ σὺ μῦθον ἀκούσας$$
$$αἵπερ ὁδοὶ μοῦναι διζήσιός εἰσι νοῆσαι$$

fr.2 1-2 (cf. fr.7 2-6; fr.8 7-8, cited below).

b. More effective than this is the poet's **use of dialectic**, his habit
of advancing the argument through a series of causal conjunctions and
rhetorical questions (which are natural, because the goddess is supposed
to be addressing and questioning Parmenides). There is a clear advance on
the dialectic of Xenophanes in a paragraph like the following;

$$μόνος δ᾽ ἔτι μῦθος ὁδοῖο$$
$$λείπεται ὡς ἐστιν· ταύτῃ δ᾽ ἐπὶ σήματ᾽ ἔασι$$
$$πολλὰ μάλ᾽, ὡς ἀγένητον ἐὸν καὶ ἀνώλεθρόν ἐστιν$$
$$ἔστι γὰρ οὐλομελές τε καὶ ἀτρεμὲς ἠδ᾽ ἀτέλεστον$$
$$οὐδέ ποτ᾽ ἦν οὐδ᾽ ἔσται, ἐπεὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὁμοῦ πᾶν,$$
$$ἕν, συνεχές· τίνα γὰρ γένναν διζήσεαι αὐτοῦ;$$
$$πῇ πόθεν αὐξηθέν; οὐδ᾽ ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος ἐάσσω$$
$$φάσθαι σ᾽ οὐδὲ νοεῖν· οὐ γὰρ φατὸν οὐδὲ νοητὸν$$
$$ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἔστι. τί δ᾽ ἄν μιν καὶ χρέος ὦρσε$$
(-ἐν

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[1] cf. Nature in DRN iii 931ff.

ὕστερον ἢ πρόσθεν, τοῦ μηδενὸς ἀρξάμενον, φῦν;
οὕτως ἢ πάμπαν πελέναι χρεών ἐστιν ἢ οὐχί.
οὐδέ ποτ' ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος ἐφήσει πίστιος ἰσχὺς
γίγνεσθαί τι παρ' αὐτό· τοῦ εἵνεκεν οὔτε γενέσθαι
οὔτ' ὄλλυσθαι ἀνῆκε Δίκη χαλάσασα πέδησιν,
ἀλλ' ἔχει· ἡ δὲ κρίσις περὶ τούτων ἐν τῷδ' ἔστιν· 15
ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν· κέκριται δ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἀνάγκη,
τὴν μὲν ἐᾶν ἀνόητον ἀνώνυμον (οὐ γὰρ ἀληθὴς
ἔστιν ὁδός), τὴν δ' ὥστε πέλειν καὶ ἐτήτυμον εἶναι
πῶς δ' ἂν ἔπειτ' ἀπόλοιτο ἐόν; πῶς δ' ἄν κε γένοιτ
εἰ γὰρ ἔγεντ', οὐκ ἔστ', οὐδ' εἴ ποτε μέλλει ἔσεσθαι·
τὼς γένεσις μὲν ἀπέσβεσται καὶ ἄπυστος ὄλεθρος.

<div style="text-align:right">fr.8 1-21</div>

The building up of proofs (σήματα, line 2) is part of rhetoric (see p.25 on Parmenides's connexion with it) and something that Lucretius follows - eg. in book i 159-214, 215-64 etc. So is the use of such a superabundance of arguments that the reader is bound to accept the philosophical point (compare Lucretius's threat to Memmius, DRN i 410-17, referred to on p.36;

quod si pigraris paulumve recesseris ab re...etc.).

Similar too is the structure of the paragraph, building up to recapitulation (14-20) and final assertion of the point(21) with the play on words γένεσις ...ἀπέσβεσται. But the whole section with its relentless dialectic is in its way more striking than anything of the kind in Lucretius - witness especially the string of questions in 6-10 and the ruthless assurance of line 7 - οὐδ' ἐκ μὴ ἐόντος ἐάσσω φάσθαι σ' οὐδὲ νοεῖν.

Lucretius, in the passage just cited, is much more urbane; he is devoting a whole paragraph to telling Memmius that he cannot escape the truth of what he says. In the main body of the argument he goes no further than to tell Memmius, for example

hoc pacto sequar atque oras ubicumque locaris
extremas, quaeram quid telo denique fiat.   i 980-1

- this from one of his most insistent and persuasive proofs, that the universe has no bounds (958-87). In this passage, as is typical with Lucretius, the main onus of proof falls not on dialectic as used by Parmenides in fr.8 (which is not to deny it an important place here) but on the famous image of the man casting a javelin from the edge of the universe (969-73). By contrast the fragment of Parmenides is almost bare of imagery. Indeed the only significant concession the philosopher makes to poetic convention is

the use of poetic words like πέλεναι(11) and forms like οὐλομελές(4) ἔασσω(7) εἵνεκεν (13) and even then maybe only because these forms are traditional in hexameter verse. Nevertheless the power of this paragraph and others like it (eg. fr.4; fr.8 50ff) is undeniable. No doubt Parmenides, like Empedocles, had learnt his mastery of dialectic from the Eleatic philosophers who originated the formal study of rhetoric.[1]

c. Besides the goddess and Parmenides (p.23) there is a **third person involved in the argument;**

$$\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\tau\eta\varsigma \ \gamma\dot{\alpha}\rho \ \sigma'\dot{\alpha}\phi'\dot{\delta}o\hat{\upsilon} \ \tau\alpha\dot{\upsilon}\tau\eta\varsigma \ \delta\iota\zeta\dot{\eta}\sigma\iota o\varsigma \ \langle\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho\gamma\omega\rangle,$$
$$\dot{\alpha}\dot{\upsilon}\tau\dot{\alpha}\rho \ \dot{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\tau'\dot{\alpha}\pi\dot{o} \ \tau\hat{\eta}\varsigma, \dot{\eta}\nu \ \delta\dot{\eta} \ \beta\rho o\tau o\iota \ \epsilon\dot{\iota}\delta\dot{o}\tau\epsilon\varsigma \ o\dot{\upsilon}\delta\dot{\epsilon}\nu$$
$$\pi\lambda\dot{\alpha}\tau\tau o\nu\tau\alpha\iota, \delta\dot{\iota}\kappa\rho\alpha\nu\text{etc.} \qquad\qquad \text{fr.6 3-9.}$$

These wretched mortals, descendants of Hesiod's crooked princes or Homer's companions of Odysseus (p.10), make their next appearance in the prologue of Empedocles's On Nature (cf. p.37).

d. But because of the **austerity of the philosopher's style** they lack the pathos of Hesiod or Homer. When Parmenides says that "helplessness guides the wandering thoughts in their breasts" (fr.6 5-6) he is admittedly using personification (ἀμηχανίη) animism (πλακτόν νόον)and metaphor (ἰθύνει). Similarly in fr.8

$$\zeta\mu\pi\dot{\omega}\sigma\epsilon \ \delta\dot{\epsilon} \ \pi\dot{\iota}\sigma\tau\iota\varsigma \ \dot{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\dot{\eta}\varsigma.$$
$$\kappa\rho\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho\dot{\eta} \ \gamma\dot{\alpha}\rho \ \dot{A}\nu\dot{\alpha}\gamma\kappa\eta \ / \ \pi\epsilon\dot{\iota}\rho\alpha\tau o\varsigma \ \dot{\epsilon}\nu \ \delta\epsilon\sigma\mu o\hat{\iota}\sigma\iota\nu \ \dot{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota$$

$$(28,30\text{-}1)$$

and also fr.2 4

$$\pi\epsilon\iota\theta o\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma \ \dot{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\iota \ \kappa\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta o\varsigma (\dot{A}\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\dot{\iota}\eta \ \gamma\dot{\alpha}\rho \ \dot{o}\pi\eta\delta\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\iota})\text{etc.}$$

But he seems to use these essentially poetic forms of expression because they are forceful and impressive, without regard for their poignant, poetic quality. The pathos of Homer's ' δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν' is regained by Empedocles (see p.30) but there is no trace of it here. Because metaphor is used for the pragmatic reason of convenience and with no poetic purpose, there is only notable example of it in the long passage of fr.8 quoted above (14; ἀνῆκε Δίκη χαλάσασα πέδησιν). In the same way Parmenides, like Anaximander, uses an analogy purely because it is striking and useful -

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[1]Empedocles's training by the Eleatics was important to his subsequent development as an orator (cf. Robin, La Pensée Grecque, translated by Dobie, p.100, and p.28 below).

$$\alpha \mathring{\upsilon} \tau \grave{\alpha} \rho \ \mathring{\epsilon} \pi \grave{\epsilon} \grave{\iota} \ \pi \epsilon \widehat{\iota} \rho \alpha \varsigma \ \pi \mathring{\upsilon} \mu \alpha \tau o v \ \tau \epsilon \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \sigma \mu \acute{\epsilon} v o v \ \mathring{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \grave{\iota}$$
$$\pi \acute{\alpha} v \tau o \vartheta \epsilon v, \epsilon \mathring{\upsilon} \kappa \acute{\upsilon} \kappa \lambda o v \ \sigma \phi \alpha \acute{\iota} \rho \eta \varsigma \ \mathring{\epsilon} v \alpha \lambda \acute{\iota} \gamma \kappa \iota o v \ \mathring{o} \gamma \kappa \omega$$

fr.8 42-3.

The delight in the pictorial quality of the image which distinguishes, for example, the Pythagorean analogy of the coppersmiths is absent. In this Parmenides differs from both Empedocles and Lucretius.

The "recapitulation of the main steps in the argument of the Way of Truth" (KR p.277) will serve as a final example of Parmenides's style in the argument;

$$\tau \alpha \mathring{\upsilon} \tau \grave{o} v \ \delta' \mathring{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota \ v o \epsilon \widehat{\iota} v \ \tau \epsilon \ \kappa \alpha \grave{\iota} \ o \mathring{\upsilon} v \epsilon \kappa \epsilon v \ \mathring{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \iota \ v \acute{o} \eta \mu \alpha$$ etc.

fr.8 34-41.

The personification of Fate (37) and even more the presence of one colourful adjective ~~adjective~~ ($\phi \alpha v \acute{o} v$ 41) only serves to show up the austerity of the style as a whole. Unlike other poets Parmenides does not take delight in description for its own sake (except in the proem). Hence none of his compound peithets are delightful in themselves, and even $\phi \alpha v \acute{o} v$ is only there because it is essential to the argument (change of colour is only likely to be noticed if it is bright). Like other poetic elements in the argument of Parmenides's poem it has a strictly philosophical purpose.

We are thus faced with a strange dichotomy between the ecstatic poet of the proem and the philosopher of the argument with his masterly exposition and involvement of the reader. As a philosopher Parmenides was the most influential of the pre-Socratics (KR p.266). As a didactic poet he had one imitator - Empedocles.

Summary. The Pythagoreans, who taught Parmenides, introduced mysticism into philosophy. Parmenides is the first didactic poet in the sense of one who expounds a philosophical argument in verse; in this he may have been influenced by Xenophanes. There is a marked difference between the proem of the Way of Seeming and the argument. The proem is lyrical, much influenced by poetic tradition, and mystical in tone. The argument, despite its brilliant dialectic and involvement of the reader, is lacking in poetic quality. In particular there is little delight in description for its own sake.

2 Empedocles

The author chosen by Aristotle in the Poetics to represent poetry
on a philosophical subject is neither Hesiod nor Parmenides but Empedocles.
Hesiod adapts the epic manner, involves the person to whom the Works and
Days is addressed, and uses descriptive writing, in a way which for much
of the poem could hardly be bettered. But his subject is farming rather
than philosophy; and as Aristotle is concerned with philosophical poetry he
does not mention Hesiod. Parmenides, on the contrary, is too philosophical
and his argument to a large extent lacks the graces of poetic language
and imagery. Even Empedocles, although chosen by Aristotle, is found lack-
ing in poetic qualities by him -

> "Even if a theory of medicine or physical philosophy be put
> forth in a metrical form it is usual to describe the writer
> (as a poet): Homer and Empedocles, however, have really noth-
> ing in common apart from their metre; so that if the one
> is to be called a poet, the other should be termed a phys-
> icist rather than a poet" (Poetics 14 47 b15-20).[1]

Aristotle makes a valid point but fortunately he is not always consistent;

> "In his treatise 'On Poets' (Aristotle) says that Empedocles
> was of Homer's school and powerful in diction, being great
> in metaphors and in the use of all other poetic devices."
> (Diogenes Laertius viii 57)

The most famous literary critic of antiquity therefore chose Empedocles
as the most notable philosopher poet and regarded him, purely as a poet,
quite highly.

Lucretius's enthusiasm for Empedocles lacks Aristotle's reservations.
His tribute (DRN i 716-33) ends with the words (borrowed from Empedocles,
fr.112 4)

> ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus ;

the warmth of this eulogy is exceeded only by that of his praise for Epicurus
in the proems to DRN iii and v -

> deus ille fuit, deus, inclute Memmi (v 8) etc.

Yet Epicurus disagreed philosophically with Empedocles; and Heraclitus,
with whom Epicurus also disagreed, is for that reason roundly attacked
by Lucretius less than a hundred lines before his praise of Empedocles
(i 638-44; cf. p.19). The fact is that Empedocles's poem On Nature
provided the literary model for DRN (cf. below, pp.48ff) - hence Lucretius's

[1]Compare the criticisms of Quintilian (p.8).

tribute. It is therefore necessary to discuss <u>On Nature</u> and <u>The Purific-</u>
<u>ations</u> (another didactic poem by Empedocles) in some detail. Fortunately
about a thousand lines, about one fifth of the whole and more than from
any of the other pre-Socratics, have survived (Burnet p.203f).

Empedocles came from Acragas. He was a younger contemporary of Anaxa-
goras (floruit ca. 450) if we accept the statement of Theophrastus cited
in Simplicius (Phys. 25 19, ap. KR p.320) and was "an admirer and associate
of Parmenides, and even more of the Pythagoreans" (Suda, ap. KR p.322).
This would account for the mystical side of his work, which is particularly
evident in <u>The Purifications</u>. We also know that he was an orator of con-
siderable power, called by Timon "a rattle of the market place" (fr.42 1)[1]
and trained by the Eleatics (Robin p.100), as Parmenides may have been.
Hence the force with which he can present an argument is not surprising.

As <u>On Nature</u> survives in greater bulk (111 fragments in Diels Kranz,
against 40 shorter fragments of <u>The Purifications</u>) it seems best to con-
centrate on it. Besides it had more influence on <u>DRN</u>, as its name implies.
Examples can be chosen from Empedocles's other poem where appropriate.

A On Nature - the influence of his predecessors on Empedocles

<u>On Nature</u> was in two books and about two thousand lines long (Suda,
ibid.); less than a fifth of it survives. If we accept the order of Diels,
its argument was as follows. In the first fragments Empedocles calls on
his disciple Pausanias to listen carefully; an invocation follows addressed
to the gods and a Muse. The argument proper begins with a defence of the
senses against Parmenides, after which the theory of the four elements is
announced. (This is Empedocles's answer to Parmenides's argument that
nothing can be created or destroyed since everything is). Next Emped-
ocles borrows the Parmenidean concept of a Sphere: but instead of being
a static eternal Unity, he states that it is composed of the four ele-
ments, and besides that it is only one part of a never-ending cosmic cycle
which has four stages; the rule of Love (the Sphere) and the rule of Strife
with two stages of transition between them. In the rule of Love there is
a uniform mixture of all the elements and in that of Strife they are
completely separated into four homogeneous masses. The world as we know
it is the fourth and last stage of the transition from Love to Strife: for
in the first, matter and the heavenly bodies were created, in the second,
monsters and deformities, and in the third, beings without distinction
of sex. (Into his account of the present world Empedocles introduces
theories to account for respiration, sense-perception and consciousness
which imply that the air is corporeal and that objects emit effluences -

[1]The ref. is taken from Robin and is not to DK. Presumably then it is
to the fragments of Timon of Phlius in H. Diels, Poetarum Philosophorum (PTO

anticipations of atomic theory). Finally he exhorts Pausanias to master his system and promises to give him supernatural power (KR pp.323-48).[1]

From this summary the influence of Empedocles's predecessors is clear at once. Setting aside the philosophical influence of Parmenides, Anaximander, Xenophanes (whose thought-god is described in terms similar to Empedocles's Sphere) and the Pythagoreans, it is evident that Empedocles has the Works and Days in mind in the address to Pausanias and in the invocation to the Muse. But in the invocation he refers to a divine chariot like that of Parmenides, who must therefore influence his expression as well as his thought. Much of his language and imagery is influenced by Homer. It may even be significant that the expression of the surviving fragment of Anaximander is curiously like that of parts of On Nature. Kirk and Raven's view (p.360), that of all the pre-Socratics Empedocles is most influenced philosophically by his predecessors, seems to hold true of his expression as well.

The influence of Hesiod is apparent from the start. The Muse and Pausanias (like Perses, the poem is addressed to him) are introduced in the first three fragments;

1. And you listen, Pausanias, son of wise Anchites.

2. For the powers that are spread through their limbs are restricted, and many are the troubles that burst in and blunt their careful thoughts. Having observed in their lives a negligible part of life, early doomed, rising like smoke they fly away, convinced of that alone which each had met with (5) as they are driven to and fro; but every one claims to have found the whole. So hard are these things to be seen by men or to be heard by them or to be grasped by the mind. You, then, (Pausanias) since you have wandered here, will learn no more than mortal wit can rise to.

3. But, gods, turn these men's madness away from my tongue. Make a pure spring flow from my hallowed lips. And you, much-wooed white-armed maiden Muse, I beg that I may hear what is lawful for creatures of a day. Escort me from Holiness and drive my chariot obedient to the rein (5). Nor shall garlands of glory and honour from mortals oblige you to raise them up, on condition that you speak more than is lawful and so gain a throne on the peaks of wisdom.

But come (Pausanias) consider with all your powers where everything is clear. Do not believe what sight you have more than what you hear (10), or your resounding ear more than the instructions of your tongue, and do not hold back belief from any of the other parts of the body by which there

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[1] For an exhaustive account of Empedocles's philosophy see D O'Brien, Empedocles' Cosmic Cycle, Cambridge 1969.

is a path for understanding, but consider everything in the way it is clear.

Hesiod is not the only poet who has influenced Empedocles in fr.3. Whereas
the Theogony, like the Works and Days, begins with the praise of all the
Muses (1-115) and is addressed only to Zeus, here all the gods are addressed
and only one anonymous Muse. The model may be a lyric poet such as the
one who provided the model for the proem to Parmenides's poem (see p.22);
but perhaps it is more likely to be Parmenides himself, with his unnamed
goddess. The chariot of inspiration (fr.3-5) seems clearly derived from
Parmenides, who appears to be referred to twice (fr.3 1,6-7). The Muse
resembles Parmenides's goddess also in that her revelation has religious
or metaphysical importance (since she is to send the poet "from the
abode of Holiness").

But despite these resemblances Empedocles's proem has a completely
new effect. On a philosophical level Empedocles has given himself a
more exalted role than Parmenides because Parmenides merely relates what
the goddess told him whereas Empedocles is writing down the truth he arrived
at himself with the help of the Muse. This haughty attitude has its effect
on a poetic level as well. But on this level other things are more striking.
The second fragment is full of the sort of poetic pathos we find in Homer's
phrase δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν, writ large, especially in lines 3-4 with
their comparison of the departing soul to smoke (cf. p.13):

$$\text{παῦρον δε ζωῆισι βίου μέρος ἀθρήσαντες}$$
$$\text{ὠκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἀρθέντες ἀπέπταν}$$

Also where Parmenides's verse is almost bare of imagery Empedocles's is
filled with a succession of over-exuberant metaphors. The poet seems to
be carried away by his inspiration; so much so that it is difficult to
know whether the effect is calculated or not. (This comment applies to
the rest of On Nature as well).

In spite of its bombast the proem must have made a great impression
on Pausanias and subsequent audiences, including Lucretius. The hymn
to Venus at the opening of DRN is surely due to its influence (see p.43).

B Realisation of the poet-reader relationship[1]

Why did Empedocles address his philosophical tract to Pausanias?
Certainly Hesiod's Works and Days provided an example for him to follow,
and there are other examples like that of Theognis.[2] Of these Hesiod's

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[1] For the phrase, see p.9n.

[2] See p.10n.

would be the most authoritative. It is possible that Empedocles quite independently decided to set out his system for a pupil, in verse to make it more palatable.

He is undoubtedly anxious to keep Pausanias listening; after a solemn epic apostrophe including patronymic (fr.1; cf. Lucretius's 'Memmiadae nostro,' i 26) he first introduces the most eloquent statement yet of the 'wretched mortals' theme and then turns to Pausanias with the moral – "however much you listen to me you will learn no more than a mortal can" – a piece of honesty with an air of pathos about it (fr.2). After his lofty appeal to the gods there is an abrupt change of register as he returns to Pausanias with an instruction to accept the evidence of the senses. He then reiterates the contrast with other philosophers (or just unenlightened people, cf. p.37) and the inspired nature of his message (in fr.4) before beginning his exposition (in fr.6). Like Hesiod with Perses he does not intend Pausanias to forget that this is a personal lesson, or to let his attention wander; whether it is a matter of introducing a new topic with a Homeric formula (cf. Hesiod, p.10) or of intervening personally to make a concession to the language of men;

a. ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω· φύσις οὐδενός ἐστιν ἁπάντων
θνητῶν
fr.8 1-2

(cf.frr.21·1; 38 1;62 1; ἀλλ᾽/εἰ δ/ νυν δ ἀγε)

b. ἡ θέμις <οὐ> καλέουσι, νόμωι δ᾽ ἐπίφημι καὶ αὐτός
fr.9 5[1]

"they do not call it what is right, but I myself assent to their custom." (cf.fr.16 1; ὅ(ω) parenthetic).

Or else referring to their common experience –

ἀλλ᾽ ἄγε, τῶνδ᾽ ὀάρων προτέρων ἐπιμάρτυρα δέρκευ
fr.21 1

"but come, consider this evidence of our former conversations",

or with a more general reference –

ἔνθ᾽ ὄψει χθόνα χρωτὸς ὑπέρτατα ναιετάουσαν
fr.76 3; (cf.fr.109·1)

"there you will see land lying on the topmost part of the skin".

---

[1]Here Empedocles shares Parmenides's suspicion of the misleading nature of ordinary speech; cf. Parmenides frr. 6 and 7, and fr. 8 50-2 (the transition from 'truth' to 'seeming') –

ἐν τῷ σοι παύω πιστὸν λόγον ἠδὲ νόημα
ἀμφὶς ἀληθείης· δόξας δ᾽ ἀπὸ τοῦδε βροτείας
μάνθανε κόσμον ἐμῶν ἐπέων ἀπατηλὸν ἀκούων.

"Here I end my trustworthy discourse and thought concerning truth; henceforth learn the beliefs of mortal men, listening to the deceitful ordering of my words."

Or anticipating objections;

$$\epsilon\grave{\iota} \; \delta\acute{\epsilon} \; \tau\acute{\iota} \; 6o\iota \; \pi\epsilon\rho\grave{\iota} \; \tau\widehat{\omega}\nu\delta\epsilon \; \lambda\iota\pi\acute{o}\zeta\upsilon\lambda o\varsigma \; \acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\epsilon\tau o \; \pi\acute{\iota}6\tau\iota\varsigma$$

fr.71 1

"But if your belief on this in some way lacks fibre..."

(cf. DRN i 410, and p.36).

To add emphasis at important points he will, for example, return to the metaphor of the divine chariot/path of song, or expand on a moral;

a. $\alpha\grave{\upsilon}\tau\grave{\alpha}\rho \; \acute{\epsilon}\gamma\grave{\omega} \; \pi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu o\rho6o\varsigma \; \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}6o\mu\alpha\iota \; \acute{\epsilon}\varsigma \; \pi\acute{o}\rho o\nu \; \acute{\upsilon}\mu\nu\omega\nu$
$\tau\grave{o}\nu \; \pi\rho o\tau\epsilon\rho o\nu \; \kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\xi\alpha, \lambda\acute{o}\gamma o\upsilon \; \lambda\acute{o}\gamma o\nu \; \acute{\epsilon}\xi o\chi\epsilon\upsilon\acute{\omega}\nu,$
$\kappa\widehat{\epsilon}\iota\nu o\nu \cdot$

fr.35 1-3; (cf. fr.24)

"But I shall return to the path of song which I described before,
deriving word from word, this one." (Love prevailing over Strife)

b. $o\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega \; \mu\acute{\eta} \; 6'\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta \; \phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha \; \kappa\alpha\iota\nu\acute{\upsilon}\tau\omega \; \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda o\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\nu \; \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota$
$\vartheta\nu\eta\tau\widehat{\omega}\nu \; \acute{o}66\alpha \; \gamma\epsilon \; \delta\widehat{\eta}\lambda\alpha \; \gamma\epsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}\kappa\alpha6\iota\nu \; \acute{\alpha}6\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha, \pi\eta\gamma\acute{\eta}\nu,$
$\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\grave{\alpha} \; \tau o\rho\widehat{\omega}\varsigma \; \tau\alpha\widehat{\upsilon}\tau' \; \acute{\iota}6\vartheta\iota \; \vartheta\epsilon o\widehat{\upsilon} \; \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\alpha, \mu\widehat{\upsilon}\vartheta o\nu \; \acute{\alpha}\kappa o\acute{\upsilon}6\alpha\varsigma$

fr.23 9-11

"so don't let folly overcome your senses, persuading you that
the spring of mortal things, such as have been created clear to
see in their infinite numbers, is (from) elsewhere, but know
this plainly, having heard the word from a god."

In the later part of the poem as we have it these personal references
are rarer (for that matter they are in Hesiod; cf. p.9f). But the poet
returns to Pausanias at the end and carefully emphasises the need to master
his lecture (fr.110 1-10) and the advantages he can expect;

fr.111. You shall learn of medicines, such as have been created as
a defence against ills and old age, since for you only I shall fulfill all
this; you shall arrest the might of tireless winds who rising over the
earth with their blasts destroy the ploughlands, and again, if you should
wish, you shall bring on their blasts in vengeance; (5) you shall make drought
in due time for men after a dark shower, and you shall also make after a
summer's drought tree-nourishing streams, which will flow (?) from the
aether, and you shall draw out of Hades the strength of a dead man.

The personality of Pausanias does not emerge at all from On Nature,
unlike that of Perses in Hesiod; indeed the sense of a lively conflict between
the poet and his brother, which is one of the most attractive features of
the Works and Days, could hardly be present here; however that of Empedocles,
alternately lecturing, cajoling, hectoring and offering blandishments to

one of his pupils, comes across clearly. Empedocles is the only pre-
Socratic to realise the philosopher-pupil/poet-reader relationship and he
does it convincingly (on Parmenides's undeveloped use of the technique cf.
p.34). No-one would doubt that the poem was written directly for Pausanias
in the way that Bailey (pp.32-3) doubts whether Lucretius had Memmius in
mind in the later books of DRN. It is possible to illustrate this by com-
paring the section of On Nature which survives complete (introduction of
Love and Strife, fr.17) firstly with the paragraph from the Way of Truth
quoted above (p.23f) and then with a paragraph of DRN (say ii 61-79).

fr.17. A double tale will I tell; at one time it grew to be one
only from many, at another it divided again to be many things and a double
passing away. One is brought about, and again destroyed, by the coming
together of all things, the other grows up and is scattered as things are
again divided (5). And these things never cease from continual shifting,
at one time all coming together, through Love, into one: at another each
borne apart from the others through Strife. <So, in so far as they have
learnt to grow into one from many>, and again, when the one is parted, are
once more many, (10) thus far they come into being and they have no lasting
life; but in so far as they never cease from continual interchange of
places, thus far are they ever changeless in the cycle.

But come, listen to my words; for learning increases wisdom. As I
said before when I declared the limits of my words (15) a double tale will
I tell; at one time it grew to be one only from many, at another it divided
again to be many from one, fire and water and earth and the vast height
of air, dread Strife too, apart from these, everywhere equally balanced,
and Love in their midst, equal in length and breadth (20). Gaze on her
with your mind, and do not sit with dazed eyes; for she is recognised as
inborn in mortal limbs; by her they think kind thoughts and do the works
of concord, calling her Joy by name and Aphrodite. Her does no mortal man
know as she whirls around amid the others, (25) but do you pay heed to the
undeceitful ordering of my discourse. For all these are equal, and of like
age, but each has a different prerogative and its own character and in
turn they prevail as time comes round. And besides these nothing else
comes into being nor ceases to be (30); for if they were continually being
destroyed they would no longer be; and what could increase this whole, and
whence could it come? And how could these things perish too, since nothing
is empty of them? Nay, there are these things alone, and running through
one another they become now this and now that and yet remain ever as they
are (35). (Translation after KR pp.326-8).

Other aspects of this passage will be considered later; my present point is that it works as a harangue or sermon. Empedocles briefly arouses an expectation ($\delta\iota\pi\lambda$ ' $\check{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ 1) which he satisfies with an account of the cosmic cycle (1-8), rephrased and summarised (9-13). He then demands attention, with the reflection that this is bound to do Pausanias good (14) repeats his first statement and expands it (15-20) and draws the attention of Pausanias particularly to the last part in a decidedly professorial way (21). He enlarges on the point and remarks that as mortals get it wrong Pausanias must listen carefully to the true explanation (22-6). He then resumes the argument, reiterates an important point and pushes it home with a series of rhetorical questions (27-33). These apparently remain unanswered; he assumes that the point is made and summarises it (34-5).[1]

A comparison with Parmenides frr.7 and 8 (quoted or referred to on p.23f; they go together) shows a similar technique less well-developed; the goddess tells Parmenides to pay attention (fr.7) and asks frequent rhetorical questions (fr.8 6-10,19) but nevertheless the paragraph reads like a monologue because the pupil is not addressed so personally and realistically in the argument proper; his attention is insisted upon, but there is no attempt to interest him or to plan the argument so that the main points are reiterated in various ways. He is commanded (fr.8 7), not persuaded, to concede the case. Here is a bitter pill indeed, and one with no sugar.

Lucretius has far more complex material to expound and more arguments behind each point, so that a section of DRN which is complete in itself will run to hundreds of lines instead of Empedocles's thirty-five. It is not possible, therefore, to find a passage which is strictly comparable; the argument on atomic motion, the beginning of which is used below for comparison, runs from ii 62-332.

Lucretius states the theory of atomic motion and asks for Memmius's attention (62-6), nunc age...expediam; tu te dictis praebere memento. For, he explains, we see some things grow and others decay, and nothing remains the same (67-75). The conclusion to the paragraph (a. 75-6) is prolonged to satisfy the writer's pleasure in pictorial language and desire to impose a fitting poetic climax (b.77-9);[2]

---

[1] Compare Lucretius's use of rhetorical questions in DRN ii 886ff (p.155) and Hesiod's use of gnomai at the end of sections of the Works and Days (p.8).

[2] cf. p.128.

a. (sic rerum summa novatur
   (semper, et inter se mortales mutua vivunt.

   (augescunt aliae gentes, aliae minuuntur,
b. (inque brevi spatio mutantur saecla animantum
   (et quasi cursores vitai lampada tradunt.

The detailed proof of atomic motion begins with an assertion that
if Memmius thinks atoms can stay still, he is wrong;

        avius a vera longe ratione vagaris.   82

The exposition continues with a few unexciting references to the reader
(pervideas 90 conicere ut possis 121 te advertere par est 125 videbis 129
cernere quimus 140) until 142, when a new subsection is introduced;

        Nunc quae mobilitas sit reddita materiai

        corporibus, paucis licet hinc cognoscere, Memmi.   142-3

after which Memmius/the reader is not mentioned (except for videmus 149)
until

        quae tibi posterius, Memmi, faciemus aperta.   182

and so on. Lucretius's effort to retain the praetor's interest by directly
addressing him is more urbane, much less wilful and dynamic than Empedocles's.

However, in Book i Lucretius gives greater prominence to Memmius than
he does in the other books of DRN: for example during the proof of the exist-
ence of the void, where he anticipates objections;

        Illud in his rebus ne te deducere vero

        possit, quod quidam fingunt, praecurrere cogor.   370-1.

Lucretius states the false argument (372-6) denies it (377) and continues
with a couple of sardonic rhetorical questions (378-80; Lucretius's
sardonic humour is new to the tradition, unless we count Xenophanes's
satire on Pyghagoras, p.15 above);

        nam quo squamigeri poterunt procedere tandem,

        ni spatium dederint latices? concedere porro

        quo poterunt undae, cum pisces ire nequibunt?

and concludes that either atoms must be considered immobile or else the
existence of the void has to be accepted (381-3). He follows with an ana-
logy (384-90), rejects the suggestion of 'aliquis' (not Memmius) - errat
393; gives his reason and ends by finding the idea absurd on general grounds
(393-7).

Compared with fr.17 of Empedocles this is part of a treatise rather
than a private lecture (note that Empedocles does not subject his oppon-
ents' views to the same logical analysis as Lucretius - he just dismisses
them out of hand); it lacks intensity. But Lucretius goes on to address
Memmius in the most personal terms found anywhere in the poem after the
proemium (102ff especially 136-50). He insists that his friend must now

admit the existence of void, adding that he could any much more on the sub-
ject, but that what he has said already should be enough for a man of
intelligence (398-403). Memmius, he says, should pick out the clues like
a hound on the track of a beast in the mountains (404-09). But if he still
hesitates,

> quod si pigraris paulumve recesseris ab re,
>
> hoc tibi de plano possum promittere, Memmi;
>
> usque adeo larqos haustus e fontibu' magnis
>
> lingua meo suavis diti de pectore fundet,
>
> ut verear ne tarda prius per membra senectus
>
> serpat et in nobis vitai claustra resolvat,
>
> quam tibi de quavis una re versibus omnis
>
> argumentorum sit copia missa per auris   410-17.

The tone is friendly and lyrical, with an attractive but perhaps rather
impersonal display of Lucretius's ars, more than compelling; and here
Lucretius is giving Memmius far more prominence than he does later. The
relationship is not maintained at the same level.

Empedocles gives Pausanias still greater prominence than this at the
beginning of On Nature, because he addresses Pausanias before the Muse,
whereas Lucretius first invokes Venus. But the difference is unimportant.
What matters is that Empedocles returns to Pausanias at the end of his poem,
whereas Memmius seems to have been forgotten altogether at the end of DRN.
Compared with the poet-reader relationship projected by Empedocles, that
developed by Lucretius lacks conviction because Memmius is allowed to fade
out of the argument; also it is not striking or demanding enough; the poet
is too artful and polite.

However, such a comparison is bound to be artificial to some extent,
because Lucretius was writing centuries after Empedocles in a different
language. The position of a Greek philosopher lecturing a disciple in the
fifth century was not that of a Roman Epicurean expounding the tenets of
his school to a praetor in the first. Moreover Lucretius was writing with
Empedocles's work before him, as is clear not only from the famous eulogy
of Empedocles (DRN i 716-33) but also from a number of echoes of On Nature
in DRN (see below, pp.48ff). Two examples involving Memmius can be con-
sidered. Firstly, the opening of the passage just quoted (quod si pigraris
etc.) can be compared with fr.71

$$\text{εἰ δέ τί σοι περὶ τῶνδε λιπόξυλος ἔπλετο πίστις}$$

(cf. p.32). Again, while Empedocles introduces Pausanias with an epical
patronymic phrase

$$\text{Παυσανίη σὺ δὲ κλῦθι, δαΐφρονος Ἀγχίτεω υἱε fr.1}$$

Lucretius calls Memmius first 'Memmiadae nostro' (i 26) then 'Memmi clara
propago' (i 42). So Lucretius's method of developing the poet-reader
relationship must be partly due to the influence of Empedocles. Would
Memmius be as prominent as he is in ORN, or even there at all, if Lucretius
had never read Empedocles?

To return, however, to On Nature. There is a third person in the
background of Empedocles's lecture to Pausanias, like the foolish kings in
Hesiod or Parmenides's wandering mortals (pp.10,25); the conventional
thinkers;

νήπιοι· οὐ γάρ σφιν δολιχόφρονές εἰσι μέριμναι,
οἳ δὴ γίγνεσθαι πάρος οὐκ ἐὸν ἐλπίζουσιν
ἤ τι καταθνήισκειν τε καὶ ἐξόλλυσθαι ἁπάντηι

fr.11.

The poet also mentions them at the beginning of fr.3 (quoted on p.29);
"But gods, turn their madness away from my tongue."[1] Perhaps it is these
men, not mankind in general, that he has in mind when he admonishes Paus-
anias about the state of wretched mortals (fr.2, quoted p.29; cf.p30). If
so νήπιοι (fr.11 1) may have some of the pathos it has in Homer (cf. p.11)
as well as the anger of Hesiod (Works 40).

Lucretius devotes a large section of ORN i (635-920) in similar vein
to refuting philosophers who postulate a first material different from
the atoms of Epicurus. His invective shows a detail and satiric wit that
Empedocles's attacks on the νήπιοι do not have. (Dudley, Lucretius, p.116
argues that the Italian "vinegar bottle" is a more Roman characteristic
in any case; but see above, p.15 on Xenophanes and Pythagoras).

> Heraclitus init quorum dux proelia primus,
>
> clarus ob obscuram linguam magis inter inanis
>
> quamde gravis inter Graios qui vera requirunt.   i 638-40[2]

Nevertheless there is a resemblance between the 'fool' of Empedocles and
and the 'inanis' of Lucretius, or the 'stolidi' of the following lines;

> omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque,
>
> inversis quae sub verbis latitantia cernunt.   641-2

In this way Lucretius continues a tradition of invective against opponents
both philosophical and worldly which can be traced back, through Empedocles
and Parmenides, as far as Hesiod and Homer.

[1] cf. fr.39.
[2] see also p.19.

C Poetic language and Metaphor: Pictorial Writing

1 The language

Hesiod had already exploited the beauty of traditional language as a means of maintaining the interest of Perses. All post-oral hexameter and elegiac poets reflect the epic tradition (ie. Homer) to some extent (KR p.361); it is noticeable in Xenophanes, Parmenides and even Anaximander (p.13). But Homer's influence on Empedocles is much more obvious and pervasive; which is presumably why Aristotle said that Empedocles "was of Homer's school" (see p.27).

The number of direct echoes of Homeric phrases in On Nature is substantial; it can be judged from the fact that according to Diels's notes there are three in the eight lines of the second fragment alone –

καπνοῖο δίκην   cf. Od. xxi 100

πάντος 'ἐλαυνόμενα cf. Il. v 508 (also Parmenides fr.6 5)

ὡδ' ἐλιάσθης   cf. Od.xxii 12

At the beginning of fr. 8, Empedocles uses the common Homeric/Hesiodic information formula

ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω ;

In fr.35, he uses the Homeric θαῦμα ιδέσθαι (line 17).

However, often the formulae are adapted; the Homeric περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν becomes περιπλομένοιο χρόνοιο (fr.30 2). But whether or not Empedocles adapts Homer's formulae, the Homeric flavour of his phraseology is inescapable.[1] It may have provided Lucretius with a model for his use of Ennian language (see pp.68f).

The vocabulary itself is often epic; for example, in the passages already cited;

fr.1 κλῦθι δαίφρονος

fr.2 στεινωποί (1) ὠκύμοροι (4) προσέκυρσεν (5)
     [and ἐλιάσθης (7)]

fr.3 πολυμνήστη : λευκώλενε (3) ἄντομαι (4) ἐρίδουπον (11)

---

[1] It is natural that formulae should be adapted when a literate poet uses them for his specific purposes; the exigencies of extempore composition, which require the oral poet not to adapt them, no longer apply. The influence of Homer in fact was such that all epic poets, from Hesiod to Paulus Silentiarius (at least) used Homeric diction both in the original and in modified form. (I am grateful to F J Williams for this comment). Like them, Empedocles was of Homer's school.

fr.17 ἔειπα πιφαύσκων πείρατα μύθων (15) ἀτάλαντον
ἁπάντηι (19) τεθηπώς (21) δεδάηκε (25) γένναν (27) [περιπλομένοιο
χρόνοιο (29)]

fr.111 κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ (1) ἀκαμάτων (3)

These words are typically Homeric.

Empedocles also uses Homeric compound epithets; for example
(fr.100 11), often in a new sense; eg. Ἤλιος ὁ ξυβελής (fr.40;
in Homer, always of missiles) εἰλίποδ᾽ ἄκριτοχείρα of monstrous shapes
(fr.60; in Homer, conventional epithet of cows) or in the Purifications;
ἀμφιβρότην χθόνα (fr.148; of shields in Homer) ἀέρα ...νεφεληγερέτην
(fr.149; of Zeus in Homer) ζείδωρος ...Ἀφροδίτη (fr.151, of the plough-
land "zea-bearing"in Homer. Empedocles has reinterpreted it as "life-
giving".[1]

Epic periphrases of the type common in Hesiod and later in Aratus -
collective noun + genitive - occur; for example ἔθνεα μύρια θνητῶν
(fr.35 7). Compare Lucretian periphrases with 'genus'. Slightly different
is a metathesis of the type ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος (fr.111 3; cf.
fr.27 2) based on a Homeric phrase like πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο
(Iliad vi 182) and comparable with Lucretius's periphrases using vis + gen-
itive (vis venti i 271, vis horrida teli iii 170 etc.).

2 Pictorial writing and metaphor

Much interest has been shown in Lucretius's pictorial or descriptive
writing (see the discussion on p.125). Empedocles's use of pictorial writ-
ing or imagery might provide a link between the comparatively restrained
use of imagery by Homer and Hesiod and its frequent use by Lucretius. The
following consideration therefore explores Empedocles's pictorial writing
and metaphor in some detail, with the particular aim of discovering sources
for it other than the influence of Homer and Hesiod or the poet's delight
in description. Admittedly this delight is a feature of the epic compounds
and periphrases borrowed by Empedocles and must be one of the reasons why
he extends their use;

πυρὸς σέλας αἰθομένοιο fr.84 2, cf.

πυρὸς μένος αἰθομένοιο (Iliad vi 182, cited above)[2]

---

[1] For the poet's debt to Homeric imagery see p.44.

[2] Compare also the Hesiodic simile quoted on p.44 n.

Empedocles likes to introduce a metaphorical element into his own periphrases:

$$ἠπιόφρων φιλότητος ἀνεμφέος ἀμβροτος ὀρμή \quad \text{fr.35 13}$$

$$γῆς ἱδρῶτα θάλασσαν \quad \text{fr.55}$$

He likes to coin his own compound epithets on the Homeric pattern;

$$θήρεί τ' ὀρειλεχέεσσιν ἰδὲ πτεροβάμοσι κύμβαις$$

$$τοῦτο μὲν ἐν κόγχαισι θαλασσόνομων βαρυνώτοις \quad \text{fr.20 7}$$

fr.76 1; cf.fr.77.[1]

At other times, however, there is no such link with the tradition. It is necessary for Empedocles to coin a word because he has a new concept to express; for example, the half-beings that preceded men and women during evolution;

$$πολλὰ μὲν ἀμφιπρόσωπα καὶ ἀμφίστερνα φύεσθαι,$$

$$βουγενῆ ἀνδρόπρωιρα, τὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν ἐξανατέλλειν$$

$$ἀνδροφυῆ βούκρανα \quad \text{fr.61 1-3.}$$

But there was no necessity to coin words or give them new meanings in a line which Lucretius imitates for its descriptive beauty (perhaps also for its euphonious quality; repetition of $φ$ -$λ$; $π$ -$λ$; $α$ -ους etc.) -

$$φῦλον ἄμουσον ἄγουσα πολυσπερέων καμασήνων \quad \text{fr.74.}$$

Here Empedocles uses descriptive words and phrases, like Homer, for their own sake or with the aim, detected in Hesiod (p.6), of luring the reader on to the matter of the argument. Homer had used 'πολυσπερής' to mean "widespread" (Il. ii 804) but for Empedocles here it means "fruitful" (Liddell and Scott). καμασῆνες is a very rare word for 'fish' (ibid.).[2] Empedocles might just as well have used 'ἰχθύες'. In the same way Lucretius in his imitation finds 'pisces' too prosaic;

$$\text{mutaeque natantes   Squamigerum pecudes} \quad \text{ii 343-4.}$$

But in fragment 2 (p.29) Empedocles is more likely to have another reason for using metaphors such as

$$στεινωποί παλάμαι κατὰ γυῖα κέχυνται \quad 1$$

$$πολλὰ δὲ δείλ' ἔμπαια τά τ' ἀμβλύνουσι \quad 2.$$

$$μέριμνας$$

---

[1] It would surely be difficult to find another Greek poet who indulges in such a proliferation of descriptive compound adjectives as this, which is not untypical of Empedocles.

[2] 'καμασῆνας' - ridiculed as an academic gloss by Antipater Thessalonicus, AP 11 20, according to F. J. Williams.

The pre-Socratics had no separate concept for the abstract, although Empedocles has a partial idea of it (KR p.330). Having difficulty here with the concept of sensory perception, Empedocles uses the broad analogy of "minute" hands (στεινωποί - narrow) grasping objects to convey the notion of men grasping the truth through the five senses - our "powers of apprehension". Naturally the image is most appropriate to the sense of touch, but it is used here to include all five senses.

However, the metaphor contained in the next line is not occasioned by conceptual poverty. Empedocles could have put his meaning in a more normal way. But images of 'striking in' and 'blunting' are quite common - the image of a copper-smith's forge, which is closely related, was used by the Pythagoreans (p.20) - and here they continue the tactile analogy implicit in παλάμαι. The exact idea of grasping implied by παλάμαι is continued much more clearly in line 8, with the metaphor

$$.οὔτε νόωι περιληπτά $$

where περιληπτά appears to be Empedocles's invention. Similarly when Empedocles ends the paragraph with the metaphor of mortal wit rousing itself to a demonstration of physical prowess,

$$.πεύσεαι οὐ πλέον ἠὲ βροτείη μῆτις ὄρωρεν (9) $$

comparing mental vigour to physical strength, the analogy is between abstract mind and physical action; just as the παλάμαι image draws an analogy between abstract perception and physical grasping. It is <u>appropriate</u> because of this similarity but, unlike the παλάμαι image at first, it is not <u>necessary</u> to express an important concept.[1] Instead as a purely imaginative, but appropriate idea, it fulfils the poetic necessity of rounding off the paragraph.[2]

Thus Empedocles has sometimes the needs of the argument, and more often his own preferences, sattisfying poetic needs, to account for the coinage of such unconventional metaphors.

Another example of Empedocles's delight in imagery is his use of imaginative personifications. In general these are used rather for poetical reasons than with the purpose of furthering the argument. A fine example of this is the passage introducing the four elements;

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[1] And on the other hand it differs from the 'blunting' image, which although it is suitably tactile contains other ideas which are not wholly appropriate. But they are picturesque enough and do not interfere with the main image.

[2] Compare Lucretius's practice, p.34.

τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε
Ζεὺς ἀργης Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἠδ᾽ Ἀϊδωνεύς
Νῆστις θ᾽ ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον

fr.6.

Kirk and Raven (p.324, note 1) regard it as "characteristic of Empedocles that he should present the "four roots" at their first appearance in mythological guise". We have also "Death, the avenger" (fr.10), "solitary, blind-eyed Night" (fr.49; ἀλαώπιδος is a hapax legomenon), "sharp-shooting Sun and mild-shining Moon" (fr.40), "tenacious Love" (fr.19) etc. Iris brings showers from the Ocean (fr.50) and men begin to think "by the will of Fortune" (fr.103 ἰότητι Τύχης; ἰότητι is epic and used of gods). One can compare Homer's and Hesiod's (see p.6) personification of figures like Dawn, Justice etc. But since Empedocles did not accept the existence of the Olympian pantheon, as fr.17 makes clear, his tendency to personify concepts and objects, or to describe natural events in terms of traditional gods like Iris (fr.50) seems paradoxical, even if we remember Empedocles's habit of speaking of the unfamiliar abstract in terms of the familiar concrete or visible (as with παλάμαι). No doubt Empedocles thought the idea of Iris - a person - bringing showers was easier for Pausanias to grasp than that of a rainbow bringing showers. But he must also have had a more poetic reason, as we can see by examining more closely his use of terms for his principle of Love.

Love and Strife are added (in fr.17, 19ff) to the 'four roots' of fr.6. Empedocles, realising that they are different in kind, since they are motive causes not materials (KR p.330), but probably finding difficulty in expressing the new concept, personifies them and makes them concrete - as Anaximander did with Time (p.13). Thus we have not only "the hatred of Strife" (8) and "cursed Strife" (19) but also "Friendship" (ie. Love) who is called Joy and (significantly) Aphrodite. In other fragments Empedocles goes beyond this equation of Love with Aphrodite, using Aphrodite by itself as a synonym for Love (frr. 66, 72, 73, 86, 87, 95, 98). There may be a philosophical idea behind this: although the Olympian pantheon does not exist, mortals happen to be right in worshipping a goddess of Love. But when Empedocles refers to Love/Aphrodite as Κύπρις (frr. 73, 95, 98) he can have no other motive than to be artful or poetic; Aphrodite's connexion with Cyprus has nothing to do with philosophy.[1]

This has its implications for Lucretius. If Empedocles can speak of

[1] Compare Dryden's defence of the use of the Olympian gods in poetry, cited in Bowra, From Virgil to Milton, p.109f.

Iris and Cypris, why should Lucretius not use 'Bacchus' to mean 'wine' (flos Bacchi iii 221) despite his disclaimer of the power of the gods(ii 646ff) — as he himself says in general terms (ii 655-6)? With Aphrodite there may be a closer comparison. Lucretius disclaims the power of the gods and yet begins ORN with a hymn to Venus. Bailey (ad loc.) says that she is not there "the goddess of religion and mythology but the creative power of Nature".[1] Lucretius must have been encouraged by Empedocles's use of the name of Aphrodite for his creative aspect or principle to call Nature's creative aspect 'Venus'. Other considerations would make him readier to do this. After Hesiod, Parmenides and Empedocles the proem to a didactic poem was traditionally a formal poetic structure where Venus would be more appropriate than plain Nature.[2]

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[1] This is to some extent a false antithesis. The goddess of religion and mythology possesses, among other attributes, that of Nature's generative power.

[2] see Bailey's exceptionally sound note (pp.591-2) and Addendum (ibid. pp. 1749-50). If anything Bailey undervalues the extent to which an elaborate prologue in the form of a hymn had become traditional in poems magnis de rebus. Lucretius is very conscious of the traditional forms and formulas of the genre, as has partly been suggested. At the risk of some repetition it seems worth indicating the steps by which he may have come to compose an opening hymn addressed to Venus.

1. The Theogony begins with a long hymn to the Muses (p.4).

2. Following Hesiod, Parmenides and Empedocles preface their didactic poems with a hymn. But in Empedocles (p.30) and especially in Parmenides (p.21f) the addressee is allegorical and less specific; for example in Parmenides she is probably Justice (cf. fr.1 14).

3. Lucretius's Venus is another abstract quality like Parmenides's Justice — the creative power of Nature, as Bailey says, already called Aphrodite by Empedocles.

4. Traditionally the opening hymn is a most exalted piece of poetry, as it is in the Theogony and Parmenides; in Parmenides it also seems to draw on contemporary poetic models (p.22). Accordingly Lucretius's hymn too is one of his most inspired pieces of writing, and he does not hesitate to draw on the best available non-philosophical model, the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (with ORN 1ff cf. Hom. Hymn iv 1-5). It is not that the poet believed in the power of Venus, just that he wholeheartedly accepted the convention.
Regrettably perhaps the poet fails to point out the symbolic quality of the goddess to reader, though he hints at it in 44-9, lines denying the power of the gods. These lines also appear at ii 646-51 where they are much more appropriate and follow the appearance of Cybele (ii 600ff) with its allegorical explanation of all the goddess's attributes. Here they are likely to be a stop-gap. There is no reason why Lucretius would not eventually have explained the symbolism of his opening hymn as clearly as he does that of Cybele, which must have been in his mind when the lines were transferred here. But as we know he died before the poem was revised (Bailey p.1ff).
It is quite possible that Lucretius wrote the prologue at a different time from the rest of the book. For example the prologue to Book iv is another repeated passage, probably placed there as a stop-gap after the completion of the book but before the projected true proem to the book could be written (v. Bailey p.758).

Having suggested that Empedocles's pictorial writing is partly an imitation or extension of Homeric usage and partly a necessary expedient to express novel concepts we are left with a body of metaphor and metathesis which can only be due to a particular preference for writing in metaphor. Undoubtedly this is an important part of Empedocles's poetic quality, as it is in that of Lucretius.

3 Similes used as analogies

The short analogy of two or three words, first used by the Milesians (p.13), was employed regularly and in a more extended form by Heraclitus and the followers of Pythagoras. But the extended simile of Homer, as such, was used only once by Hesiod[1] and not imitated by any of the philosophical writers in prose or verse until Empedocles. This is surprising since some of Homer's extended similes, like the two Odyssean examples which follow, have an essential role in clarifying an action which might otherwise be difficult to describe; therefore the poet when he uses them is in a similar situation to the philosopher describing a difficult concept. Homer is relating how Odysseus drove a stake into the Cyclops's eye;

1.
οἳ μὲν μοχλὸν ἑλόντες ἐλάϊνον, ὀξὺν ἐπ' ἄκρῳ,
ὀφθαλμῷ ἐνέρεισαν· ἐγὼ δ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐρεισθεὶς
δίνεον, ὡς ὅτε τις τρυπῷ δόρυ νήϊον ἀνὴρ
τρυπάνῳ, οἱ δέ τ' ἔνερθεν ὑποσσείουσιν ἱμάντι 385
ἁψάμενοι ἑκάτερθε, τὸ δὲ τρέχει ἐμμενὲς αἰεί·
ὣς τοῦ ἐν ὀφθαλμῷ πυριήκεα μοχλὸν ἑλόντες
δινέομεν, τὸν δ' αἷμα περίρρεε θερμὸν ἐόντα.

2.
πάντα δέ οἱ βλέφαρ' ἀμφὶ καὶ ὀφρύας εὗσεν ἀϋτμή

[1]Theogony 861-7. Zeus has hurled a thunderbolt at Typhoeus;

πολλὴ δὲ πελώρη καίετο γαῖα
ἀτμῇ θεσπεσίῃ καὶ ἐτήκετο κασσίτερος ὡς
τέχνῃ ὑπ' αἰζηῶν ὑπό τ' εὐτρήτου χοάνοιο
θαλφθείς, ἠὲ σίδηρος, ὅ περ κρατερώτατός ἐστιν,
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσῃσι δαμαζόμενος πυρὶ κηλέῳ 865
τήκεται ἐν χθονὶ δίῃ ὑφ' Ἡφαίστου παλάμῃσιν·
ὣς ἄρα τήκετο γαῖα σέλαϊ πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο.

Like Homer's simile of the shipwright, referred to above, it is decidedly technical. It is possible that Empedocles was influenced by Hesiod's simile in writing his analogies - σέλας πυρὸς αἰθομένοιο (fr.84 2; cf. line 867 above) and χοάνος (fr.84 9; cf. line 865) both occur in the lantern analogy (cf. p.45).

γλήνης καιομένης· σφαραγεῦντο δὲ οἱ πυρὶ ῥίζαι
ὡς δ᾽ ὅτ᾽ ἀνὴρ χαλκεὺς πέλεκυν μέγαν ἠὲ σκέπαρνον
εἰν ὕδατι ψυχρῷ βάπτῃ μεγάλα ἰάχοντα
φαρμάσσων· τὸ γὰρ αὖτε σιδήρου γε κράτος ἐστίν·
ὣς τοῦ σίζ᾽ ὀφθαλμὸς ἐλαϊνέῳ περὶ μοχλῷ.

Od. ix 392-94.

Here the first simile particularly has such a practical function in clari-
fying the action that it might be a didactic analogy (cf. Hesiod's simile, p.44
n1). It is worth emphasising how complicated the action of Homer's simile
is. None of Empedocles's predecessors used an extended comparison on the
lines of a Homeric extended simile like this, perhaps because they had not elab-
orated the mechanics of their Universe or natural system in sufficient det-
ail to require such complicated and intricate explanations as are given
by Empedocles. At any rate, when Empedocles uses several extended similes
in On Nature he is making an important innovation, and one which is foll-
owed by Lucretius.

One of the most striking of the extant similes of Empedocles (the image
is also used by Lucretius, DRN ii 388-9) can be seen in fr.84. The Greek
is given first as an extended example of Empedocles's style.

ὡς δ᾽ ὅτε τις πρόοδον νοέων ὡπλίσσατο λύχνον
χειμερίην διὰ νύκτα, πυρὸς σέλας αἰθομένοιο,
ἅψας παντοίων ἀνέμων λαμπτῆρας ἀμοργούς,
οἵ τ᾽ ἀνέμων μὲν πνεῦμα διασκιδνᾶσιν ἀέντων,
φῶς δ᾽ ἔξω διαθρῷσκον ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν, (5)
λάμπεσκεν κατὰ βηλὸν ἀτειρέσιν ἀκτίνεσσιν·
ὣς δὲ τότ᾽ ἐν μήνιγξιν ἐεργμένον ὠγύγιον πῦρ
λεπτῇσίν τ᾽ ὀθόνῃσι λοχάζετο κύκλοπα κούρην,
αἳ χοάνῃσι δίαντα τετρήατο θεσπεσίῃσιν·
αἳ δ᾽ ὕδατος μὲν βένθος ἀπέστεγον ἀμφιναέντος, (10)
πῦρ δ᾽ ἔξω διίεσκον, ὅσον ταναώτερον ἦεν

But as when a man thinking of going out through a stormy night gets
ready a lamp, a flame of blazing fire, lighting horn lanterns that drain
away all types of winds, and they scatter and disperse the blast of the
winds as they blow, but the light leaping through outside, as much of it
as is finer (5) shines over the threshold with unyielding rays; so then
did she (Love) entrap primeval fire enclosed in membranes and fine tissues,
(entrap, namely) the round-eyed pupil: these (membranes etc.) are pierced

right through with wonderful channels; they fend off the depth of water
floating all round, (10) but the fire they let through outside, as much of
it as is finer.

Diels and Burnet differ on many points of their translation of this
difficult passage (DK p.343; Burnet p.217). I accept Burnet's interpretation
which makes Love the subject of lines 7 and 8.[1] In any case the point is
clear enough; the man fits plates round the light in the lantern just as
Love encloses the fire of the eye with tissue. If Burnet's unsupported
interpretation of λαμπτῆρας is not accepted we have to conclude that
in the first part of the comparison Empedocles expected the horn-plates
to be understood.[2] He is relating two physical actions in much the same
way as Homer in his simile of the shipwright and the Cyclops's eye, though
with less clarity.

However there is no doubting the pictorial quality of the language.
The personification of the light "leaping through...with unyielding rays"
(5-6), whole lines like 2 (with the atmospheric χειμερίην διὰ νύκτα)
and 6 and details like παντοίων ἀνέμων (3) are scarcely essential
to the clarity of the argument, but they are a great help to the reader
in seeing the scene with his mind's eye. The description relieves the
philosophical exposition much as Homer's similes in the Iliad relieve the
main theme of war, or the Cyclops simile brings a homely note into the tense
atmosphere of Odysseus's struggle to escape. On the other hand, like Homer's
simile in Odyssey ix, Empedocles's simile helps the reader to visualise a
complicated and unfamiliar situation much more clearly; naturally then
the simile is a useful tool to Empedocles the philosopher who in the course
of his account of nature has many such situations to describe.

A good example of this is the process of breathing; with remarkably
exact observation Empedocles compares it to the action of a siphon (fr.100):

So do all things inhale and exhale: there are bloodless channels in
the flesh of them all, stretched over their bodies' surface, and at the
mouths of these channels the outermost surface of skin is pierced right
through with many a pore, so that the blood is kept in but an easy path
is cut for the air to pass through (5). Then, when the fluid blood rushes
away thence, the bubbling air rushes in with violent surge; and when the

[1] Though strained, this is preferable to making primeval fire the subject;
the point is not that fire entraps the pupil, but that it is the pupil.

[2] If Burnet's interpretation of ἄψας ... λαμπτῆρας (3) as "fastening
horn plates" is accepted, the parallel between the two parts of the analogy
is more explicit. However this interpretation of λαμπτῆρας receives
no corroboration from Liddell and Scott. Moreover it appears from their
entry that λαμπτῆρ could be used by itself to mean a horn-lantern
(λαμπτῆρ ἀντιπεφραγμένος Philistus 15) so that the Greek reader could
take "fastening the horn-plates" as understood.

blood leaps up, the air is breathed out again, just as when a girl plays
with a siphon of gleaming brass. When she puts the mouth of the pipe
against her shapely hand (10) and dips it into the fluid mass of shining
water, no liquid enters the vessel, but the bulk of the air within, pressing
upon the frequent perforations, holds it back until she uncovers the dense
stream; but then, as the air yields, an equal bulk of water enters.
In just the same way, when water occupies the depths of the brazen vessel
and the passage of its mouth is blocked by human hand, the air outside,
striving inwards, holds the water back, holding its surface firm at the
gates of the ill-sounding neck until she lets go with her hand; and then
again (the reverse of what happened before) (20) as the breath rushes in,
an equal bulk of water rushes out after it. And in just the same way,
when the fluid blood surging through the limbs rushes backwards and inwards,
straightaway a stream of air comes in with swift surge; but when the blood
leaps up again, an equal quantity of air is again breathed back (25) (trans-
lation from KR p.342).

The translation does not do justice to Empedocles's epic language;
words like πώματον (2) φόνον (4 = gore) ἀργυφέοιο (111 - silver-
shining) ἀίσιμον ὕδωρ (15 - a fitting quantity of water), or variations
on ὕδωρ like ὄμβρος and ῥόος ; or to the personifications of the air
and liquid, especially in 16-18 where the water "controls entirely (ἔχη
κατά) the depths of the brazen vessel" but the air "eager for the inside
keeps back the water, lording it over the heights (ἄκρα κρατύνων)
around the gates of the ill-sounding strainer" - metaphor of a sieve, with
the idea of a battle underlying the whole passage. But the translation
does bring out the detail and exact application of the analogy between air
pressure on blood and on water in a siphon. Since one part of the compar-
ison - the air - is identical in both cases, the analogy could be criticised,
as a simile, for being too obvious[1] or at least not far-fetched enough.
some of the language is very rare and difficult.[2] But the general trend
of the sense is clear and appropriate, while the battle between the air
and the water is described in such vigorous epic language that it relieves
the philosophical argument in just the same way as the lantern analogy does;
and if that has the advantage of more obvious atmospheric quality, the siphon
simile has the excitement of a scientific experiment to compensate.

[1] given the originality of the basic idea.
[2] though like Heraclitus (p.19) and Parmenides (p.23) Empedocles would not
necessarily have regretted the obscurity that this causes.

Three other analogies survive, an extended one from painting (fr.23) and one line each drawn from curdling milk (fr.33)[1] and from a chariot race (fr.46). All Empedocles's analogies are formal similes, beginning 'as' or 'as when' (contrast Lucretius's use of more oblique connecting words - cf. p.17). The three extended analogies (frr.23, 84, 100) are concerned with careful observation of unusual mechanical phenomena. The same may have been true of the fragmentary analogies (frr.33 and 46). It is diffi- cult to find comparisons so exactly applied in Lucretius; he uses analogies as illustrations to confirm an explanation rather than as models essential to the clear understanding of the argument. This is particularly true of the lists of illustrations in DRN iv (eg. 387-461) but it is also true of famous images like that of the motes in the sunbeam (see p.148). Yet despite such differences it is difficult not to conclude that the example of Empedocles, as the only didactic poet before him to use such extended comparisons, must have influenced Lucretius.[2] There is evidence which makes this more certain.

D Direct imitations of Empedocles in De Rerum Natura

We might deduce from Lucretius's warm eulogy of Empedocles (p.27) that he had read either or both of On Nature and The Purifications; we could draw the same conclusion from the many resemblances of style and structure between On Nature and DRN (they even have the same title); but when there exist actual echoes of Empedocles in DRN the case is no longer in doubt. Lucretius must have read both poems attentively.

Verbal similarities occur usually in the argument, where the subject is similar, eg. the first stages of the creation (DRN v 467-70);

    tum se levis ac diffusilis aether
corpore concreto circumdatus undique flexit
et late diffusus in omnis undique partis
omnia sic avido complexu cetera saepsit.

Compare the appearance of the four elements, earth sea, air etc. -

Τιτὰν ἠδ' αἰθὴρ σφίγγων περὶ κύκλον ἅπαντα

                                                    fr.38 4.

In the same way, the evolution of the first imperfect men;

    orba pedum partim, manuum viduata vicissim,
    muta sine ore etiam, sine vultu caeca reperta   v 840-1,

is based on the monsters that arise before the transition between Love and

---

[1] based on Iliad v 902-3.

[2] see also on Aratus's similes, pp.60ff .

Strife is completed;

$$\tilde{\eta}\iota \ \pi o\lambda\lambda\alpha\grave{\iota} \ \mu\grave{\epsilon}v \ \kappa\acute{o}\rho6\alpha\iota \ \grave{\alpha}v\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\chi\epsilon v\epsilon\varsigma \ \grave{\epsilon}\beta\lambda\acute{\alpha}6\tau\eta6\alpha v,$$
$$\gamma\upsilon_{,}\mu v o\grave{\iota} \ \delta'\grave{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\zeta o\nu\tau o \ \beta\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\iota}o\nu\epsilon\varsigma \ \epsilon\grave{\upsilon}v\acute{\iota}6\epsilon\varsigma \ \grave{\omega}_{,}\mu\omega v,$$
$$\grave{o}_{,}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha} \ \tau'o\widehat{\iota} \ (\alpha) \ \grave{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\alpha v\widehat{\alpha}\tau o \ \pi\epsilon v\eta\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}o\nu\tau\alpha \ ,\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\omega}\pi\omega v$$

fr. 7.

All reminiscences of <u>On Nature</u> in <u>DRN</u> have similar subject-matter (cf. also ii 296 with fr.17 30; ii 1115 with fr.37; v 432 with frr. 26a and 27[1]; vi 885 with fr.52). The one exception is 'eadem sunt omnia semper' (iii 945) which seems to be a chance reminiscence of fr.17 34-5 '$\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda' \ \grave{\alpha}\grave{\upsilon}\tau(\alpha)\ \grave{\epsilon}6\tau\iota v$ $\tau\alpha\grave{\upsilon}\tau\grave{\alpha}$' etc.

However, the phrases which Lucretius borrows from <u>The Purifications</u> are more general in context, perhaps because its subject matter is less compatible with <u>DRN</u>. Empedocles says of what is divine;

$$.o\grave{\upsilon}\kappa \ \grave{\epsilon}6\tau\iota v \ \pi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{6}\alpha6\vartheta\alpha\iota \ \grave{\epsilon}v \ \grave{o}\phi\vartheta\alpha\lambda\mu o\widehat{\iota}6\iota v \ \grave{\epsilon}\phi\iota\kappa\tau\acute{o}v$$
$$\grave{\eta}\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho o\iota\varsigma \ \grave{\eta}'\chi\epsilon\rho6\grave{\iota} \ \lambda\alpha\beta\epsilon\widehat{\iota}v, \ \widehat{\eta}\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho \ \tau\epsilon \ \mu\epsilon\gamma\acute{\iota}6\tau\eta$$
$$\pi\epsilon\iota\vartheta o\grave{\upsilon}\varsigma \ \grave{\alpha}v\vartheta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi o\iota6\iota v \ \grave{\alpha}_{,}\mu\alpha\xi\iota\tau\grave{o}\varsigma \ \epsilon\grave{\iota}\varsigma \ \phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}v\alpha \ \pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$$

fr.133.

It is not attainable for bringing near to ourselves before our eyes, or for us to take with our hands, (the way) by which the greatest highway of belief falls into men's hearts.

Lucretius borrows the passage to describe how difficult it is for men to realise that the world will eventually come to an end;

nec tamen hanc possis oculorum subdere visu

nec iacere indu manus, via qua munita fidei

proxima fert humanum in pectus templaque mentis. v 101-3.[2]

Compare also i 75 with fr.129 4-5 (praise of Pythagoras adapted to Epicurus) and perhaps v 226 with fr.118. As Townend says (Lucretius p.103), other reminiscences "might be discovered if we had Empedocles's work in full".[3]

As a poet Empedocles succeeds in making the epic conventions of imposing diction, metaphor and simile serve to vary and clarify his philosophical argument more consistently than Parmenides. From the Hesiodic tradition he borrows the idea of addressing the poem to an individual, which makes its impact more immediate; though as a poet Empedocles suffers in comparison

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[1] On this imitation see D O'Brien, op, cit. pp.153-4, and 270-1. The whole passage from 432-508 seems to be indebted to Empedocles to some extent, cf. ibid. pp.293-4.

[2] Note how the obscurity of $\pi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\alpha}6\alpha6\vartheta\alpha\iota$ ... $\grave{\epsilon}\phi\iota\kappa\tau\acute{o}v$ and the awkwardness of $\grave{\alpha}\mu\alpha\xi\iota\tau\grave{o}\varsigma \ \epsilon\grave{\iota}\varsigma \ \phi\rho\acute{\epsilon}v\alpha \ \pi\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\epsilon\iota$ are avoided by Lucretius (see also p.68).

[3] cf. O'Brien pp.270-1 for a possible Empedoclean source for the storm of the elements in DRN i 759-62 and ibid. p.317 for a similar source for the war of the atoms in ii 573-6.

with Hesiod because of his lack of verbal clarity. These factors make Emp-
edocles the most successful of the Greek philosopher-poets (he is also the
last), and hence an attractive model for Lucretius.

Summary. Lucretius praises Empedocles by name.

Empedocles is, of all the pre-Socratics, the most open to the influence,
both poetic and philosophical, of his predecessors. This helps to account
for the remoteness of his style from the level of ordinary speech even when
his subject-matter is technical.

He successfully adapts Hesiod's realisation of the poet-reader relation-
ship to the needs of a philosophical treatise. His use of metaphor and
pictorial writing derives from the epic tradition but is much extended;
it can lead to obscurity. Although he rejects traditional myths he uses
the names of the gods for their picturesque quality. He adapts the epic
extended simile to serve as an analogy. Many of these features are shared
by Lucretius. In addition there are a number of verbal reminiscences of
Empedocles's poems in DRN.

⁑ ⁑ ⁑ ⁑ ⁑

A general summary of what has been said in this chapter is unnecessary
here - see the summaries given at the end of each section (pp.11, 20, 26, 50).
Instead the following stemma showing the influences described may be help-
ful.
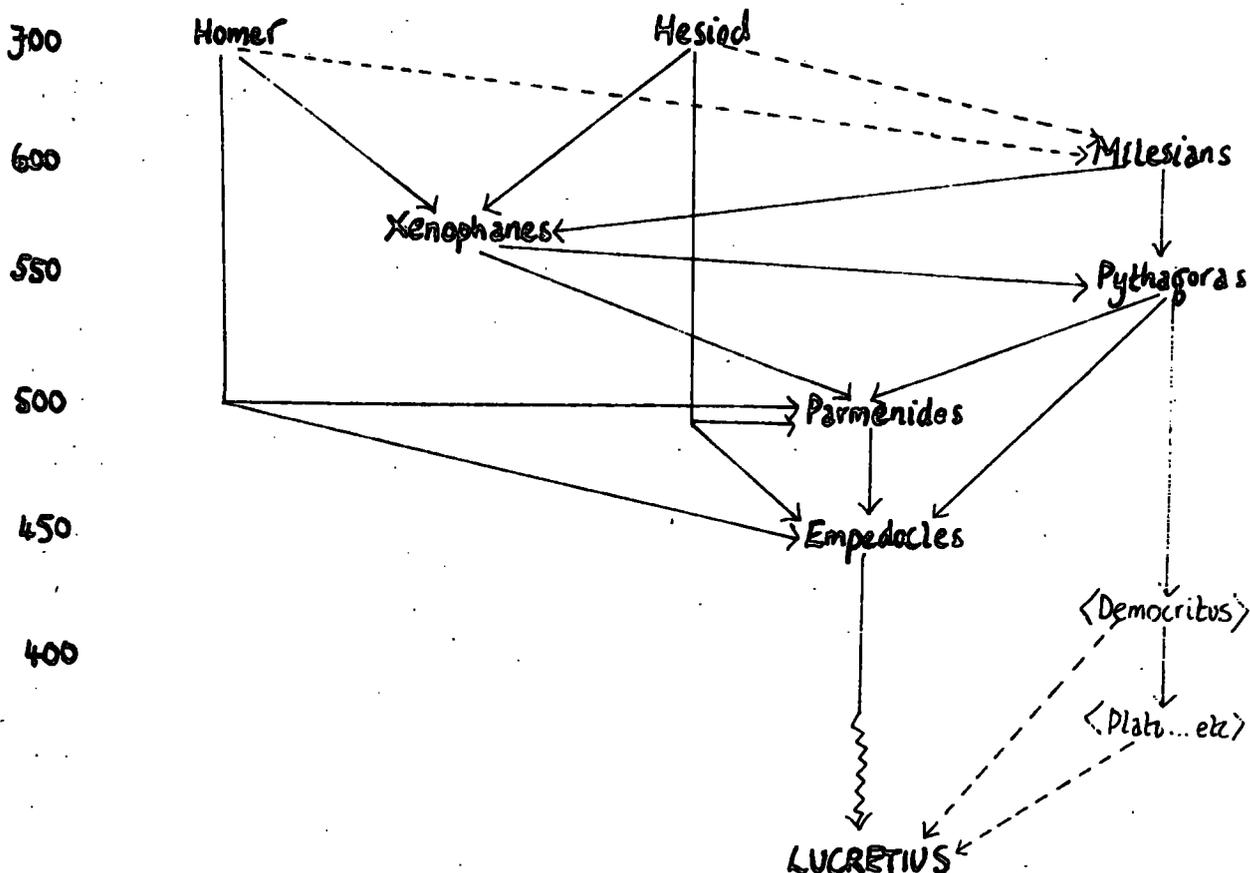
If there is one thing to be stressed apart from the influence of Empedocles it is that of Hesiod. Although there is no evidence that Lucretius was directly influenced by him,[1] Hesiod's importance is not limited to the influence of his two poems on Empedocles. The Works and Days especially is a different type of didactic poem from On Nature and in some ways more successful. The less exalted nature of its subject enables Hesiod to introduce more variety into the poem, for example, without loss of seriousness. This quality - or simply Hesiod's venerable position at the head of the didactic tradition - made the Works and Days influential on later Greek literature. This in turn had some influence on DRN, as will be seen (and more on Vergil).

Empedocles remains, despite that, the most important Greek model for Lucretius.

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[1] Any reminiscences seem too vague to decide the matter- eg. they are limited to τόποι like the subsistence of primitive man on acorns - Works 233, cf. DRN v 939 and Georgic i 7 and 147-9. See Sinclair ad loc. for other comparable passages.

CHAPTER 2

THE 'IN TENUI' TRADITION

It is clear that Lucretius's main model is Empedocles. He reveals as much himself by the warmth of his encomium, second only to the ardour of his praise of Epicurus. Moreover many if not most of the graces, the 'carmine' of Lucretius (DRN i 143) are already present in one form or another in his Empedoclean model - the successful versification of a magnis de rebus theme, the Homerising vein, the tools of dialectic, the realisation of the poet-reader relationship and some of the phrases which characterise it, and the prominence of imagery and pictorial writing. Most of these techniques transfer easily into DRN, as has been demonstrated in chapter one.

At first sight therefore this chapter need only be concerned with examining how Lucretius Latinises the part of Empedocles's technique which needs Latinising - Empedocles's Homerising language: and how the element which is new in Latin poetry and so characteristic of it - the subjective style - makes its appearance in Lucretius.

Nevertheless the main business of this chapter lies elsewhere. No account of "Lucretius in the Greco-Roman didactic tradition" would be complete without some discussion of the in tenui tradition after Empedocles, for a number of important reasons. Firstly the relationship of DRN to Vergil's Georgics (a significant factor in determining Lucretius's place in the broad didactic tradition) cannot be adequately explained without an examination of the development of didactic poetry which is not magnis de rebus, because the Georgics is the culmination of that development. Secondly the in tenui tradition from Aratus onwards exemplifies very clearly the development of the subjective style from Alexandrian Greek into Latin; in miniature it is true and in a peripheral genre, but with the neatness which is to be expected from smallness of scale. Moreover one Roman translation of Aratus's poem, by Cicero, had a definite influence on Lucretius.

After all Empedocles was writing four hundred years earlier than Lucretius in quite different circumstances. The background of didactic poetry which is more contemporary with DRN than Lucretius's acknowledged model must be filled in, even if it reveals him as isolated from contemporary taste.

At the same time it is necessary to adopt a different method of examining the in tenui tradition from that used to trace the magnis de rebus tradition in the first chapter. For one thing a lengthy account would

throw no more light on Lucretius than a relatively brief one; for another the new tradition does not develop in the same way. In most respects it continues in the form established by Aratus until transformed by Vergil. I shall therefore concentrate on two aspects: where Aratus makes a new contribution to the didactic tradition; and where other authors in the tradition give clues to the ways in which Vergil makes up for the short-comings of the Aratean genre. One such author is Hesiod, not all of whose techniques had been perceived and used by Empedocles. In addition the influence of Ennius referred to at the start of this chapter must be kept in view. But first a short account of Aratus and his poem will be appropriate.

1 Aratus and the Phaenomena (1)

About two hundred years after Empedocles in the very different conditions of Hellenic Greece, Aratus of Soloe (for biographical details see Lesky p.750) had the idea of imitating not just the manner of the __Works and Days__ but also the unspeculative nature of its subject matter. His poem, the __Phaenomena__, is a treatise on astronomy just as Hesiod's is a treatise on farming.

The choice of Hesiod as a model is less surprising than it seems. As Clausen points out (GRBS. 1964 p.184f) Callimachus himself saw Hesiod as his model; unlike Homer he was a personal poet and he lacked the daunting perfection of Homer; Hesiod was imitable, if Homer was inimitable. Hence when the Muses meet Callimachus on Mount Helicon they do so in terms which deliberately recall Hesiod.[1]

Callimachus found the __Phaenomena__ quite in the Hesiodic manner —

$$\text{‘Ησιόδου τό τ' ἄεισμα καὶ ὁ τρόπος}$$ Epigram 27 (Pfeiffer).

But Quintilian is severely critical (p.8); and modern critics have tended to endorse Quintilian's view. Aratus's verse is polished and elegant (Lesky p.751 refers to his "unique sense of form"), much more so than Hesiod's. But unlike Hesiod and Empedocles Aratus did not set out his own precepts. Instead he drew on the treatises of the astronomer Eudoxus. This perhaps led to a lack of personal commitment; at any rate Aratus paraphrased the scientist so closely that his work does not amount to a great deal more than a versification of Eudoxus.

There are four disadvantages of this method. Firstly, the closeness

[1] besides Clausen ibid. cf. __Aetia__ fr. 2 1-2 and Schol. Flor. ad loc. 15-16 in Pfeiffer's edition.

of the paraphrase of Eudoxus to a large extent precludes variety in the
form of the myths and set-pieces of Hesiod. Then the lack of personal com-
mitment rules out the lively poet-reader relationship of Hesiod and Emped-
ocles. Moreover any poem with an _in tenui_ subject is liable to lack serious-
ness. Lastly, the treatises which Aratus paraphrased, unlike the poems
magnis de rebus of Parmenides and Empedocles (and Lucretius), did not
form one long continuous argument with one fact always lighting the way
for the next (DRN i 1115); they were compendia of astronomical facts and
speculations. As a result the poem which draws on them lacks the structure
of logic which is possessed by the _magnis de rebus_ poems.

All these disadvantages apply to the work of Aratus's successors, if
we can judge from the work of Nicander of Colophon. He wrote bizarre poems
on cures for the bite of poisonous animals (_Theriaca_) and in cases of food-
poisoning — the only Alexandrian didactic poems which have come down to
us apart from the _Phaenomena_.

It is easy to be unfair to Aratus (and even to Nicander, see p.62f).
As Erren says, though his enthusiasm is perhaps excessive, "Der Stoff ist
alles andere als langweilig; leicht verliert man sich darin" (Die Phainomena
von Aratus von Soloi, p.1). And as he points out later, the Stoic belief
in a beneficent providence runs through the whole poem after its statement
in the opening Hymn to Zeus (Phaen. 1ff; ibid. p.327ff). But the link between
Zeus and the stars and signs is not made explicit enough. It is stated
in the opening hymn and thereafter it is occasionally referred to, but the
poet does not make the connexion clear. He says "and this particular sign
comes from Zeus" (eg. Phaen. 743, 964) without referring to the general
lesson, taught in the hymn, of Zeus's all-pervading providential nature.
So the theme cannot be said to link and unite the poem.

The description of the stars is often enliv ned by picturesque detail
and occasionally Aratus "recaptures the imaginative vision of the men who
first named the constellations" (L P Wilkinson, Georgics, (LPW) p.61) more
fully. Wilkinson cites the description of Andromeda and Perseus (246-53);

$$\text{αὐτὰρ ὁ (Perseus) γ' ἐν βορέω φέρεται περιμήκετος ἄλλων,}$$

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[1] Nicander has the further shortcoming of almost impenetrable obscurity.
Nicander's _Georgics_ which survives in a few fragments provided Vergil
with a title, but there is no evidence that he borrowed anything else from
that poem. Its subject of gardens is quite different and he expressly
avoids it (iv 147-8). The two surviving poems provided Vergil with some
material (see Conington on eg. Georg. iii 414). But Vergil could learn
nothing from the "narrow didactism" (Lesky p. 754) of his technique.
Any part of Gow and Scholfield's edition of Nicander's poems will demonstrate
this.

καί οἵ δεξιτερὴ μὲν ἐπὶ κλισμὸν τετάνυσται
πενθερίου διφροιο, τὰ δ'ἐν ποσὶν οἷα διώκων
ἴχνια μηκύνει κεκονιμένος ἐν Διὶ πατρί.

<div align="right">250-53.</div>

But even this lifelike account does not make the most of the poetic possi-
bilities here. Perseus is made much more detailed and convincing in the
English translation of Dr, Lamb (1848, in the Bodleian Library). The first
line, referring to Andromeda whom Aratus has just mentioned, is not in the
original:

> Her anxious eyes
> Gleam bright with hope; beneath her PERSEUS flies,
> Her brave deliverer – mighty son of Jove –
> His giant strides the blue vault climb, and move
> A cloud of dust in heaven; his falchion bare
> Reaches his honour'd step-dame's golden chair.

Similar criticisms of a failure to make the most of poetic opportun-
ities can be made of Aratus's Weather Signs (p.65ff). The most successful
parts of the poem are the two set-pieces – the Hymn to Zeus (1-18, cf.
Hesiod Works 1-10 and p.9ff) and the Myth of three Ages of Man and Justice
(96-136; cf. ibid. 106-202 and below p.63f).[1] There are others – cf.
Night and the Storm at Sea, 406-30. But all Aratus's set-pieces form no
more than a meagre interspersion compared to the "didactic and admonitory medley"
(Sinclair p.xi) of Hesiod.

Many criticisms of the _Phaenomena_, ,charming as the poem is, are there-
fore justified. The _Works and Days_ on the other hand is free of two of
the criticisms mentioned on p.53f – lack of variety and lack of personal
commitment in the form of a poet-reader relationship. But at first sight
the last two criticisms – lack of structure and of seriousness – seem likely
to it and to any poem _in tenui_, because all such poems lack the structure
of argument and the gravity of a subject _magnis de rebus_. The relative
failure of Aratus's Stoic theme to unify the _Phaenomena_ seems only to
confirm that view. It is worth concentrating on the problem of structure
because (as will be seen, p.59) its solution brings with it the solution
of the other problem.

The _Works and Days_ does have a structure, but one of a different kind
from the philosophical poems. It is a poetic structure, though an incomplete
one, formed by the interplay of Hesiod's moral, religious and philosophical
ideas, the recurrence of description and the prominence of the Perses-
Hesiod relationship. (Aratus's Stoic theme is a much less well-developed

[1] both used by Vergil; see p.63.

attempt at the same kind of structure). The last two Hesiodic themes have already been referred to in the first chapter as techniques which are taken up in the *magnis de rebus* tradition (pp.5,8). But the technique of a poetic structure is not taken up, even by Lucretius.[1]

It is, however, taken up by Vergil in the *Georgics*. For that reason it is worth while digressing to examine the poetic structure of the *Works and Days*, where necessary bringing in the two techniques already referred to from a different angle. A good way to do this will be to follow Wilkinson's method with the *Georgics*[2] - to "unfold continuously the structure of the poem" (ibid. p.75) by an analysis of the first section of Hesiod's poem with appropriate commentary.

2 Digression: Hesiod and the Structure of the Works and Days
First section of the poem - Introduction - the Moral of Work (1-341)

The poem begins with a ten-line Hymn to Zeus, the Righter of Wrong or Justicier, at the end of which the poet immediately announces his purpose of educating Perses;

$$\text{Κλῦθι}_{\text{(sc. Zeus)}} \text{ ἰδὼν ἀΐων τε, δίκῃ δ' ἴθυνε θέμιστας}$$
$$\text{τύνη· ἐγὼ δέ κε Πέρσῃ ἐτήτυμα μυθησαίμην}$$
9-10.

Next he expounds a moral argument to Perses: there are two kinds of Strife (one source of Strife in Empedocles? - p.42), the first of which is destructive and the other constructive, namely healthy rivalry with your neighbour to become prosperous. Perses is duly exhorted to take the moral to heart;

$$\text{Ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δὲ ταῦτα τεῷ ἐνικάτθεο θυμῷ}$$
27.

By line 36 Hesiod is already referring back to his Justicier Zeus (a theme) to remind Perses of the importance of lawful behaviour.

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[1] with the possible exception of the alternation of optimistic/pessimistic epilogues in *DRN* - cf. D E Wormell, Lucretius, p.43.

[2] see p.102 below.
T A Sinclair's warning against another kind of analysis - the Hesiodic equivalent of nineteenth-century Homeric dissection - is still valuable in the context of modern thematic analysis of ancient poetry. ("The cardinal error of the dissector is that he dissects along lines not clearly defined in Hesiodic times, however familiar they seem to us", edn. of the *Works and Days*, p.x). The researches of Brooks Otis and Wilkinson make the thematic patterns which underlie the works of Vergil (see p.102 below) so clear that it is easy to assume a detailed and conscious grasp of the technique in other ancient poets. No such assumption can of course be made in the case of an oral poet like Hesiod. The thematic patterns which it is possible to detect in the *Works and Days* are rudimentary; but they do exist (cf. p.58n).
On the formal, as opposed to the poetic structure of the poem see W J Verdenius in Entretiens Hardt vii, pp.111-59.

Hesiod then offers Perses a Parable - the story of Prometheus and Epimetheus, appropriate both because it is the story of two brothers and because it shows Zeus in his role of Justicier.

$$...Ζεὺς ἔκρυψε (βίον) χολωσάμενος φρεσὶν ᾗσιν,$$
$$ὅττι μιν ἐξαπάτησε Προμηθεὺς ἀγκυλομήτης.$$
$$47-8$$

Thus Hesiod emphasises the importance of Zeus at the beginning of the parable. At the end, he makes an additional point;

$$πλείη μὲν γὰρ γαῖα κακῶν, πλείη δε θάλασσα$$
$$νοῦσοι δ᾽ ἀνθρώποισιν ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρῃ ἠδ᾽ ἐπὶ νυκτὶ$$
$$αὐτόματοι φοιτῶσι κακὰ θνητοῖσι φέρουσαι$$
$$σιγῇ, ἐπεὶ φωνὴν ἐξείλετο μητίετα Ζεύς.$$
$$οὕτως οὔτι πη ἔστι Διὸς νόον ἐξαλέασθαι.$$
$$101-5.$$

Here Hesiod not only repeats the Zeus/Justicier theme but adds another; man is beset by evils. He illustrates this theme with a second Parable, that of the Five Ages of Man. Zeus destroyed the Golden Age and three succeeding Ages because of their impiety (137-9). The poet has been born into the last degenerate Age of Iron, and though a better age will follow the world may degenerate further first;[1]

$$Μηκέτ᾽ ἔπειτ᾽ ὤφελλον ἐγὼ πέμπτοισι μετεῖναι$$
$$ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἢ πρόσθε θανεῖν ἢ ἔπειτα γενέσθαι$$
$$etc., 174-5.$$

Hesiod's constant readiness to refer to himself and Perses may be regarded as a further double theme.

Hesiod's last Parable is that of the Hawk and the Nightingale (202-12) - a warning that the nobles are already too prone to behave in the sort of fashion which may bring on the degenerate age of which Hesiod warns (Verdenius p.134).

The poet now returns to Perses and proceeds to hammer home the moral of these parables;

$$ὦ Πέρση, σὺ δ᾽ ἄκουε δίκης, μὴ δ᾽ ὕβριν ὄφελλε$$
$$213.$$

Justice rewards good and avenges evil. He turns aside to make the same point to the unjust princes who had made a decision at law in favour of Perses and against himself (248-73; already referred to in 37-40). But his attention is soon back with Perses (274,286). Throughout this moral-ising passage the Zeus/Justicier theme is reiterated (229, 239, 245, 253, (259 etc.

[1] 'may' rather than 'will' - cf. Verdenius p.133.
For a comparison with Aratus's version of the myth see p.63ff.

Finally Hesiod turns to the general subject of the poem; work. Perses must work,

$$\text{ἐργάζευ, Πέρ6η, δῖον γένος ὄφρα 6ε Λιμος ἐχθαίρη} \ldots$$

299-300.

Hesiod spends 28 lines on this theme (299-326), which is already partly enunciated in his praise of the good kind of Strife (16-26) - ie. rivalry for prosperity.

The first section of the poem ends with an exhortation to sacrifice to the deathless gods (327-41). Here once again the Zeus/Justice theme occurs (333-4).

It can therefore be seen that the first section of the poem (1-341 - a model for the type of prolonged introduction familiar from DRN i)[1] has a pattern of repeated themes. In the first 41 lines the poet introduces four themes (Zeus, guardian of justice - Perses - useless and useful Rivalry (= work) - the unjust princes) which, with the addition of one more (man beset by evils) form the basis of the whole introduction. They form a roughly cyclic pattern, with the three parables in the middle framed by Hesiod's moralising to Perses.

These themes are presented with some variety; Zeus is addressed in a hymn (1-10); Perses is told to listen and then Hesiod reads a moral (11-41); the three parables follow and each is of a different type, the first being the story of particular beings, the second about mankind in general, the third a beast fable. Hesiod returns to moralising, but he lectures Perses first (213-47), then the princes (248-98). Finally he returns to the theme of work which was barely touched on earlier. Perses, and to a lesser extent Zeus, serve to unify these various elements.[2]

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[1] though for Hesiod the introduction would consist only of the first ten lines, the formal proem.

[2] My analysis is naturally written with the benefit of hindsight and in the light of modern criticism of the thematic structure of the Georgics, both ambivalent advantages as was stated before (p.56n2). From Hesiod's standpoint it would be better to talk of obsessive principles arising from the basic idea that it is necessary for Perses to work, rather than a structure of themes. As Verdenius says (op. cit. p.127) "Hesiod hat kein festes Schema vor Augen, sondern er läset sich durch den Strom der Gedanken mitführen, wobei die Richtung sich manchmal verschiebt". (Though he adds later "Es gibt auch eine Anzahl allgemeiner Prinzipien - ie. themes - die das Ganze zusammenhalten und die Richtung bestimmen" (ibid. p.156f). But the effect of Hesiod following his "stream of thought" is a variety within unity, though a rough one with "shifts of direction". It is this result, whether intended or not, which has influenced the structure of the Georgics (p.101ff).

There is not room here to examine the whole of the _Works and Days_ in this way.[1] But it can be seen from this analysis of the first section that the _Works and Days_ has both variety and structure, the things which are needed to avoid monotony. This variety and structure is provided (apart from by detailed qualities of style -p.6ff) by the use, perhaps half-conscious, of recurring themes and techniques, notably the themes of Perses, Zeus, the evils that beset man and the necessity of work, and the techniques of description and digression. The technique of description is seen to best advantage later on in the poem - see Appendix i and chapter one (p.5) on the descriptions of winter and summer (504-63, 588-96).

Most if not all of these themes are of the highest seriousness, and they raise the subject of farming to the same serious level as the poems _magnis de rebus_. So Hesiod has solved in anticipation another difficulty of the _in tenui_ genre - the lack of seriousness of the subject _per se_. He offers Vergil a model of an _in tenui_ poem which is more structured and more serious than Aratus's and is the main didactic influence on the _Georgics_ after Lucretius (cf. Otis p.146).

This is not to say, returning to Aratus, that the _Phaenomena_ lacks an attempt at unity through the Zeus theme or that the _Phaenomena_ is always inferior to the _Works and Days_ (see pp.63ff). On the contrary Aratus's Stoic intention, represented by the same Zeus theme (p.96f), is extremely serious. But the poet's failure to insist on the Zeus theme weakens the Stoic seriousness of the _Phaenomena_ as much as it weakens its unity. These twin drawbacks, ultimately the result as has been suggested (p.53f) of too close a versification of someone else's ideas, continued to mark the _in tenui_ tradition until Vergil's _Georgics_. Yet the _Phaenomena_ has both new details of technique and some fine qualities which influenced Lucretius[2] and Vergil, and to which we must now turn.

3 Aratus and the Phaenomena (2)
Contributions to the didactic stock-in-trade

a.　The lack of a lively poet-reader relationship in Aratus has already been mentioned (p.54). But Aratus does occasionally address the reader

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[1] the following sections of Hesiod's poem are closer in atmosphere to the _Georgics_ but could not be chosen because they do not see the _introduction_ of the important themes. The analysis is continued in Appendix i.

[2] perhaps in Cicero's translation - see below, pp.69ff.

in the second person, and one phrase οὐχ ὁράᾳς (733) which begins the
Diosemeiai is imitated by Lucretius and Vergil - the familiar 'nonne vides'.
It makes an arresting opening for the second part of Aratus's poem and it
is hardly surprising that Lucretius either translated the phrase himself
or, more likely, borrowed it from Cicero's translation of the Phaenomena
which he knew (see p.59n2; a fair assumption surely, even though that part
of Cicero's translation is not extant).

b.   Aratus also introduces the simile to the in tenui tradition. (The
simile is never as important in this genre as it is in the magnis de rebus
tradition, not even in Vergil (p.63), but it is worth briefly following up
a topic so important to the other tradition). There are two in the
Phaenomena; neither is particluarly successful, but they did point the way
for Nicander, who here at least managed to improve on Aratus (see p.62).

Aratus uses both similes in the manner already familiar from the
magnis de rebus tradition of Empedocles and Hesiod's Theogony (cf. p.44ff)
- to help clarify complicated phenomena, in this case the complexities of
his astronomical subject. Of the W-shaped Constellation of Cassiepeia
Aratus says (in Mair's Loeb translation),

> "Like the key of a two-fold door barred within, wherewith
> men striking shoot back the bolts, so singly set shine her
> stars" (192-5).

Mair interprets this obscure image as "(Like the aspect) presented by the
bars of a folding door, where one half-door acts as a door-post to the other
and vice versa". He adds, "If these two bars were secured by a drop-bar
passing through the two, the resemblance would be clearer still" (note ad
loc.). The novelty of the simile is to Aratus's credit, but the fact that
it requires an explanation is not. The simile performs the function of
introducing for a moment a new note, that of the world outside the poem,[1]
but it fails to fulfil its ostensible purpose of clarifying Aratus's des-
cription of Cassiepeia.

The second simile - describing very complicated phenomena, see Erren's
diagram (op. cit. p.17) - concerns the four heavenly Circles. Aratus uses
a comparison which is reminiscent of several in Homer; that of the skilled
craftsman (cf. the artist in Odyssey vi 232ff and the shipwright in Odyssey
ix 384ff, quoted p.44). In Mair's translation;

> "Not otherwise would a man skilled in the handicraft of Athena
> join the whirling Belts, wheeling them all around, so many
> and so great like rings, just as the Belts in the heavens,

[1] as Lucretius's images do constantly, cf. Townend, Lucretius, p.103.

clasped by the transverse circle, hasten from dawn to night
throughout all time" (529-33).

The problems here are that one of the referents, the Belts or Circles,
is the same both inside and outside the simile; and that the other point
of the comparison is not clearly expressed. Instead of saying, what he
obviously means, "a skilful craftsman would join the speeding circles in
just the same say as they are joined in the heavens" (by Zeus) he says,
"a skilful craftsman would join the circles just as they speed through the
heavens" - the idea of "craftsman joining" only occurs in the simile, not
outside it. Once again Aratus has failed to make the most of a good idea.

Here too the faults of Aratus's original have been rectified by a
translator (cf. p.55). On this occasion the translator is none other
than Cicero, who has spotted both problems. The repetition of the Belts
is softened by making the heavenly craftsmanship excel its earthly counter-
part, and a "heavenly power" (divino numine 305) is added to correspond
with the craftsman;

> ut nemo, cui sancta manu doctissima Pallas
>
> sollertem ipsa dedit fabricae rationibus artem,
>
> tam tornare cate contortos possiet orbis,
>
> quam sunt in caelo divino numine flexi,
>
> terram cingentes, ornantes lumine mundum,
>
> culmine transverso retinentes sidere fulta.   302-07[1]

Cicero's translation makes other improvements - see below, and especially
pp.70ff on his translation of the Diosemeiai.

It is also instructive to compare what Aratus achieves in this simile,
with what Homer achieves in that cited from Odyssey ix. Aratus succeeds
in referring briefly to the world outside the poem, though the details he
gives us are few indeed; the workman is merely a "man skilled in the handi-
craft of Athena". No details are given of what the craftsman's skill is.
Nor does Aratus's simile in any way clarify the complex astronomy he is
describing; it only refers, and that not very clearly, to the degree of
skill which would be needed to set up and keep in motion that complex astro-
nomy. Homer's simile, on the other hand, fulfils both these functions;
the craftsman is obviously a shipwright, drilling a timber with a twist
drill and assisted by apprentices. The application to Odysseus, twisting
the olive branch in the Cyclops's eye with the aid of his companions is
both clear and apt from many points of view. Moreover the picture taken
by Homer from everyday life helps the audience to visualise a complex
action in the Cyclops's cave more clearly. Thus on almost every count
Aratus is seen to be neglecting the possibilities of the simile here.

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[1] All Cicero's poetry is quoted from the Buescu/Ernout edition.

Nevertheless his simile has the virtue of briefly varying the world of the poem by reference to the real world, and after Aratus the simile was recognised as part of the stock-in-trade of the didactic poem which was not _magnis de rebus_ (though a less important one), as well as of that like _On Nature_ which was. So we find it in Nicander and subsequently in the _Georgics_.

c. A contribution from Nicander (cf. p.54n)

A couple of Nicander's similes in the _Alexipharmaca_ (cf. ibid.) are free of the awkwardness of Aratus's and show considerable sympathy with the natural world. I quote from Gow and Scholfield's translation;

> i "...and the victim (of the blister beetle) is brought down
> unexpectedly by pain, like the freshly scattered thistledown
> which roams the air and is fluttered by every breeze." (125-7)

The simile is both an opening to the world outside the poem, a beautiful piece of natural observation and a fine expression of pathos - before the forces of disease and pain, man is as ephemeral as thistledown in the wind. (A surprising intuition to find in the middle of Nicander's catalogue of insect monsters).[1]

> ii "...yet medicinal draughts can at once make the victim
> (of the chamaeleon-thistle) void egg-shaped stools, like
> the shell-less lumps which the free-feeding fowl, when
> brooding her warlike chicks, sometimes under stress of recent
> blows drops from her belly in their membranes; sometimes
> under stress of sickness she will cast out her ill-fated
> offspring upon the earth." (292-7)

At first sight the simile has a purely practical purpose - to clarify the nature of what Gow and Scholfield call "the egg-shaped stools" of the patient. It is also appropriate in the hen, like the patient, is ill when she lays her shell-less eggs. But the observation of the hen "under stress of recent blows" has its own pathos (though why are the chicks "warlike"?). At the end of the simile Nicander adds the unexpected, logically unnecessary but deeply touching observation that sometimes sickness will cause the hen to lay her eggs unformed and so to lose her chicks - and the pathos of this small tragedy in nature reflects back upon the situation of the human patient.[2]

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[1] For this unexpected lyricism in a gruesome context cf. perhaps Clytemnestra's comparison of Agamemnon's blood to the spring rain making new corn grow (Aga. 1389-92).

[2] It may be significant, in view of Nicander's mastery of pathos here, that he wrote much later than Aratus - Gow and Scholfield (p.8) prefer a date "in the mid-second century or somewhat later", making the poet younger than Ennius and nearer in time to Cicero, for instance, than to Aratus.

Thus even the unpromising Nicander has something to contribute to the tradition - his similes go beyond Aratus's in appropriateness and what we with hindsight would call a Vergilian pathos and natural sympathy. It is the sort of sympathy Vergil shows for the nightingale in Georgic iv - qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra etc. (511-15). Actually Vergil follows the tendency of Nicander (in the first of Nicander's similes at least) and moves away from the clarifying simile "to make you see what he saw"[1] altogether. It is significant that the nightingale simile has nothing to do with his subject of farming, has no explaining function, but is concerned with the feelings of Orpheus when robbed of Eurydice (cf. p.84). Vergil manages to introduce the comparison of the animal and human worlds throughout the Georgics, without recourse to formal similes - take as a random example the account of the animals who will invade your threshing-floor unless you roll it; the 'exiguus mus' making its house and barn, the blind mole digging its bed etc. (i 176-86; cf. pp.149ff). This indirectly sympathetic style is foreshadowed, as it happens, by Aratus.

4 A polished and atmospheric style in Aratus

It was pointed out previously (p.55) that the Phaenomena contains two elegant set-pieces; a hymn to Zeus and a rehandling of Hesiod's myth of three Ages of Men and Justice (Phaen. 1-18, 96-136). Both influenced Vergil as he admits by direct quotation in Eclogue 3 and reminiscences elsewhere (Ab Iove principium Ecl. 3 60, cf. Phaen.1 Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα; for Justice cf. Georg. ii 473-4, extrema per illos etc.); not only, perhaps, for Aratus's polished style (p.53) but also for the added point which Aratus gives to Hesiod and an atmospheric quality, related to the natural sympathy which he shows in parts of the Diosemeiai (pp.65-7).

The Hymn to Zeus had more influence on Vergil (p.96f) but the special qualities of Aratus are clearer in the Myth of the Ages of Men and Justice, as comparison with Hesiod's corresponding Myth will show. For Hesiod's hundred lines Aratus gives us a "much tidier version" (LPW p.61) in forty; instead of merely announcing that he will tell a myth (like Hesiod, Works 106-7) Aratus begins from a fixed point of departure, the star of the maiden Justice, and returns to it at the end of the story - fittingly enough, because for him the whole point of the story is to explain how the star got there.

Thus instead of Hesiod's naïve transitions from one race to another

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[1] T S Eliot on Dante's similes, Selected Essays p.205, quoted in T G Burgin, An Approach to Dante p.285.

("then a second race...was created by the dwellers on Olympus", Works 127
-8; "and father Zeus created a third race of mortal men", id 143) Aratus
links all three of his races by means of the figure of Justice - we see
successively her part in the Ages of Gold, Silver and Bronze. There is
a command of significant detail too; in the Golden Age she assembles the
old men in ordinary places where people resort during the day —ἤέ που ἐιν

ἀγορῇ ἠ εὐρυχόρῳ ἐν ἀγυιῇ   (106); in the Silver Age she comes from
the lonely mountains at the mysterious time of evening;

$$\text{ἤρχετο δ'ἐξ ὀρέων ὑποδείελος ἠχηέντων}$$
$$\text{μουνάξ}$$ 118-9.

Aratus's carefully chosen and atmospheric words speak volumes about the
awe in which Justice is now held; he points the finger of sympathy in the
Vergilian manner, by conscious use of a word's associations. Finally in
the Bronze Age

$$\text{καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν}$$
$$\text{ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη·}$$ 133-4.

Aratus neatly brings the story back to his point of departure;

$$\text{ταύτην δ'ἄρα νάσσατο χώρην}$$
$$\text{ἠχί περ ἐννυχίη ἔτι φαίνεται ἀνθρώποισιν}$$
$$\text{Παρθένος, ἐγγὺς ἐοῦσα πολυσκέπτοιο Βοώτεω}$$ 134-6.

A comparison with the end of Hesiod's myth, from which Aratus's must be
derived, is illuminating;

$$\text{καὶ τότε δὴ πρὸς Ὄλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης}$$
$$\text{λευκοῖσιν φάρεσσι καλυψαμένα χρόα καλὸν}$$
$$\text{ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον ἴτον προλιπόντ' ἀνθρώπους}$$
$$\text{Αἰδὼς καὶ Νέμεσις} \text{ (cf. 133-4 in Aratus)} \text{τὰ δὲ λείψεται}$$
$$\text{θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι· κακοῦ δ'οὐκ ἔσσεται ἀλκή.} \text{ ἀλγεα λυγρὰ}$$
Works 197-201.

Aratus is more economical - "tidier" - than Hesiod, using one and a half
lines instead of three and a half; he chooses only the most significant
detail —μισήσασα, ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη , [1] as against Hesiod's
wealth of picturesque irrelevances such as 'ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης'
and 'ἀθανάτων μετὰ φῦλον'. The finality of Aratus's past tense is
much more appropriate than Hesiod's future. Lastly, while the final action
of Conscience and Shame, hiding their beautiful faces with white veils,

[1] he is using Otis's subjective style with tense differentiation (ἔπταθ')
and implicit bias (μισήσασα) - see p.79.

is appropriate enough despite the two unnecessary adjectives, the last action
of Aratus's Justice is brilliantly observed. She is seen as she would have
been seen for the last time by men, after her departure had become irrevo-
cable. She has already left the ground (past tense - see p.65n) and is
flying (tell-tale action of god as god, not god that mixes with mortals)
away from earth. One is strongly reminded of Sassetta's poignant miniature
of the marriage of St. Francis and Poverty, with the three angels flying
away from the saint.[1]

Aratus then uses more space than Hesiod for the important architectonic
purpose of rounding off the paragraph, with the result that Hesiod's ending
seems perfunctory by comparison. In addition, as was mentioned previously,
Aratus's ending is more to the point.

The difference between the two passages, one deriving from the other,
is perhaps best compared with that between Vergil's imitations of certain
parts of the Iliad and Odyssey and the Homeric originals. It is not
simply in his rejection of the picturesque but discursive detail of oral
poetry that Aratus is Vergilian, but also in the atmospheric detail with
which he replaces it and the care with which he manages the transition at
the beginning and end of the episode, and links the various parts of it
together.

However, it must be remembered that we are dealing with Aratus at his
best. None of the other episodes in the Phaenomena, and certainly no
part of the catalogue of stars which forms the bulk of the first half
of the poem, is written at the same consistent level.

The Diosemeiai at first sight seems less promising than the Phaenomena,
because as Wilkinson says (LPW p.61), it is "particularly sparing of orna-
ment" - there are no episodes at all. Nevertheless it is the Diosemeiai
which Vergil chose to imitate extensively in Georgic i (351ff) and which
brought out the best in Aratus's Roman translators. This is because, as
Wilkinson says, some of the weather signs have "the true Vergilian pictur-
esqueness" (ibid. p.62).

5 Aratus and sympathetic interest in Nature

The ability of Aratus to sympathise with birds and animals and to cap-
ture the natural world with telling observations might be illustrated from
several passages in the Diosemeiai. However the following is chosen, not
because it is exceptional but because it best illustrates the development

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[1] Chantilly, Musée Condé. It is illustrated eg. in Civilisation, by Kenneth
Clark, p.75.

of sympathy with nature into Roman poetry and towards the subjective style which was referred to in the introduction to this chapter (p.52). We possess parts of Cicero's and Varro of Atax's translations of this piece[1] and therefore can trace the growth of sympathy for the natural world in this miniature genre;

Πολλάκι λιμναῖαι ἢ εἰνάλιαι ὄρνιθες
ἄπληστον κλύζονται ἐνιέμεναι ὑδάτεσσιν,
ἢ λίμνην πέρι δηθὰ χελιδόνες ἀίσσονται
γαστέρι τύπτουσαι αὕτως εἰλυμένον ὕδωρ, 945
ἢ μᾶλλον δειλαὶ γενεαί ὑδροισιν ὄνειαρ,
αὐτόθεν ἐξ ὕδατος πατέρες βοόωσι γυρίνων,
ἢ τρύζει ὀρθρινὸν ἐρημαίη ὀλολυγών,
ἤ που καὶ λακέρυζα παρ' ἠιόνι προὐχούσῃ
χείματος ἐρχομένου χέρσῳ ὑπέτυψε κορώνη,
ἤ που καὶ ποταμοῖο ἐβάψατο μέχρι παρ' ἄκρους
ὤμους ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἢ καὶ μάλα πᾶσα κολυμβᾷ,
ἢ πολλὴ στρέφεται παρ' ὕδωρ παχέα κρώζουσα
Καὶ βόες ἤδη τοι πάρος ὕδατος ἐνδίοιο
οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδόντες ἀπ' αἰθέρος ὠσφρήσαντο
καὶ κοίλης μύρμηκες ὀχῆς ἐξ ὦεα πάντα
θᾶσσον ἀνηνέγκαντο·   942-57.

The first thing to notice here (despite such comments as Townend's "Cicero has here enriched the rather dry texture of Aratus with elements of personal observation", ibid. p.114, and Williams's talk of Vergil's "capacity to clothe with life and emotion the objective statements of Greek poets", op. cit. p.260) is how much there is already in Aratus, both of natural observation and of sympathy with nature — delightful details such as the birds washing (942-3) the crow flying to land and hoarsely cawing beside the water (950,953) the oxen sniffing the air (955) or the bustling ants carrying eggs from their hollow cave (956). There is the same precision in the choice of words like "hoarsely" (953) and "hollow" of the ants' nest as was noted before in the description of Justice's apotheosis.

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[1] quoted in Townend, Cicero, pp.114-6 and Gordon Williams, Tradition and Originality, p.255. On the subjective style in general see pp.79ff.
    For another example of Aratus's manner in the Diosemeiai cf. 1104-12 on sheep warning the shepherd of rain, cited by Wilkinson, LPW p.62.

Some of the words are decidedly human - for example, the <u>unsatiable</u> washing (ἀπλήστον) of the birds, the <u>wretched</u> tribes of frogs (δειλαί, cf. Homer's δειλᾶσι βροτοῖσιν) the lonely tree-frog croaking his <u>aubade</u> (ἐρημαίη , ὀρ ὑρίνον ὀλολυγών), the oxen <u>gazing into</u> heaven (οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδόντες,), the rather poetic speed of the ants (θᾶσσον as opposed to ταχέως).

Other human words are perhaps not so successful. The human phrase "father of the tadpoles" does not help the reader to visualise more intimately the frogs waiting for rain. The fact that they are a boon (Mair, Loeb; or simply "food", sing. for Homeric ὀνείατα in the Alexandrian manner) to water-snakes is not only irrelevant, but worse still it shows a sympathy for the strong rather than for the little victims which may in anticipation be called quite un-Vergilian.

There is also an unwelcome element of repetition in the fact that both the lake and sea birds (942-3) and the crow play in the water, though admittedly in different ways; and Aratus gives the reader too many choices as to the actions of the crow (951-3) for him to visualise them confortably all at once. Nevertheless Aratus deserves more credit than he gets both for supplying many of Vergil's most picturesque details and for starting to give them a human sympathy.[1] The subjective qualities which the Roman poets developed from Alexandrian poetry are clearly present in the <u>Phaeno-mena</u>.[2]

<u>Summary</u>. It is necessary to examine the <u>in tenui</u> tradition because the standing of the <u>Georgics</u> in relation to <u>DRN</u> cannot be understood without it and because it exemplifies in miniature the development of the subjective style into Latin.

The <u>in tenui</u> tradition, as exemplified by Aratus, has four disadvantages. It lacks variety, structure, seriousness and interest in a poet-reader relationship. Aratus shows some awareness of the first three problems, but a more satisfactory solution to them can be seen already in Hesiod's <u>Works and Days</u>.

Aratus introduces the simile to this tradition. But he is more successful in two set pieces drawn from Hesiod, where he improves on the original, and in the Weather Signs where he reveals a sympathy for nature unusual among Greek writers.

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[1] <u>Sample</u> - "Aratus simply described the lamp sputtering: what Virgil has added here is the sympathetic picture of the girls hard-working through the dark night." (Williams, op. cit. p.260, cf. Georg. i 390-2). What Aratus wrote was (Phaen. 976-81; in Mair's Loeb translation), "... or if on a misty night snuff gather on the nozzle of the lamp (cf. Vergil 392) or if in a winter's season (cf. id 391) the flame of the lamp now rises steadily and anon sparks fly fast from it, like light bubbles (cf. id 391-2) or if the light itself there dart quivering rays". Vergil has certainly improved the picture, but it was picturesque enough with details like the "misty night" and "winter's season", the μύκητες on the lamp (Vergil's fungos) and the poetic fascination with the play of light in the flame. Admittedly Aratus's picture lacks the human touch of the girls which Vergil adds.

[2] On the subjectivity of Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes see Otis pp.11ff.

One passage enables the growth of sympathy with nature to be traced closely, because two Latin translations of it, both antedating Vergil, survive.

6 Digression - Ennius and the Roman didactic tradition before Cicero

Before turning to Roman translators of Aratus it will be useful to digress briefly on the place of Ennius in the tradition.

The first Roman didactic poem is Ennius's _Epicharmus_. But the small number of surviving fragments of _Epicharmus_ (8 in Vahlen) and the almost complete lack of scholarly material on the subject make it impossible to consider the poem here. Lucretius had probably not read it (cf. Vahlen, "Itaque Lucretius quae affert ex unis annalibus affert," p.cxlviii on DRN i 114ff). Besides both it and the original of the Greek poet Epicharmus (if Epicharmus was the author, which is doubtful, cf. Vahlen p.ccxviii) were apparently written in trochaic tetrameters. This suggests that despite the title of Epicharmus's poem (περὶ φύσεως , On Nature, like Empedocles's) it did not belong to the tradition of either of the Hesiodic poems, which are in hexameters like the other poems that have been considered, and therefore it falls outside the scope of the present discussion.

The real significance of Ennius stems from the fact that he was the first Latin hexameter poet. He plays the part of Homer to Lucretius's Empedocles (see p.52). The archaic tone which DRN derives from genitives in -ai, compound adjectives and words like 'induperator' with its old-fashioned prefix, and many characteristic phrases like 'in luminis oras' and 'balantum pecudes' it owes to Ennius (Bailey p.30), just as Empedocles owes many old-fashioned words and expressions to Homer (pp.38-9).[1]

In fact Ennius remains in this Homeric position of chief model for Latin hexameter style until the time of Catullus and the spread of Parthenius's ideas in Rome (cf. p.85 n; on Ennius's influence on Catullus see Fordyce p.275).[2] Naturally therefore his influence on the style of Cicero's

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[1]The point is neatly illustrated by Lucretius's translation of Empedocles's fr.133, quoted on p.49. There Empedocles had used the Homeric word 'πελάδαξϑαι ';

οὐκ ἔστιν πελάδαξϑαι ἐν ὀφϑαλμοῖσιν ἐφικτόν
ἡμετέροις ἢ χερσὶ λαβεῖν.

and the Ennian word 'indu' turns up in a different part of Lucretius's translation;

Nec tamen hanc possis oculorum subdere visu
nec iacere indu manus,   v 101-2.

It is not that Lucretius is deliberately imitating Empedocles's use of Homeric language in this particular context. The point is simply that both poets are so fond of their old-fashioned predecessors that casual coincidences like this are bound to occur, and that Lucretius probably learnt the value of old-fashioned epical language from Empedocles.

[2]and in terms of what Bailey calls the "common phraseology" (p.30) which

translation of the <u>Phaenomena</u> is similar to his influence on <u>DRN</u>.

7 Roman translators of Aratus (a) - Cicero

The credit for developing the natural sympathy of an Alexandrian like
Aratus into the much deeper sympathy of the <u>Georgics</u> does not belong ent-
irely to Vergil or even to Vergil and Lucretius. To quote Wilkinson again,
"This kind of picturesqueness and this sympathetic interest in animals is
...more Roman than Greek." (LPW p.62) That is, it belongs to the Roman
tradition in general. To see the truth of this remark it is only necessary
to examine the two translations of Aratus which were made into Latin before
Vergil wrote. Cicero's translation is perhaps the most important landmark
in the development of the didactic genre between Aratus and Lucretius or
Vergil (setting aside the special importance of Ennius) and before his
version of Aratus's storm-sign passage is examined it deserves some general
comment.

Much of its importance is admittedly due to accident. When Cic-
ero's translation became known around 80 BC its author happened to be the
only considerable hexameter poet in Rome at the time. This fact partly
explains the surprising influence of a work so slightly regarded by the
critics (eg. Townend, Cicero, p.131). By another coincidence Lucretius
was at an impressionable age at the time of the poem's appearance (if he
was born between 99 and 95 BC, see Bailey p.4. Compare Munro's similar
comment on the influence of <u>DRN</u> on Vergil, Munro p.315; cf.p. 88 below).

But apart from these coincidences, the translation has real merits
of its own. As Bailey recognises in his commentary, metrically Cicero's
translation is closer in many ways to Vergil's usage than either
Lucretius's or Catullus's (for example in the avoidance of polysyllabic
and spondaic endings - cf. Bailey pp.115-7 and Ewbank pp.60-4) - yet both
poets were writing perhaps twenty or twenty-five years later. In other
words Cicero had at least a poet's feeling for hexameter rhythm.[1]

Also, as a glance at a passage shortly after the simile mentioned ear-
lier will show (Aratea 320-31; cf. p.61) Cicero has the expected Ennian
feel for the grand periphrases, the high-sounding archaic genitive (vis
torva Leonis, vis magna Nepai 321,324) and the epic compound adjective (aes-
tifer 320 Sagittipotens 325 squamiferi 328).

<u>note</u> (cont). Ennius largely created - words like 'pubes', 'amnis' and 'pel-
agus' - his formal influence persists throughout Latin poetry. He also
showed the way in a less formal manner - see p.81.

[1] but only within the line - see p.75n.

Lucretius draws on this passage in v 614ff, where a hint in Cicero inspires some characteristic lines on Night (see the discussion on imagery in v 614ff, pp.143ff).[1]

By merit then as well as by chance, Cicero must have been a decisive influence on Lucretius[2] - certainly on his choice of the didactic genre. The question of Lucretius's choice of an old-fashioned Ennian style is less straightforward (see p.75). Ennian influence is to be expected in 80 BC, when Cicero published his translation (p.69) and Cicero's Ennian style may have influenced Lucretius's. But by the time Lucretius was writing the new poets were in full swing. Cicero for his part continued to prefer the old-fashioned style of Ennius - 'poetam egregium' - and to despise the new 'cantores Euphorionis' (Tusc. iii xix 45).[3]

But the peak of Cicero's performance has yet to be considered. By chance the fragment of Cicero's Diosemeiai translation corresponding to the lines from Aratus discussed above (p.66f) has survived, preserved by his own quotation in De Divinatione (i 9 15; his version of the Diosemeiai as a whole is lost). Here Cicero, writing at his poetic best admittedly (v. Townend, Cicero, p.130) shows himself a talented and creative pupil of Aratus's manner of expressing sympathy with the animals. In fact he is so successful that it is tempting to suggest that Cicero had some influence on Lucretius's way of expressing sympathy with nature as well as Vergil's.[4]

The fragment begins at Aratus's line 946:

> vos quoque signa videtis, aquai dulcis alumnae,
> cum clamore paratis inanis fundere voces
> absurdoque sono fontis et stagna cietis;
> saepe etiam pertriste canit de pectore carmen
> et matutinis acredula vocibus instat,

[1] as Munro's note on DRN v 619 shows, this section of Book v is the main but by no means the only place where Lucretius recollects Cicero's Aratea.

[2] cf. Townend, Cicero, p.128f. Curiously Cicero seems to have edited DRN after Lucretius's death (Jerome on the date 94 BC - v. Bailey, pp.1,4). Certainly Cicero came to appreciate the poem - cf. Ad Q. Fratr. ii 9 3.

[3] cf. Ad Att. vii ii 1. The fact that all the Ennius quoted later in this chapter survives from Cicero's quotation is significant too.

[4] For the influence of Cicero's translation of this passage on Vergil see pp.76-9. Of course Lucretius's attitude to nature had far more influence on Vergil than Cicero's - see pp.90ff. But the passage from DRN v which is shown there to have influenced the Georgics reveals the same kind of sympathy with nature as Cicero's translation quoted above - only this time for plants, not animals. The fragment may have survived from a revised translation of the Diosemeiai dating from about twenty years after the first version, ie. about 60 BC (Townend, ibid. p.113). But the sympathy with nature it shows is a natural development of a tendency which marks the whole translation - to enhance the subjective or atmospheric quality which has already been noticed as characteristic of Aratus's writing (p.65). Compare Cicero's expansion of (PTO

vocibus instat et adsiduas iacit ore querellas,

cum primum gelidos rores Aurora remittit;

fuscaque non numquam cursans per litora cornix

demersit caput et fluctum cervice recepit;

mollipedesque boves, spectantes lumina caeli,

naribus umiferum duxere ex aere sucum.   fr.xxxvii (Buescu).

Cicero has been inspired by hints in Aratus (the human touch of πατέρες and the pathos of ἐρημαίη and ὀρθρινόν) to increase the element of sympathy with animals markedly. Firstly the frogs are addressed directly, and then instead of the irrelevant phrase "food for watersnakes" they are called "nurslings" or "children of the sweet water" with an affective adjective 'dulcis' to increase the writer's sympathy - he might be talking to children. Townend (ibid. p.114) cites Malcovati's reasonable claim that "the sound and rhythm of the lines reproduce to some extent the insistent croaking of the frogs" (Malcovati p.247). He notes Cicero's "element of sympathy"...though it should also be pointed out that words like 'inanis' and 'absurdo' give the passage a marked flavour of parody which is perhaps out of place.

In the next picture Cicero has mistranslated ὀλολυγών as 'acredula' (owl). An uncharitable comment, perhaps, in view of the deeper emotional sympathy with which Cicero elaborates on ἐρημαίη ; the acredula's song is 'pertriste', its complaints (querellas) are incessant (adsiduas) and its voice so insistent that Cicero uses anaphora (vocibus instat) to emphasise the pathos of the moment. ὀρθρινόν is less successfully elaborated to 'cum primum gelidos rores Aurora remittit'; beautiful, but irrelevant, so that it diminishes the pathos.

In the next picture Cicero omits the confusing alternatives of Aratus; the crow (now sinisterly 'fusca') is content to parade the shore and take the waves on its neck (human word) - note the dark u's which chime in with 'fusca' and the frequent repetition of c, r, to suggest the crow's raucous voice.

In his last picture Cicero is inspired by the detail of 'ὡφρηγαντο' and the human touch of 'εἰαυλσόντες '. The oxen are given the poetic compound 'mollipedes' with its affective 'molli-'element and they "gaze at the bright heaven" in a resounding Ennian phrase. Instead of "sniffing" they "draw-in damp vapour from the air with their nostrils". Unfortunately 'mollipedes' is neither relevant nor very apt, the "bright heaven" is about to be clouded over by a storm, and the "damp-bearing vapour from the air" (another poetic compound by the way) is too specific and long-winded - we expect to see a substance like treacle entering the oxen's nostrils.

Nevertheless Cicero is right to add the idea of damp and the picturesque touch of "nostrils" - it is possible to visualise the large damp quivering noses of cattle quite clearly from his description, and this is the part of them which gives the weather sign.

If by "improving" is meant "increasing the impact of the poem on the reader" then Cicero has certainly improved on Aratus here. Setting aside his more flamboyant gestures (direct address to the frogs and anaphora of 'vocibus instat') - they are what one would expect from an orator but effect- ive enough for all that[1] - the translation is clearly superior in terms of tact (omission of the two phrases 'πατέρες γυρίνων', 'ὕδασιν ὄνειαρ', omission of confusing alternatives concerning the crow). More- over his version is more clearly visualised (cf. the cattle) and shows far more obvious sympathy with the natural world; consider the 'dulcis' water, the words which emphasise the sadness of the acredula's song. Lastly it shows a new command of poetic devices like insistent vowel harmony and onomatopoeia which help to fill out the picture of the crow.

At times Cicero is tactless in his turn - witness the attractive but irrelevant line about dawn and the unnecessary "poetic" compound adjectives in the picture of the oxen. Nevertheless it seems just as wrong to describe Cicero as having "no fresh imaginative grasp of what is being said" (Williams p.257) as it does to deny Aratus any credit for supplying much poetic raw material in the first place.

b. Varro of Atax

By chance almost the corresponding part of Varro of Atax's translation - exactly corresponding in the case of the oxen picture - is preserved in Servius's note on Georgic i 375. It should be noted that Varro was a con- temporary of Catullus[2] writing some quarter of a century after Cicero's translation (unless the view noted with approval by Townend, that Cicero revised the Diosemeiai translation about this time, is correct - see p.70n4). It runs as follows:

> tum liceat pelagi volucres tardaeque paludis
> cernere inexpletas studio certare levandi
> et velut insolitum pennis infundere rorem;
> aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo,

[1] cf. Lucretius's imitation, in Book v of the torches - tremere ignibus in- stant/instant...; and on anaphora in Appendix iii p.180.

[2] But not one of the close associates of Catullus mentioned in the OCD under 'Alexandrianism'.

et bos suspiciens caelum - mirabile visu -

naribus aёrium patulis decerpsit odorem,

nec tenuis formica cavis non evehit ova.

fr.22 Morel, ap. Williams p.255.

Varro has omitted the loose participial phrase in which Aratus describes the swallows swooping into the water (it also has the fault of repeating the idea of water-play) and either Varro or Servius has omitted the frogs (which are mentioned at this point by Vergil) and the crow (which is mentioned later by him). Rather than do Williams, from whom the passage is quoted, the disservice of a paraphrase, I quote the whole of his perceptive analysis -

"Varro's adaptation has great merits of liveliness and precision of observation, but it also has weaknesses; for instance, nec...non in the last line is a rhetorical artifice, alien to simple description. The point of velut insolitum ("as if it were new to them") is complex. It is not, as the surrounding phrases are, intended to describe objectively, for the water is certainly not new to the birds, but it nudges the reader into adopting for himself an impression that the poet feels as he watches. The intention is excellent and it is absent from Aratus; the didactic poet here establishes an intimate rapport with his reader and asks him to share the sensations which he feels. The phrase is, however, a little clumsy for its purpose and somewhat obscure in its intention. But mirabile visu is really weak, an unconvincing and artificial piece of poetic posturing, especially attached, as it is, to a nicely observed description. Yet its intention is the same as that of velut insolitum; it asks the reader to share the poet's wonder as he observes. It is worth noticing that the phrase is seldom used by Vergil as an exclamation. He, self-conscious literary artist that he is, has a regrettable liking for mirabile dictu; but that phrase calls attention to the poet's manner of expression and is a Hellenistic touch comparable to Horace's credite posteri (Odes ii 19 2); the reader is asked to stand aside with the poet as he observes his own activity. But mirabile visu tries too hard to prescribe the reader's reaction for him and take the place of description: applied to something quite ordinary it is exaggerated." (pp.256-7)*⊕

Williams's analysis has taken the argument a stage further, to Vergil's

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*Which is why 'θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι' is normally appropriate in Homer - it is usually applied to a miraculous object or a miracle.

⊕I cannot agree with Williams's next point, that "Virgil has worked out a perfect technique for giving life to didactic poetry by realizing the poet-reader relationship" - Hesiod and all the magnis de rebus poets both precede and excel Vergil in this respect, see p.157n.

masterly realisation of all the poetical possibilities suggested success-
ively by Aratus, Cicero and Varro. It will be interesting to go on to
the actual passage from the _Georgics_ in which Vergil draws on his various
predecessors here mentioned; but first it is necessary to return briefly
to Cicero. Williams - quite reasonably - compares his picture of the oxen
unfavourably with that of Varro (ibid. p.257). It will be useful to repeat
both versions of the oxen picture for comparison, and (following Townend
p.116) to add Vergil's for the sake of completeness.

CICERO: Mollipedesque boves spectantes lumina caeli
          naribus umiferum duxere ex aere sucum.

VARRO: et bos suspiciens caelum - mirabile visu -
          naribus aerium patulis decerpsit odorem.

VERGIL: aut bucula caelum
          suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras.   (i 375-6)

The objections that can be made to Cicero's version have already been
stated. Varro has replaced the heavy 'spectantes lumina caeli' with the
more appropriate 'suspiciens' - a closer translation of Aratus and a much
more indirect word than 'spectantes'; and rightly so, since as Williams
points out, "the cattle only appear to look upwards, really they are ele-
vating their nostrils to the breezes." He has also rephrased Cicero's
awkward second line so that the emphasis is more on the significantly sniff-
ing nostrils and less on the damp vapours, which in Cicero seem too concrete.
Vergil has predictably chosen to imitate Varro. (He has also significantly
abandoned the damp vapours altogether and returned to the straightforward
"air-sniffing" of Aratus). Nevertheless it is hardly fair of Williams to
say that Cicero "has no fresh imaginative grasp" when as Townend points
out (ibid.) Varro has lifted the new and welcome detail of 'naribus' from
Cicero and even used it in the same sedes. ('caelum' is different - it is
the obvious translation of Aratus's ' ουρανόν ').[1]

Had Williams been discussing those lines of Cicero's translation which
immediately precede the picture of the oxen, he would surely have argued
differently. They clearly show, at an earlier stage, that intention on
the part of the poet to prescribe the reader's reaction which he so reason-
ably praises in Varro (cf. p.73 above). While Varro disguises his intention
behind a suggestive 'velut insolitum', Cicero turns directly to rhetoric
with 'vos quoque signa videtis' and anaphora of 'vocibus instat'. Vergil's

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[1] Perhaps Williams is objecting to the poetic pleonasm of the old school,
to which Cicero belonged (p.70). Cicero expands, Varro doesn't.

way is more often like Varro's - "empathy" (cf. p.79) rather than expressed sympathy. Nevertheless Cicero's attempt "to clothe with life and emotion the objective statements of Greek poets" (Williams p.260) deserves some recognition in any account of the development of Vergil's style in the Georgics, just as much as the externals of Cicero's style (and perhaps other aspects too - see p.69f) must be recognised as an influence on Lucretius.

With Varro the tradition has advanced a stage further, for it is impossible to speak of influence on Lucretius as well as Vergil. Varro's influence on Vergil is evident enough (cf. above). More than that, his style is much closer to Vergil's; gone are the Ennian trappings of Cicero's verse. A more inward style has taken their place, marked by an apparently greater interest in expressing sympathy, both overtly (mirabile dictu) and indirectly (velut insolitum). As it happens Vergil has expressed his admiration by lifting a whole line unchanged from Varro (aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo, Georg. i 377) - a rare compliment (Williams p.258) and one which he repeats at Georg. ii 404 (v. Servius ad loc.). Significantly the borrowed line seems perfectly Vergilian in its new context.[1]

But Varro's style is as different from Lucretius's as it is from the similar style of Lucretius's fellow-Ennian, Cicero. While Varro and Catullus and the rest of the neoteric school are evolving their new inward style, Lucretius, their contemporary, still uses the old-fashioned epic style of Ennius and Cicero. When Cicero first wrote there had been no alternative to the Ennian style (though the comments from the Tusculan Disputations quoted on p.70 show that Cicero continued to wish for no other). By the time Lucretius was writing Parthenius the Callimachean, the master of Cinna, Catullus and Vergil himself had been in Rome for anything up to ten years (since soon after 73 BC, see Clausen GRBS 1964 p.188).

However, the choice for Lucretius was not a simple one between an old-fashioned style and a new-fangled one. In choosing to write the first Latin poem magnis de rebus Lucretius is certainly ignoring the new poets' Alexandrian preference for epyllion, not epos; the Alexandrians, after all, created the in tenui genre. But his isolation in the matter of style may well be a straight consequence of his choice of genre; the choice of a didactic epos would very probably have involved Ennian language and excluded neoteric influence in any case. Apart from the new poets' admiration for epyllion, it is clear from Catullus's Peleus and Thetis (64)

[1] though Varro's lines follow the late Alexandrian fashion of being end-stopped (Wilkinson, Golden Latin Artistry, p.194) as do Cicero's (cf. Ewbank p.57). In both the Vergilian quality of individual lines and the un-Vergilian habit of end-stopping Varro resembles his fellow neoteric, Catullus (v. Appendix ii p.170 and Otis p.98f).

that their style does not suit a long poem - see Otis p.100. All the same
the openness of Vergil to previous and contemporary influences is in some
contrast to Lucretius's position. His adaptation of the same storm-sign
passage in Aratus is a particularly clear example of this. Vergil draws
not only from Cicero's translation and Varro's, but also on the original.

8 Vergil's use of Aratus and his Roman translators

The passage adapted by Vergil runs as follows:

aut bucula caelum 375
suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras,
aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo,
et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querelam
saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova
angustum formica terens iter, et bibit ingens 380
arcus, et e pastu decedens agmine magno
corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis.
iam varias pelagi volucres, et quae Asia circum
dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri,
certatim largos humeris infundere rores, 385
nunc caput obiectare fretis, nunc currere in undas,
et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi.
tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce
et sola in sicca secum spatiatur arena.
ne nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellae 390
nescivere hiemem, testa cum ardente viderent
scintillare oleum et putris concrescere fungos.[1]

Georg. i 375-92

The first thing to notice here is the way in which Vergil has used his free-
dom as an independent poet, not a translator (or a paraphraser like Aratus
- see p.53f), to restructure the over-regular succession of Aratus's signs.
In Aratus these are arranged in the order water/land; in Vergil the succ-
ession is very much less monotonous, namely calf (more effective than ox)
swallow, frogs, ant, rainbow, rooks, sea-birds, crow girls with lamp.

As Williams points out, the rainbow, rooks and lamp[1] are from differ-
ent contexts in Aratus[2] and the magnificent excursus on the water-meadows
of the Cayster is from a Homeric simile - an unlikely source (Il. ii 459-65).

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[1] On the last sentence see p.67n1. The lamp is Aratus's, the girls are
Vergil's addition giving human interest to a passage which lacks it in
Aratus.

[2] rainbow, Phaen. 940; rooks, id 965,969.

The catalogue of separate incidents found in Aratus, and still in Cicero
and Varro, each picturesque in themselves and increasingly appealing in
the Roman poets, nevertheless soon becomes monotonous in Aratus and would
no doubt become so in Cicero and Varro if we had their translations comp-
lete. Vergil's first step, therefore, is to vary it.

Vergil has also added numerous felicitous touches of detail. In the
second line of the oxen picture he has both improved the picture and light-
ened Varro's monotonous rhythm by omitting one half of a double hyperbaton.
'Aerium...odorem' returns to 'auram' - compare Aratus's simple 'ἀπ
ἀιθέρος'.[1] The sea-birds are now described with the delightfully precise
verb 'rimantur' (384) and given humanising 'humeris' borrowed from Aratus
(ὤμους 952; Varro has 'pennis'). Aratus's and Cicero's crow is trans-
formed into a stage villain calling for rain (388-9). The last two could
serve as examples of how Vergil succeeds in being highly original even while
imitating. But to get a thorough impression of that skill of his it will
be useful to enumerate each of the points at which Vergil has been inspired
here by hints in Aratus, Cicero and Varro.

In the first line of the extract (375), as was noted on p.76, the
ordinary 'bos' has been replaced by an appealing young 'bucula'. In the
next line Vergil has kept Varro's "flaring nostrils" but returned to Ara-
tus for his 'auras'. 'Captavit' which is more objective replaces 'decerpsit'
which in turn is more closely observed and suggestive than Cicero's 'duxere'.
The next line (377) is Varro's. The tense and the details of the frogs
in 378 are all Vergil's - but their 'querela' is borrowed from Cicero's
'acredula'. In 379-80 the tense and some of the details are Aratus's; but
for Aratus's picturesque ' κοίλης ὀχῆς ' Vergil has substituted the
epic human phrase 'tectis penetralibus' - a small but significant change.
The sympathetic details of the ant "treading" a "narrow" path are Vergil's.
The next few lines are taken from different contexts (380-84 - see p.76)
but even here in the phrase "the sweet (fresh) pools of the Cayster" the
word 'dulcis' is taken from Cicero. In lines 385-7 Aratus's "birds of lake
and sea" and "chattering crow" (p.67) have been conflated into one group
with the advantage that repetition is avoided, and instead of Aratus's con-
fusing alternatives introduced by ' ἤ...ἤ ' Vergil's reader is helped to
concentrate on the comedy with a 'nunc...nunc' and even a 'videas' (387).
Vergil replaces Aratus's 'ἀπληστον' with a sympathetic 'certatim' and
a 'studio levandi' - "an enthusiastic game at washing", borrowed or adapted

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[1] on hyperbaton see Appendix iii pp. 178f. It is typical that the extract
in Vergil begins in mid-line; Vergil is concerned with the rhythm of the
paragraph, Varro as has been said only with the rhythm of his individual
lines which seem so like Vergil's (p.75n).

from Varro's imaginative version; he also borrows the poetic 'rores' - significantly plural "drops of spray" for Varro's 'rorem'. However, as mentioned before (p.77), he returns to Aratus for the human 'humeris' (ὤμους ἐκ κεφαλῆς) instead of Varro's 'pennis' and sharpens Aratus's looser phrasing of "it may be dips from head to shoulder in the river, or even dives completely" into 'nunc caput obiectare fretis, nunc currere in undas'. The amusing tone of the last line (387) where the crows "play at" washing is Vergil's own. The lone and sinister (improba) raven in the next two lines, "calling on the rain with deep voice" (an inspired variation on Aratus's "hoarsely cawing crow") "stalking the dry sand" with solemn alliteration is partly suggested by Cicero's slightly sinister "dark raven" who is also depicted with alliteration. The raven is 'sola' like Aratus's tree-frog. In the last three lines the human touch of the girls weaving is Vergil's addition - see p.67n1.

It can be seen that Vergil consistently takes what is excellent from his cources and adapts what is not until it is. What is merely pict-uresque becomes human and significant too. So by the end of his remarkable transformation everything has come to be described in the liveliest human terms - calf, swallow, frogs, ants, "army" of rooks, sea-birds, raven; even the rainbow "drinks". Possibilities suggested successively by three competent authors have been taken up, added to, reworked and re-ordered by Vergil (and this re-structuring is also important - p.76) until they permeate the whole passage and give it a new character.

The quality of the writing that Vergil has transformed into his fin-ished work of art is significant in itself. Aratus's, Cicero's and Varro's skilful versions are anything but raw material - all the more difficult to put them in the shade and yet Vergil has done so decisively.

But as was suggested before (p.70) this ability to humanise the natural world does not belong exclusively to the *in tenui* tradition. Lucretius shows a similar tendency, for example when he brings his atoms to life (p.137) or humanises the plants in v 206-17 (p.90ff) - a passage which strongly foreshadows Vergil.[1] Nor is the technique confined to the broad didactic tradition. The fact is that sympathy for the natural world is only part of a wider subjectivity of style which has been referred to before (p.52 etc.); though it provides a good example of the style. It is this subjective style, characteristic of later Greek and all Roman poetry, which must be

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[1] though a superficial difference in "inwardness" has already been remarked (p.75), and there is a greater connectedness in the natural imagery of the new poets and Vergil - v. pp.149-51 and Appendix ii p.171.

considered next.

Summary. Ennius is the first didactic poet in the Latin tradition, but his Epicharmus is shrouded in mystery. However, as the founder of a style he has the importance for Lucretius and other poets which Homer has for Empedocles.

One such poet is Cicero whose translation of Aratus had an importance beyond its merits, including some influence on Lucretius. However, in his translation of the Aratus passage previously discussed Cicero shows more poetic sympathy with nature than Aratus.

Varro of Atax, translating 25 years later, is still more successful in this respect. He writes in a more modern style, and individual lines of his resemble Vergil's.

Lucretius is a contemporary of Varro's, but keeps an Ennian style, by then old-fashioned. His choice of a magnis de rebus genre is also old-fashioned. But the choice of genre may have dictated the old epic style.

Vergil is less isolated from contemporary taste than Lucretius. In his adaptation of the Aratus passage he realises all the poetic possibilities of sympathy with nature suggested successively by Aratus, Cicero and Varro.

The growth of poetic sympathy with nature is part of a growing subjectivity of style in Alexandrian Greek and especially Latin poetry.

9 Growth of the Subjective Style (a) - in miniature, from Aratus to Vergil

It is natural to begin consideration of the subjective style with the views of Professor Brooks Otis, who has written the most detailed account of it. But it must be remembered that Otis's book concerns a Vergilian subjectivity, or at least one seen through the eyes of a writer on Vergil. Other forms of the subjective style in Latin are less refined, perhaps, but not less effective, as can be seen from the examples from Ennius and Lucretius given below (p.87).

All the same Otis's description of the subjective style is worth some comment. He makes a useful distinction between two elements of subjectivity; direct expressions of sympathy and "empathy" (implied sympathy). He also gives a helpful account of the way these qualities are revealed (numbers mine);

> "...in sentence structure (i), tense differentiation (ii) metre(iii) and choice of words(iv) and similes (v), the "editorial" intrusion of the author by "finger pointing" epithet (vi), explicit declaration of parti pris (vii) and the implicit bias of his language (viii)" (p.61; the list is incomplete, eg. in omitting the most obvious trick of all, the direct invitation to see what the poet sees (ix)).

The importance of the subjective style for Lucretius and Vergil calls for some illustration of Otis's account, although it must be emphasised that his viewpoint is a Vergilian one. As it happens the succession of versions just discussed illustrates it neatly. The developing sympathy

for nature which they show is only one aspect of Otis's subjective style. Looked at from another angle they also illustrate the growth of the style in general.

For example in his description of the storm-signs Aratus is already using the "finger pointing" epithet (vi) ' δειλαί ' for the frogs and he borrows our human reactions with implicit bias (viii) when he calls them "fathers of tadpoles" (p.67)[1]. Cicero goes much further. He addresses the frogs in a direct editorial intrusion (vos quoque...). Besides borrowing human reactions — more successfully than Aratus — by calling them "nurslings of the water" (viii) he also shares their reaction to the water; 'dulcis' means "sweet" as well as "fresh" (iv). In the next picture he extends the technique to metre (iii), with an emotional anaphora to express sympathy with the acredula. The description of the raven has the further refinement of dark alliteration in ' u ' (p.71).

Varro goes further still (and is neater — misdirected subjectivity in Cicero's picture is tactfully corrected). For instance he invites the reader to see what he sees (ix; liceat...cernere) expresses his point of view with 'velut insolitum' (vi) enters the thoughts of the water-birds with 'studio[2] certare lavandi' (viii). The swallow like the ox is described by a generic past tense (iii) so that the action seems to take place once only, as if caught in a snap-shot (iii; cf. Aratus's ' ιὼρ... ' and his ' ἐπται ' of Justice — p.64). The word-order of that line of Varro's, with the adjective and noun grouped at either end, suggests the action of 'circumvolitavit' (i). 'Mirabile visu' is a striking attempt to point the finger of sympathy (vi), even if unsuccessful.

Thus with increasing frequency we have all the qualities : mentioned by Otis, and some others. The only thing missing — and that must be by chance — is the simile.[3]

In his version of the storm-signs Vergil uses these techniques yet more frequently and with unfailing skill. In terms of metre (iii) the subtlety with which the line-ending is used to split 'caelum/suspiciens' (375; to indicate the gap between sky and calf) and 'ingens/arcus' (360; to emphasise the magnitude of the rainbow) can be cited as examples. Cicero's anaphora is avoided — perhaps it would be too obvious. In terms of sentence-

[1] In the parable of Justice (p.64f) Aratus uses a more sophisticated version of the subjective style.

[2] "enthusiasm"

[3] For the simile in Aratus and Nicander v. pp.60-63. Catullus uses a simile in the passage from Peleus and Thetis discussed in Appendix ii, pp.170f, a passage where the poet approaches Vergilian subtlety in the use of the subjective style. Compare the Ennian simile cited by Otis (p.98; see p.82f below).

structure (i) the succession 'nunc...nunc...et' is noteworthy as a guide
to the reader's attention (contrast Varro's clumsy 'nec...non', of the ants,
p.73). In terms of tense differentiation (ii) the succession of "snap-shot"
generic perfects followed by presents as Vergil elaborates first 'iam' on
the birds and then 'tum' on the raven are notable. Choice of words (iv)
can be illustrated from the way Vergil has managed to humanise nearly all
the verbs in the passage, and also from the way he adds to Varro's picture
of the birds washing a further humanising element ('caput', 'currere in
undas') and an additional insight into their reaction. They find the play
amusing; so 'certare' is transformed to 'certatim' to make room for 'incassum'
and 'gestire'. As editorial intrusions we have the invitation to the reader,
'videas' (ix) much neater than Varro's 'liceat...cernere'; a finger pointing
epithet (vi) 'improba' which is underlined by the alliteration chiming in
with 'sola...spatiatur'; and the implicit bias (viii) of the sinister "army"
of ravens with their "dense-packed" wings (pp.76-8).

It will be observed - witness the difference between Varro's skilful
version and Vergil's transformation of the piece - how completely Vergil
is master of this complicated and suggestive style (cf. Williams p.259).

b. The subjective style and the previous Latin poetic tradition

But the subjective style, as has already been said, does not belong
only to the in tenui tradition - unless it is pressed too closely into
Otis's Vergilian mould. All Roman poets use it; literally so, for the Roman
tradition of subjective writing can be traced back to Ennius, as Otis (p.98)
and Williams (p.260) point out. The comparison drawn there between a pas-
sage from the Eumenides of Aeschylus and Ennius's translation of it[1] throws
light on the importance of Ennius in forming what may be called the Roman
poet's subjective world view, as well as his language and style mentioned
before (p.68f). It is worth citing both passages, because they show
Roman subjectivity at work outside the didactic genre and the hexametre
tradition altogether (though not outside the field of poetic sympathy with
nature);

ὁποῖα νίκης μὴ κακῆς ἐπίσκοπα,
καὶ ταῦτα γῆθεν ἔκ τε ποντίας δρόσου
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τε· κἀνέμων ἀήματα
εὐηλίως πνέοντ' ἐπιστείχειν χθόνα·
καρπόν τε γαίας καὶ βοτῶν ἐπίρρυτον

[1] one of several passages of Cicero's 'poeta egregius' quoted by him in the
Tusculan Disputations - i xxviii 69 (cf.p70n3).

ἀστοῖσιν εὐθενοῦντα μὴ κάμνειν χρόνῳ,
καὶ τῶν βροτείων σπερμάτων σωτηρίαν.

Eumenides 903-9.

Ennius translates as follows:

 caelum nitescere, arbores frondescere,

 vites laetificae pampinis pubescere,

 rami bacarum ubertate incurvescere,

 segetes largiri fruges, florere omnia,

 fontes scatere, herbis prata convestirier.

Vahlen Scenica 151ff.

Williams comments:

"Aeschylus arranged his words in a logically ordered series; the blessings of earth, air and sea. Ennius abandoned all arrangement for a turbulent series of impressions, emotively expressed, sensuously perceived and attributing life and joy to the normally mechanical processes of nature. The lush sensations of a productive farm-land are expressed by Ennius, a joy as much to the vegetable life itself as to the human perceiver." In other words Ennius is subjectively identifying with the plants and the natural scene - words like 'pubescere', 'ubertate' and 'convestirier' have human overtones. As Fraenkel says in a page from which Williams is drawing here, Aeschylus has merely thought of the natural landscape, "mentre invece Ennio vede le cose, le fiuta, le palpa, le assorbe intimamente in sé." (Elementi Plautini in Plauto p.396).

Moreover an external dimension of language - "a crude exuberance... marked by assonance and alliteration" (Williams, ibid.) is added to the Greek. Ennius is using his "metre", in Otis's word (cf. p.79) to reinforce the subjective impression. In human perception of nature and subjective manipulation of metre "the passage of Ennius approximates to the poetry of Virgil in the Georgics" (Williams, ibid.) and to those passages of <u>DRN</u> where Lucretius foreshadows Vergil.[1]

Turning back to hexameter poetry, but to the different field of a heroic narrative from the <u>Annales</u>, the same Ennian subjectivity can be seen at work. Consider Ennius's description of the contest of Romulus and Remus (quoted by Otis, p.98; and again preserved by Cicero's citation in De Div. i xlvii 107f):

 Certabant urbem Romam Remoramne[2] vocarent.

 omnibus cura viris uter esset induperator.

 expectant, veluti consul cum mittere signum

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[1] In its sensuous quality the passage more resembles Lucretius - cf. the sensuousness (in a different context) of DRN ii 20ff (pp.131-5).

[2] misquoted as -que by Otis

volt, omnes avidi spectant ad carceris oras,

quam mox emittat pictis e faucibus currus,

sic expectabat populus...

<div align="right">Vahlen Annales 82-7.</div>

The device of sympathetic language ('cura', 'avidi') is here joined
by the appeal to a familiar scene in the simile and a sequence of tense,
mood etc. (imperfects, subjunctives and vivid presents) which reflects the
thoughts of the bystanders as if the poet had entered into them (cf. Otis
p.99). In other words Ennius is subjectively identifying with his charact-
ers here just as he identifies with the natural world in his Eumenides
translation.

Ennius seems to have been particularly evocative in his description
(in the same subjective style) of tragic female characters. Compare the
words he gives to Andromache (Sc. 92-6 Vahlen) Medea's Nurse (ibid. Sc.
236-54) and above all Rhea Silvia's dream (ibid. Ann.35-51; all preserved
by Cicero's quotation, see Vahlen ad loc.). Some of the elaborate
subjective techniques used in Rhea Silvia's dream are discussed in Appendix
ii p. 169 .

Lucretius too uses many subjective techniques in his description of
a tragic heroine. Consider the lines on Iphigenia (also quoted by Otis,
p.99);

et maestum simul ante aras adstare parentem

sensit et hunc propter ferrum celare ministros

aspectuque suo lacrimas effundere civis,

muta metu terram genibus summissa petebat.

<div align="right">i 89-92</div>

Otis comments that "We experience not only what she sees, but but how she
feels as she sees it" = expressed by the carefully chosen 'sensit' with
infinitives as if quoting her, the evident bias of 'maestum parentem'
and the more subtle subjectiveness of 'celare', 'civis', 'effundere'
(cf. Otis ibid.).[1] Like Ennius's Eumenides translation the verse also draws
on implications of sound with the abrupt alliteration of 'muta metu'. In
all this Lucretius's description is very diferent from Greek narrative verse
which, says Otis, "is far more objective, far less internal to the charact-
ers described in it" (ibid; he cites Apollonius's description of Medea's
first love, Arg. iii 451ff, as an example).

c. Importance of the subjective style for Lucretius and Vergil

Setting aside considerations of the formal unity given by structure

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[1] see also Kenney, "Vivida Vis", in 'Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry, p.27.

(for a poem _magnis de rebus_ has its own structure, and the structural pro-blems of a poem _in tenui_ had been solved in principle by Hesiod, as has been said already)[1] the didactic poems of Lucretius and Vergil are given an underlying unity by their subjective "modo di vedere"[2] which their Greek models do not share. Whatever either poet describes is sympathised with and brought within the range of the same human values which prevail in episodes and other openly human parts of the poem; it is treated with the same subjectivity of style.

Thus for example Lucretius's atoms are 'solida pollentia simplicitate' and are wont to 'validas ostendere viris' (i 574,576) just like his 'reges rerumque potentes' such as the mighty Xerxes (iii 1027, 29-33) - and both kings and atoms are accorded the same resources of alliteration and assonance. Death (gelidi vestigia leti, iii 530) has footsteps just like the lost calf (pedibus vestigia pressa bisulcis, ii 356) but his chill nature is emphasised by sound patterns chiming in with 'gelidi'. If the earth is overtaken by untimely decay (intempestivos cum putor cepit ob imbris ii 929 - cf. pp.123,137) Lucretius will use the same figure of hyperbaton and more openly sympathetic language (intempestivos) than he uses to describe Iphigenia (cui simul infula virgineos circumdata comptus/ ex utraque pari malarum parte profusest, i 87-8).

In his own characteristic way the same can be said of Vergil. Many examples of his humanising style have already been given (p.78 and the nightingale simile p.63). Animals and birds are described in terms which apply to men, but the opposite happens to Orpheus; he is compared to the nightingale.

This is not to minimise the differences between the two poems (apart from the obvious difference of genre) though they can easily be exaggerated. The general difference between the Ennianising Lucretius and the new poets and Vergil, the pupils of Parthenius, is partly reflected in the difference between Cicero's and Varro's translations (pp.70-75, esp. p.75). If we rule out Cicero's undeniable lack of verve, which in no way applies to Lucretius, the difference lies largely in the new poets avoiding the external adorn-ments (archaism, alliteration etc.) of Ennius's style which Lucretius so loves.

In its place comes firstly an intensification of Otis's subjective style, which is tantamount to a greater consistency in the use of the traditional Latin subjective style. Some of its advantages and disadvant-ages can be seen in the discussion of Vergil's and Catullus's imagery in

[1] pp.56ff.
[2] Fraenkel. op. cit., ibid.

the last chapter (pp.149-51) and Appendix ii (pp.170-1). At the same
time there is a greater care with the details of metre - a Callimachean
polish under the aegis of Parthenius.[1] At first this applies only within
the line and is not altogether successful (p.75n). But where Catullus is
prepared to use enjambement, and in Vergil _passim_, the metre of the new
poets can express "empathy" over details more subtly than before (p.117f
and Appendices ii and iii). Thus the "inwardness" mentioned on p.75 is
partly a lack of Ennian externality and partly a more consistent subject-
ivity.

But the truth is that these differences are not as important as they
seem to be. The fact that both poems share an underlying subjectivity
which enables them to communicate a view of life, a Weltanschauung through such un-
likely things as atoms and trees (in Georg. ii 58ff) is more significant.
It is a more subtle and far more important Latin contribution to Lucretius's
technique than his archaising patina (cf. p.52), though both derive from
Ennius. For Vergil too it is more important than his polished Alexandrian
manner, though it owes something in his case to Alexandrian influence as
well as to Ennius and Lucretius.

It provides a strong link between the proems and episodes, where the
poet can be grand without restraint, and the details of his exposition.
It enables Lucretius and Vergil to make up for the lack of direct human
interest of which Quintilian complains in didactic poetry (pp.8,53). In
other words, despite the many didactic techniques which they borrowed from
the Greeks - especially Lucretius from Empedocles - it is their underlying
world view which enables DRN and the _Georgics_ to be so much greater than

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[1] Parthenius himself, though interesting, is not such a revolutionary influence
as he might at first appear. Ennius is in some ways a Hellenistic poet,
as the author of a Homerising epic poem for example (see Wölfing-von Martitz
in the Entretiens Hardt volume on Ennius, xvii, pp.255-89, and Clausen, _GRBS_
1964 p.186f on Ennius's knowledge of Callimachus). Cicero translates an
Alexandrian poem which Callimachus praised (p.53). Lucretius is to some
extent 'doctus' in the Alexandrian tradition (according to Kenney, 'Doctus
Lucretius', Mnemosyne 1970 pp.366-92; cf. his comment that "in literary
terms the influence of the Hellenistic poets is scarcely less important
than that of Empedocles and the philosophical poets," edn. of _DRN_ iii p.14)
It would surely be difficult for one so learned in Greek philosophical
verse not to have read at least some Alexandrian poetry. (But Kenney over-
states his case. Outside certain purple passages like i 926ff, i 117-26,
vi 92-5 (v. p.1n) Lucretius is much more dependent on the literary devices
of Empedocles for making the didactic palatable, described in chapter one,
than he is on Callimachean learning. The subjective style is an exception,
but Kenney is not thinking of that).
  Lucretius's Ennian style,* old-fashioned at the time he was writing
but not very, would very likely have been dictated by his unfashionable
epic subject (p.75).   ... And Cicero continued to prefer the style of
Ennius (p.70) in any case.
*so clearly un- Parthenian

their Greek models.

With this fundamental difference between Greek and Roman didactic poetry and fundamental similarity between DRN and the Georgics established, it is possible to define the position of Lucretius in the Roman didactic tradition more clearly. In the next chapter the influence of Lucretius on Vergil and the significant differences between the two Roman didactic poems can be considered.

Summary. The succession of versions of Weather Signs provides a good illustration of a developing subjectivity in Latin poetry, particularly in Vergil's version. But this subjectivity is already present in Ennius and evident in Lucretius. More significant than the Ennian elements of Lucretius's style and the new manner of Vergil, and even than the many didactic techniques borrowed by Lucretius from Empedocles, it enables both poets to excel their Greek models by giving their didactic poems a consistently human dimension.
A very important difference is thus established between Greek and Roman didactic poetry.

The stemma given on page 50 may now be completed as follows:
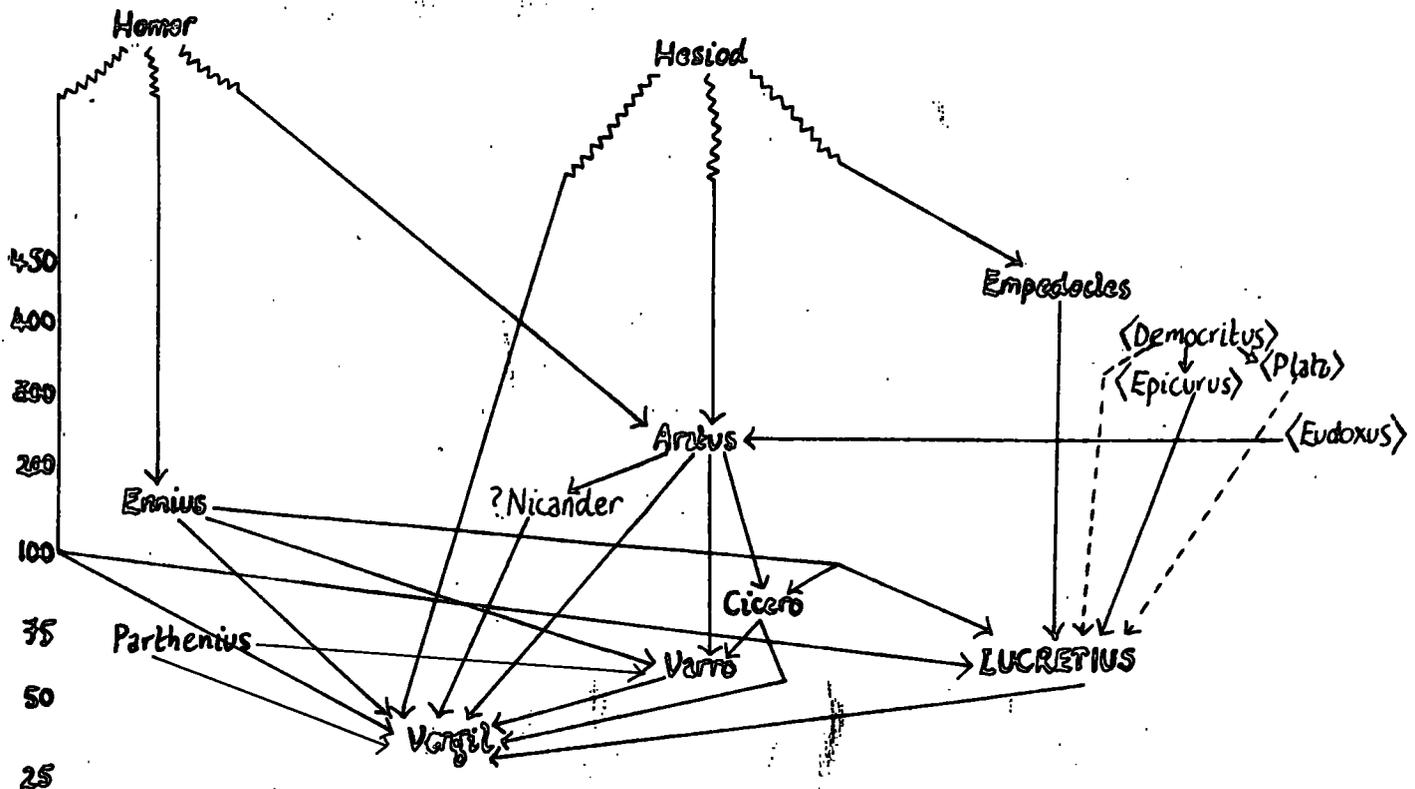
CHAPTER 3
LUCRETIUS AND VERGIL (1)

"The influence, direct and indirect, exercised by Lucretius on the thought, composition, and even the diction of the Georgics was perhaps stronger than that ever exercised, before or since, by one great poet on the work of another." W Y Sellar, Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, p.199, quoted with approval by Wilkinson, LPW p.63.

It was stated before (p.52) that an account of "Lucretius in the Greco-Roman didactic tradition" would be incomplete without an examination of the relationship between DRN and the Georgics. There are two reasons for this. The first is suggested by Sellar's famous comment – Lucretius's influence on Vergil was so great that it is a significant factor in determining his place in the whole tradition. The second is equally important. Comparison of one author's work with another's is a good way of seeing the special qualities of either; so that the specifically Lucretian nature of the charm of DRN will be clearer after such a comparison.

The chapter is followed by a selective comparison of a passage from the Georgics and three from DRN, the opportunity being taken to see how far Lucretius succeeds in maintaining a uniform quality of style and technique as well as how far his style and outlook differs from Vergil's. But first a much more general account of the relationship between the two poems is necessary.

At first sight there seems to be little room for Lucretius to influence Vergil. In diction and metre the development of Vergil's manner is influenced by all the hexameter poets from Ennius to Catullus (cf. pp.68f,75, and Appendix ii on the rhythm of the simile in Catullus 64). Even within the didactic tradition, the Georgics clearly belongs to another branch (cf. p.52) and is influenced by other poets. Hesiod's Works and Days for instance provided Vergil's subject of farming and a rough model for the structure of a didactic poem not magnis de rebus (pp.56-8). It could teach Vergil "that a didactic treatise could be a vehicle for moral, religious and philosophic ideas, and at least intermittently for poetry" (LPW p.60) and could provide a didactic stock-in-trade, ranging from the vehicle of the hexameter to the realisation of the poet-reader relationship (p.4ff) Theoretically none of these need have been derived from Lucretius.

In Aratus's Phaenomena Vergil could see a didactic poem whose subject-matter was subordinate to the display of artistic skill;[1] and also a certain

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[1] In effect this is the case, despite Aratus's serious intentions – see p.59.

amount of "empathy" and sympathy with animals, heightened by his Latin trans-
lators, Cicero and Varro of Atax, to whom Vergil paid careful attention
(pp.76-8). He could also find a few useful additions to the didactic
stock-in-trade, notably the simile (pp.60-2). The phrase 'nonne vides'
(p.59f) might have come from Cicero's translation of the Phaenomena just
as easily as from Lucretius's frequent borrowing of it (one of his very
rare verbal debts to Aratus's poem).[1]

Nevertheless it is more likely that Vergil took the phrase from DRN.
To begin with, he himself pays Lucretius the rare compliment of the lines
in Georgic ii;

> Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
>
> atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
>
> subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis averi.   491-3

(cf. DRN iii 1072 and 37; i 78). Compared with Lucretius's fervent eulogies
of Epicurus and Empedocles (p.27) this may seem unremarkable - though in
the last line Lucretius is described in the words he himself uses for
Epicurus's triumph over religion -

> Quare religio pedibus subiecta vicissim
>
> obteritur...   DRN i 78-9.

Unremarkable, that is (after all the poet is not even mentioned by name),
until it is remembered that Vergil nowhere refers to any other of the pre-
decessors from whom he derived so much - Homer, Theocritus, Apollonius,
not to mention Aratus, Nicander and the rest. Even Hesiod, whose import-
ance for the Georgics is undeniable, is only allowed one allusory epithet;

> Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen

ii 176

without a word of compliment. The inference is that Vergil regarded
Lucretius with exceptional "veneration" (Sellar's word, p.201). Despite
Vergil's evident debt to many of his predecessors, there are more traces
in the Georgics of his admiration for Lucretius than of that for any other
poet.

1 Lucretius's influence on the Georgics

a.   In the first place, as Munro pointed out (Munro p.315) Lucretius's
poem must have appeared in Rome when Vergil was at an impressionable age,

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[1] Lucretius himself almost certainly took the phrase from Cicero's translation.*
Despite v 614ff (see pp.143-4) Lucretius nowhere shows knowledge of Aratus
in the original, unlike Vergil (eg. in the passage discussed on pp.76-8).
*See p.60.

around 56 BC or a little later (compare the probable influence of Cicero's translation on Lucretius, p.69). In view of the comparatively arid nature of Hesiod's and especially Aratus's poems, it may be asked if Vergil would have written a didactic poem at all without the example of Lucretius. The poems of Theocritus and Homer which inspired his other poetry are much more successful and attractive models in their own right.

b.   Secondly, there is a purely <u>technical influence</u>. Lucretius's verse may be less elegant than Catullus's (or Varro's) and more old-fashioned in some ways than Cicero's (cf. p.69) but it provides by far the most distinguished example of "the sense variously drawn out from line to line" in Milton's words[1] of any Latin hexameter verse before Vergil's. (This view might have to be modified if more of Ennius's verse survived - cf. Appendix ii p.169). Unlike Catullus and Cicero (p.75n), Lucretius is never monotonous and end-stopped.

c.   Thirdly, many of <u>Vergil's lines echo Lucretius</u>, consciously or not (cf. pp. 90ff; LPW, p.63, quotes a figure of one line in twelve, "on the basis of W A Merrill, Parallels and Coincidences in Lucretius and Vergil"). For example - one among hundreds - when Vergil writes, in the tale of Orpheus and Eurydice,

> Erebi de sedibus imis
>
> umbrae ibant tenues <u>simulacraque luce carentum</u>   G iv 471-2[2]

he is referring to the nightmare figures of Lucretius -

> cum saepe figuras
>
> contuimur miras simulacraque luce carentum,
>
> quae nos horrifice languentis saepe sopore
>
> excierunt,   DRN iv 38-41 (OCT).

As is often the case when Vergil is echoing Homer, the full effect of his description, in this case the dark, hallucinatory quality of these apparitions, is lost unless the reader knows the source to which he refers.

But much of Vergil's echoing of Lucretius is of a special kind. He borrows many of Lucretius's formulas of transition, such as 'principio', 'quod superest', 'his animadversis', 'nunc age', 'praeterea', though as Sellar remarks (ibid. p.229) he "uses these more sparingly, so as....while producing the impression of continuity of thought, not to impede the pure flow of his poetry with the mechanism of logical connexion."[3]

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[1] in a Note on 'The Verse' prefixed to <u>Paradise Lost</u>.

[2] The undignified abbreviation G for Georgic after quotations will be useful in this and the next chapter where the poem is frequently cited.

[3] cf. his use of 'quod superest' at G ii 346 (p.103) and of 'quare' at ii 35 (p.181).

Similarly the realisation of the poet-reader relationship, which Vergil could have derived from any of the Greek didactic poets (especially Hesiod (p.8ff) and Empedocles (p.30ff) - if Vergil read him) as well as Lucretius, is marked by characteristically Lucretian expressions like 'nonne vides' (but cf. p.88), 'contemplator enim', vidi...', 'ausim' etc. (Sellar ibid.; on Williams's rash appraisal of Vergil as the ' Πρῶτος εὑρετής ' of this technique see p.157n).

d. But Lucretius's influence extends to much __broader imitation__. The idea of introducing episodes into the flow of the argument, and of beginning it with an invocation could have been derived from Hesiod (p.4) Aratus (p.56) or Empedocles (p.30). But unlike the Greek didactic poems Vergil's poem is divided into books, each with its own proem and finale. The division into books and the addition to each of a finale is a Lucretian innovation (though it is surprising that none of the Greek poets, even Hesiod, thought of a finale, because with hindsight the lack seems so obvious a blemish - cf.Appendix i p.168). Besides this, some of Vergil's episodes are directly inspired by Lucretius. The brief episode of the poet's task (iii 289-93) is derived from the proem to DRN iv (= i 921ff). The finale to iii, on the animal plague at Timavus (iii 477-566) is obviously inspired by the sombre description of the Plague of Athens, with which DRN ends (vi 1138-1286).

e. But in reality Lucretius's influence goes much deeper than has so far been implied. It "pervades" (Munro's word, see p.93) Vergil's __thought and attitude__ intimately. It is not simply that the two poets "felt the charm of the same kind of outward scenes" (Sellar p.201). In Book v especially Lucretius writes of agricultural progress and the need for constant hard work in lines which would seem very Vergilian in feeling, if they had not been written earlier.[1] It is possible to see here the influence of Cicero's __Aratea__ (p.70n4) or of natural descriptions in Ennius (p.81f); or more likely, in view of Lucretius's preeminence in pictorial writing (p.125ff) his own talent for natural observation. At any rate Lucretius displays sympathy, not only for animals, as in Cicero, but also for plants, and the ability to describe them in human terms which we associate with Vergil (cf. p.78). For instance, in a passage which Sellar quotes (p.205; v 206-17 OCT);[2]

Quod superest arvi, __tamen id natura sua vi__

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[1] see also p.147f.

[2] the words underlined fully (Sellar's italics) and by dashes (mine) are relevant to a different purpose which is explained below.

sentibus obducat, ni vis humana resistat

vitai causa valido consueta bidenti

ingemere et terram pressis proscindere aratris

si non fecundas vertentes vomere glebas   210

terraique solum subigentes cimus ad ortus,

sponte sua nequeant liquidas exsistere in auras.

et tamen interdum magno quaesita labore

cum iam per terras frondent atque omnia florent,

aut nimiis torret fervoribus aetherius sol   215

aut subiti perimunt imbres gelidaeque pruinae,

flabraque ventorum violento turbine vexant.

Consider not only the active part given to natura - a Lucretian common-
place which reaches its climax in the prosopopeia at DRN iii 931ff (cf. pp. 96,
128) - but also the ambiguity with which the plants, the earth and even
natural forces are described. 'Subigentes' means "subdue" as well as "break
up". 'Sponte sua' is obviously human. 'Perimunt' and 'vexant' are also
human terms - both attackers (rain, frost and wind) and attacked (corn)
are implicitly compared to the world of man. The humanised nature of the
Georgics is clearly foreshadowed here.

This would be apparent even if there were no direct references to the
passage in the Georgics. But as it happens there are a considerable number
of places scattered throughout Georgics i and ii where Vergil echoes this
passage, and among them are the lines and phrases just referred to (cf.
(5), (6a) and (7) below). It is worth quoting them all, since they show
the number of Vergilian contexts which can be influenced by even a few lines
of DRN.[1]

Compare, therefore:

1. with 206-7   segetem densis obducunt sentibus herbae   G ii 411

2. with 207 (1) vidi lecta diu et multo spectata labore[2]
   and 213 (2)   degenerare tamen, ni vis humana quotannis...[1] G i 197-8

3. with 208-9   a. depresso incipiat iam tum mihi taurus aratro
                    ingemere...   G i 45-6

                 b. validis terram proscinde iuvencis   G ii 237

                 c.   duros iactare bidentis
                    aut presso exercere solum sub vomere   G ii 355-6

[1] They are drawn from Munro on iii 449 and ad loc. and Sellar p.206.
Words underlined in dashes I have added from Munro to those italicised
by Sellar.

(cf. 'vomere' in the same _sedes_, v 210)

4. with 210   vertentes cf. ferro....vertere terram   G i 147

5. with 211   subigentes cf. ante Iovem nulli subigebant arva

                    coloni   G i 125

6. with 212   a.sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis oras   G ii 47

          (in luminis oras cf. Lucretius passim, eg. i 22.

          It is an Ennian phrase, see p.68).

          b.liquido...in äere   G i 404

7. with 216-7 a.   id venti curant gelidaeque pruinae   G ii 263

          b.non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres

          convellunt.   G ii 293-4

A list such as this one is dull, but it gives the best idea of the astonishing extent to which a Lucretian passage could influence Vergil - Lucretius's twelve lines have inspired at least as many in the _Georgics_.[1] Equally evident is the similarity between Lucretius's and Vergil's feeling for nature here - not only does Vergil take up all the "subjectively" ambiguous ideas in Lucretius (to use Otis's word) but he also adds a similar subjectivity to ideas which are not so humanised in Lucretius. In (1), for instance, it is no longer natura who 'obducit' the crop with brambles but weeds, taking matters into their own hands (cf. v 207-8). In (2) the crops are not just 'quaesita' (v 213) but 'lecta' and 'spectata' like favoured children, who nevertheless turn out to be unworthy of their ancestry,'...degenerare tamen'.[2]

But not all the Lucretian echoes cited are of this type. Lucretius's influence here is wider than that. At its simplest it is seen in the way that a word like 'vertentes' (4) is quietly taken up into Vergil's vocabulary. At a different level it is noticeable that although 'liquidas' is used by Vergil in a different context (Nisus and Scylla, the weather signs), it is still qualifying the air (Lucretius's 'auras'. With this casual reminiscence compare the way in which a _rhythm_ of Catullus is borrowed by Vergil; see Appendix ii p.170). In fact - to digress for a moment from the theme of Vergil's thought and attitude - the extent to which Vergil had as it were

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[1] compare too the number of times in which reminiscences of this passage occur in the passage from _Georgic_ ii (35-82) examined in the last chapter - a passage chosen completely at random.

[2] see p.150 .

absorbed Lucretius's poem is shown by the way in which parts of one of the Lucretian lines quoted here occur in different but similar contexts in Vergil (contrast the wilful borrowing discussed on p.89).

For example, in Lucretius man's strength is 'valido consueta bidenti' (208). In G ii 355 (3c) Vergil instructs his farmer 'duros iactare bidentis' where 'duros' has a similar meaning to 'validos'. 'Validos' is not used because at 237 Vergil has already told the farmer in a similar context, drawing also on the following line in DRN 'validis terram proscinde iuvencis'. In v 216-7 crops are endangered by 'imbres, gelidaeque pruinae, Flabraque ventorum'. At G ii 263 Vergil remembers half Lucretius's phrase when describing the qualities of a crumbling soil - 'id venti curant gelidaeque pruinae'. Thirty lines later, in a context more similar to Lucretius's, he picks up the other half to describe the well-rooted tree (a crop, the edible oak) - 'non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres Convellunt'.

This has its relevance to the theme of Vergil's thought after all. It is the inevitability with which such Lucretian echoes as these occur whenever the context might suggest them, and even when it does not, which provides a sound justification for uncompromising references such as Munro's to "that constant imitation of (Lucretius's) language and thought which pervades Virgil's works from one end to the other" (notes ii, p.19).

This quality of consistent thought is lacking in all the versifiers from Aratus onward who wrote in tenui and it is its presence in Vergil which plays a major part in the structure of the Georgics and saves it from the failure of Aratus and his followers. The qualities of language which distinguish the Roman Arateans, especially Varro, and even their subjective style are comparatively useless because they have no meaningful basis. As Otis says (ibid. p.146) Vergil "has something to say" (cf. below on the structure of the Georgics, p.103). The Arateans could not offer consistently this quality of seriousness, and that is one important reason why Lucretius's influence on the Georgics (and Hesiod's too to a certain extent, cf.pp.56ff, 102) is so much more pervasive than theirs.

Once more the Lucretian passage quoted above provides an illustration. The Vergilian "work" theme, which at first seems Hesiodic in inspiration (Works 299-326 etc., cf. p.56ff)[1] - the theme is clearly adumbrated in these lines of Lucretius (and others, especially in the Progress of Man at the end of v) and reflected in the corresponding lines of Vergil. Man's cultivation of the earth is a constant struggle against Nature (v 207), a thought emphasised in all the words in the Lucretian passage which are

[1]to some extent it actually is Hesiodic - see p. 95n.

underlined; he must "groan" over the plough (209) and "force" the earth to be fertile (211); plants are not born 'sponte sua' (212) they are "won by hard work" (213) and always liable to be choked with brambles (207). With small variations mostly, variations which are often moved by Vergil's wish to humanise Lucretius's text further (see p.92 on G ii 411 and i 197-8) Lucretius's attitude to work, as set out in one brief passage, is broadcast to many parts of Vergil's poem (cf. (1)-(3) and (6) on p.91f). As Vergil puts it (his 'pater' or Jupiter corresponds in some ways to Lucretius's 'natura' as she appears in v 206 - see p.96)

                            pater ipse colendi
          haud facilem esse viam voluit   G i 121-2.

     But on closer scrutiny Vergil is less pessimistic than Lucretius. For instance, the 'sponte sua' which is half denied by Lucretius (212) is cheerfully accepted by Vergil;[1]

          sponte sua quae se tollunt in luminis oras...   G ii 47.

     The rain, frost and winds so calamitous in Lucretius (216-7) are power-less to damage the well-rooted tree (p.93) in G ii 293-4, and actually bene-ficial in G ii 263 (the crumbling soil)

          id venti curant gelidaeque pruinae.

     The final quality to notice, then, about this passage which typifies Lucretius's remarkable influence on Vergil is that it has provided him not just with thoughts with which he agrees but with food for thought, where he can disagree.

     It is worth pursuing this difference in Vergil's attitude further. Even here Lucretius has partly led the way, in the Progress of Man section of Book v. His Nature - once again playing a part like Vergil's Jupiter (and Hesiod's Zeus) - does not always oppose man as she does in v 206f. In another Vergilian-seeming passage (quoted by LPW, p.138f) Lucretius ref-ers to her causing the _progress_ of cultivation -

          at specimen sationis et insitionis origo
          ipsa fuit rerum primum natura creatrix   v 1361-2
and sees man in an altogether milder relationship with her -
          inde aliam atque aliam culturam dulcis agelli
          temptabant, fructusque feros mansuescere terram
          cernebant indulgendo blandeque colendo.   v 1367-9
(Vergil remembered this too, as Sellar points out (p.207) in G ii 36
                    fructusque feros mollite colendo).[2]

[1]cf. p.103 .
[2]on this line see also on learned imitation in Georgic ii 35-82, p.153.

Vergil's real innovation has been to resolve the amoral constructive/ destructive Natura of Lucretius into a pattern where the difficulties faced by man are ultimately constructive - sharpening his wits as he says of Jupiter in the lines which follow on from those quoted on p.94 -

> primusque per artem
>
> movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda.   G i 122-3.

Actually Vergil's and Lucretius's views differ somewhat more. Lucretius's view of the progress of the world is pessimistic rather than neutral. The earth in DRN is now 'effeta' (ii 1150) because the dissipation of matter outside the ramparts of the world is greater than the new matter coming in. "Each new generation of husbandmen and vinedressers finds its burden heavier -

> Iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator
>
> crebrius, incassum manuum cecidisse labores.   (ii 1164-5)

The earth which, under the genial influence of sun and rain, produced fair crops without the labour of the ploughman and vinedresser (v, 933ff), can now scarcely produce its fruits in sufficient quantity, though the strength of man and oxen is worn out by labouring on it" (Sellar, p.206. The passage he quotes is also discussed on pp.107-9). Vergil's doctrine is altogether more optimistic (with the exception of G i 199-203, sic omnia fatis in peius ruere etc.). Hard work may be necessary, but in the end it brings results

> labor omnia vicit
>
> improbus   i 145-6.

Jupiter has done no more than quell the spontaneous (nullo poscente, ibid. p.128) fecundity of the earth and make man till the fields 'per artem'. Yet the pessimism of Lucretius is not banished entirely. Lucretius's rain, wind and frost may be rendered harmless or better (cf. p.94) but Vergil's 'sol' (which derives from DRN v 215) and Boreal cold are destructive enough at G i 92-3; and his storm (i 311-34) is introduced by the same 'cum iam' (314) and the same idea of all seeming safe, as starts the Lucretian list of natural calamities (v 214-7; the same rain, winds and frost which Vergil elsewhere makes harmless).[1]

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[1] A few comments may be added here about the influence of Hesiod's work theme. La Penna (Entretiens Hardt vii p.237ff) stresses the importance of Hesiod's positive conception of Zeus in turning Vergil from the negative and pessimistic Epicurean view, as he sees it ("l'uomo della concezione epicurea doveva provvedere ai suoi bisogni in una natura spietata e, spinto dal bisogno, costruiva la civiltà senza la vigile cura degli dèi", p.237). Hesiod's Zeus is 'vigile' indeed; in the end his watchfulness brought him to end the Golden Age after man's moral degeneration (Works 174-201; cf p. 57). Vergil is more optimistic than either Lucretius or Hesiod. In him "Giove rende difficile la vita...perché non vuole che il suo regno affonda nel torpore" (id p.238): there is no idea of man's degeneration, and Jupiter's action is for the ultimate good of man himself (cf. p.96).
    Kirk has an interesting comment to add to this in the ensuing Discussion (ibid. p.267). He says..."Vergil's optimism partly derived from the

f.   The fact that <u>Jupiter and Natura</u> play a parallel part in Vergil and
Lucretius (p.94) is another example of the influence of Lucretius's thought
on Vergil, and one which requires a section to itself.

Perhaps influenced by Empedocles's personification of Love and Strife
(p.42) Lucretius - although as a good Epicurean he does not believe in the
power of the gods (ii 646-51) - nevertheless endowed his creative principle
with divine anthropomorphic qualities. She is 'rerum creatrix' (v 1362)
'natura daedala rerum', a supreme power 'libera continuo dominis privata
superbis', At iii 931ff she even speaks (see Sellar p.204f). She is the
creator or mother of all things, who presides over evolution in <u>DRN</u> v (1028ff;
cf.1361ff, cited p.94). Vergil's Jupiter is 'pater' (G i 121, 353) just
as Lucretius's Natura is universal mother, and he presides over evolution
in G i 121ff much as she does in Lucretius.

But there the resemblance ends (except in one instance mentioned below).
Vergil's views range more widely - he has learnt from Aratus as well as
Hesiod - and show more independence than his thoughts on work. For
Lucretius the Progress of Man (v 772ff), presided over by Natura, and the
decay of the world (ii 1105-74) are two separate processes. None of the
gods (ii 1154) caused the decline of the earth's fruitfulness, and no men-
tion is made of Natura. But Vergil's Jupiter is a more providential figure
(perhaps the Stoic figure- cf. LPW p.140). His Jupiter can preside over
the fall of man from the Golden Age like Hesiod's Zeus (Works 137-9); not
destroying those ideal conditions through anger however, as he does in Hes-
iod, but in order to bring man to the full development of his powers (p.95).
He is too great and impersonal to be moved by pique, like Zeus in Hesiod.
Wilkinson (LPW p.139) draws the obvious comparison with Aratus's providen-
tial Zeus (p.54);

τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν· ὁ δ'ἤπιος ἀνθρώποισιν
δεξιὰ σημαίνει, λαοὺς δ'ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει
                                        (Phaen. 5-6)

but Aratus's Zeus lacks the puritanical streak of Vergil's Jupiter - the
idea of a god who helps "them as helps themselves", who has developed from
Hesiod[1] and from Lucretius's arbitrary Natura who does things 'sua vi' (v
206).

_____

note (cont).
fact that he is influenced by the purely literary motive derived from Hell-
enistic poetry, of the happy peasant. In other words, there intervened
between Hesiod and Vergil the townsman's optimistic view of the country."

Vergil, then as well as choosing a Hellenistic genre (<u>in tenui</u>) has
a Hellenistic outlook. Lucretius on the other hand ignores Hellenistic
optimism as well as choosing a non-Hellenistic genre <u>magnis de rebus.</u>
(But it is the Hellenistic outlook of the idyll - both Aratus (cf. the flight
of Justice, p.64) and Nicander (p.62) are pessimistic).

[1] as well as the preceding note see Appendix i p.163.

Yet Vergil's Jupiter may be as much a symbol as Lucretius's Natura.
Consider the statement of his belief in a divine providence which the poet makes
in the passage describing the well-ordered society of the bees (iv 219-
27);

> His quidam signis atque haec exempla secuti
> esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus   220
> aetherios dixere; deum namque ire per omnis
> terrasque tractusque maris caelumque profundum;
> hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
> quemque sibi tenuis nascentem arcessere vitas;
> scilicet huc reddi deinde ac resoluta referri   225
> omnia, nec morti esse locum, sed viva volare
> sideris in numerum atque alto succedere caelo.

In an earlier passage (i 415-23) Vergil had explained the pleasure of the
birds after a storm in rational terms and rejected a 'divinitus' explanation
(415) quite in the manner of Lucretius. But here he is less sceptical.
There is an air of philosophical care with language ('quidam dixere' + acc-
usative and infinitive throughout). Indeed much of the language is Lucret-
ian - the asyndeton at 223, 'scilicet' and the variatio of 'reddi...ac resso-
luta referri', the very word 'resoluta' (225), the phrase 'nec morti esse
locum' (cf. nil igitur mors est, etc., DRN iii 830). The idea of animals
summoning their lives at birth from the air (224) seems like a conscious
rebuttal of DRN iii 781-3 where Lucretius derides the idea of souls queuing
up at the time of conception. And in fact the idea of the Universe here
is very different from that of Lucretius where the gods have no power (p.95).
Perhaps Vergil's god is Jupiter after all. As Wilkinson says he has much
in common with Aratus's Zeus -

$$\mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\grave{\iota} \ \delta\grave{\epsilon} \ \Delta\iota\grave{o}\varsigma \ \pi\hat{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota \ \mu\grave{\epsilon}\nu \ \grave{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\iota\alpha\acute{\iota},$$
$$\pi\hat{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota \ \delta'\grave{\alpha}\nu\vartheta\rho\acute{\omega}\pi\omega\nu \ \grave{\alpha}\gamma o\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}, \mu\epsilon\sigma\tau\grave{\eta} \ \delta\grave{\epsilon} \ \vartheta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$$
$$\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota} \ \lambda\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\varsigma \cdot$$ (Phaen. 2-4);

but then as has just been stated Aratus's god is the Stoic Zeus and Vergil's
god is significantly and eloquently left ill-defined and nameless here (221).
The most anthropomorphic detail Vergil envisages in this passage is his
mind (220). It is clear that Vergil's divine providence is essentially
different from the members of the Olympian Pantheon. In some ways Vergil's
belief is less traditional than Lucretius's. He at least believes in the
existence of the gods, even if they are powerless (p.96).

Nevertheless (to continue this discussion of the differences between Lucretius's Natura and Vergil's Jupiter into a consideration of their <u>attitude to the gods in general</u>) in the less philosophical parts of the <u>Georgics</u> (ie. the rest of the poem) Vergil is content to speak of his providence as Jupiter or 'pater' (a more suitably Stoic word, cf. Sellar p.221), and to regard the other members of the Pantheon with a sort of half-belief springing from his acceptance of a divine power (Sellar pp.218-21). His attitude is like that of Horace, who in 'O fons Bandusiae' (Odes iii xiii) shows delight in the poetic attractiveness of the traditional beliefs.[1]

For example, it is not Jupiter that teaches mortals to plough, but Ceres;

> prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram
>
> instituit,   G i 147-8.

It is Ceres that rewards the diligent farmer;

> neque illum
>
> flava Ceres alto nequiquam spectat Olympo   G i 96.

The invocation which opens the <u>Georgics</u> is addressed not to the creative power of Natura, <u>detto</u> Venus (cf. p.43) but (in what can be seen as an anomaly as great as Lucretius's) to Bacchus, the Fauns and Dryads, Neptune, Pan, Minerva, as well as Ceres, and

> dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri   G i 21

- in fact all the traditional Benefactors of man (εὐεργέται);
culminating incongruously for us - an Alexandrian trick, this - in Augustus, the Bringer of Peace (24-42; cf. p.106).

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[1] cf. Nisbet and Hubbard's edition, p.317, on the sincerity or otherwise of the "orthodox" Horace of Odes i xxxiv.
     Vergil's attitude can also be compared with that of Camoens, whose use of the Olympian gods in the <u>Lusiads</u> is likewise based on his belief in a divine power (the Christian God) whose different activities they symbolise. (Jupiter in fact represents Divine Providence, almost as in Vergil - Lusiads x 83 1-2). Like the lesser divinities in Vergil, Camoens's gods - though carefully explained and "Christianised" by him - seem to take on an existence of their own which goes beyond a Lucretian (or Miltonic) recognition of their delightful charm. The two stanzas (i 20,21) where he describes their arrival on "shining Olympus" for a divine council and explains their Christian meaning (note its vagueness in 21 1-4) will serve as an example both of their almost-reality and their Olympian beauty;

> ...Quando os Deuses no Olimpo luminoso,
>
> Onde o governo está da humana gente,
>
> Se ajuntam em consílio glorioso
>
> Sobre as cousas futuras do Oriente.
>
> Pisando o cristalino Céu fermoso
>
> Vêm pela Via Láctea juntamente,
>
> Convocados, da parte de Tonante,
>
> Pelo neto gentil do velho Atlante.

Lucretius certainly feels the charm of these rustic deities -

> haec loca capripedes satyros nymphasque tenere   580
>
> finitimi fingunt et faunos esse loquuntur
>
> quorum noctivago strepitu ludoque iocanti
>
> adfirmant vulgo taciturna silentia rumpi
>
> chordarumque sonos fieri dulcisque querelas,
>
> tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum,   585
>
> et genus agricolum late sentiscere, cum Pan
>
> pinea semiferi capitis velamina quassans
>
> unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantis,
>
> fistula silvestrem ne cesset fundere musam.   iv 580-9

But he, like Milton (thus they relate Erring, Paradise Lost i 746f) and unlike
Camoens (see note) is not prepared to entertain a belief in their reality;

> cetera de genere hoc monstra ac portenta loquuntur,   590
>
> ne loca deserta ab divis quoque forte putentur
>
> sola tenere.   590-2

And here lies a more fundamental difference in outlook between him
and Vergil. Vergil recognises the charms of philosophy (Lucretius's philo-
sophy as it happens) in the lines quoted on p.88 - felix qui potuit etc.
But he is not prepared to renounce belief or half-belief in the gods of
the countryside who are constantly present in the Georgics;

> Pana Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores   ii 495.

Vergil's philosophy, as has been suggested above, is not only more theistic
but much more tentative than Lucretius's (cf. 'quidam...dicunt' and the
careful reported speech on p.97). His attitude to philosophy "was appar-
ently one of aspiration rather than of possession" (Sellar p.203). If a
god exists then the old gods - who after all are attractive and beautiful
in art - may in a way be accepted. The lack of strong intellectual convic-
tion explains why Vergil chose not to write magnis de rebus, like Lucret-
ius, but instead to write a poem on a less theoretical subject, like Hesiod

note (cont).

> Deixam dos sete Céus o regimento
>
> Que do poder mais alto lhe foi dado,
>
> Alto poder, que só co' pensamento
>
> Governa o Céu, a Terra e o Mar irado.
>
> Ali se acharam juntos num momento
>
> Os que habitam o Arcturo congelado,
>
> E os que o Austro têm e as partes onde
>
> A Aurora nasce e o claro Sol se esconde.

See also Bowra, From Vergil to Milton, pp.109-120, especially p.120 where
he comments on the paradox that da Gama's prayer to God (vi 81) is answered
by Venus (vi 85); cf. the importance given by Vergil to Ceres.

and Aratus. "We must take into consideration...the wide difference between the philosophic poet and the pure poetic artist" (ibid.).

In fact it is time to stop considering philosophical differences between Lucretius and Vergil in the guise of Lucretius's influence on the Georgics (cf. p98), and to turn to the many implications of this "wide difference".

Summary. Lucretius's place within the Roman tradition can be established by an examination of the relationship between DRN and the Georgics.

By far the greatest influence showing in the Georgics is the influence of Lucretius. It is seen in echoes of individual passages and whole episodes. Perhaps the Georgics would not have been written without the example of DRN.

On closer scrutiny it is found to pervade Vergil's thought and attitude. For example one passage of DRN is found to have influenced the Georgics in eleven places. Again, Vergil's "work" and "Jupiter/Providence" themes are influenced by Lucretius's thought.

But there are basic differences in his attitude to the gods.

2 Differences between De Rerum Natura and the Georgics

a. Firstly, then, **Vergil's poem is shorter** (2000 lines as opposed to 7000) **and less exalted.** Lucretius is 'felix' but he is only 'fortunatus' - a less emphatic word. Lucretius aims to hold the heights of reason, a position superior to the rest of mortality;

> sed nil dulcius est bene quam munita tenere
>
> edita doctrina sapientium templa serena,
>
> despicere unde queas alios   ii 7-9.

Vergil aspires (the tentative subjunctive is significant, as Sellar points out on p.204) only to love the countryside, and to no sort of distinction -

> flumina amem silvasque inglorius   G ii 486.

b. Moreover the less exalted style - or the **in tenui** genre - has, as was stated in chapter two (p.53f), a number of artistic **disadvantages.** Some of these Vergil was able to surmount, making a virtue of necessity, but a few he was not able to handle altogether successfully.

The first difficulty is that the closeness with which Aratus and Nicander paraphrased their sources ruled out variety in the form of myths and set pieces. Aratus's translators automatically share this disadvantage. But it is not one inherent in the **in tenui** form, as Hesiod's example shows (p.56ff). In fact viewed from another angle the genre has the advantage over Lucretius. Its effect is intended to lie not in what it says, its ostensible theme, but in how it says it. Provided it is realised that "how it is said" must go beyond the use of polished language (p.53) and involve selection, re-ordering (as Vergil re-orders the storm-signs, p.77)

and Hesiodic variety its effect will be **more purely artistic** than that of
a poem **magnis de rebus**. Unlike Aratus Vergil did realise this. Following
the example of Hesiod, but with much greater **ars**, he found himself at lib-
erty to choose only those parts of his subject which are susceptible to
poetic treatment. The "vast argument" (Sellar's word) of DRN gave Lucret-
ius no such choice. As Sellar says (he is worth quoting at length) -

"Each and all of (Vergil's) topics - the processes of ploughing and
sowing, the signs of the weather, the grafting of trees and the pruning
of the vine, the observation of the habits of bees - bring him into immed-
iate contact with the genial influences of the outward world. The vast-
ness as well as the abstract character of his subject forces Lucretius to
pass through many regions which seem equally removed from this genial pre-
sence and from all human associations. It is only the enthusiasm of dis-
covery - the delight in purely intellectual processes - that bears him
buoyantly through these dreary spaces; and it is only the knowledge that
from time to time glimpses of illimitable power and wonder are opened up
to him, and admiration for the energy and clear vision of his guide, that
compel the flagging reader to accompany him. But Vergil leads his readers
through scenes, tamer indeed and more familiar, yet always bright and smiling
with "the pomp of cultivated nature" or fresh and picturesque with the charm
of meadow, river-bank, or woodland pasture" (ibid. p.230f).

Nowadays, perhaps because with Bailey we understand Epicurus's philo-
sophy better, we should certainly deprecate Sellar's "dreary spaces" and
"flagging reader". Nevertheless it is true that the brilliant imagery,
the 'lumina ingeni' of Lucretius, are more frequent in the prologues and
episodes of DRN than in the argument proper (see pp.128-35): something
which it would be hard to say of Vergil (cf. eg. Wilkinson's analyses of
the themes of Georgic i, LPW chapter iv). In other respects Sellar's splen-
did Victorian language characterises well the difference between Lucretius's
austere grandeur and the more temperate charm of Vergil.

In this way a recurrent disadvantage of the lesser didactic tradition
(though not, as has been said (p.100) a fundamental one) is solved by
Vergil with great success. But it still leaves another problem, a related
one, to be solved.

c. The lack of a story-line, as was said at the beginning of the first
chapter (p.8) is a difficulty in all didactic poetry. "An epic poem can
be sustained...by plot and characterisation. Didactic poetry has no such
advantage" (LPW p.183). It was a difficulty, as has been stated, to which
Aratus and his followers succumbed. An epic **magnis de rebus** is less prone
to such objections. "For plot Lucretius found a substitute in edifice of

argument; _alid ex alio clarescere_ is the attraction that draws his reader
continually onward, and instead of _dénouement_ he has completeness of demon-
stration" (ibid.). The subject matter of the _Georgics_ lacks a similar log-
ical _structure_, just like the _Phaenomena_. In this respect there is bound
to be a great difference between _DRN_ and the _Georgics_.

The solution (not an obvious one) had already been found or at least
adumbrated by Hesiod. The poetic structure of the _Works and Days_, formed
by the interplay of the poet's moral, religious and philosophical ideas
and the recurrence of description, has been described in the last chapter
(p.56ff). Again Vergil turned to Hesiod's poem for a model. Besides
having the essential ingredient of structure it could also show Vergil that
a didactic treatise _in tenui_ could also be a vehicle for profound thought
(cf. p.93,95n and LPW p.60).

But the technique of a pattern of themes is rough and incomplete in
Hesiod. Vergil developed it at greater length, and so artfully that "the
(_Georgics_) is like a symphony with four movements and various themes plainly
set forth and harmoniously interwoven" (C P Parker, ap. LPW p.73).
Wilkinson bears out Vergil's skill in a rewarding   attempt to "unfold
continuously the structure of the poem."[1]

DRN is not entirely with out an artistic as well as a logical element
in its structure. Each of the books has its prologue and epilogue (a
Lucretian innovation - p.90); the prologue to i and epilogues to iii (half
way through) and vi are significantly longer than the others.[2] In addition
interludes are introduced from time to time to relieve the argument. Indiv-
dual paragraphs show traces of shaping to a poetic as well as a logical climax
(p.128). Above all, imagery gives the poem a deeper continuity than this
structure of logic (p.128ff). But in the _Georgics_ the alternation between
moods, and between exposition and digression,- as it has to be, given the
lack of a logical structure - is much more fully worked out.

The musical analogies of the critics (above, and Otis p.157) are part-
icularly appropriate because the emotional appeal of the Georgics, thanks
largely to his orchestration of mood, is stronger than any purely intell-
ectual attraction. (To say this of _DRN_ would be a gross insult to Lucretius's
exposition of Epicureanism). The poetic structure of the _Georgics_, as well

[1] ibid. p.75, quoted on p.56. Thus for example in Book i of the _Georgics_
he notices a Foreign Lands Theme (p.77; cf. p.165 on Hesiod), a Religion
Theme, a Military Theme (both p.78), a Seafaring Theme (cf. on Hesiod, p.166),
as well as the Hard Work Theme (p.76), Prognostics Theme (p.80), Providence
Theme (p.83) and use of Mythology for variety (p.84) alluded to before.
It is surprising how many of these themes are present already or foreshad-
owed in Hesiod. In fact only the Military Theme is new in Vergil, Prognostics
(Weather Signs) and Providence being Aratean.

[2] cf. also p.56n1.

as being a pattern of themes and a vehicle for thought, has a third value -
as a generalisation of Otis's subjective style described on p.79 (q.v.):
what Otis calls an "intricate structure of symbols" (id p.147). It is this
new dimension of the themes (after all there is very little new in them
per se - p.102n) which is Vergil's most significant innovation. The sub-
jectively implied comparison of animal and human life (and even plant life,
p.90ff), familiar in single words, phrases and passages of Aratus and his
translators, in Lucretius and Vergil himself, has its counterpart at the
level of the structure of the whole poem; implications, to cite Otis again,
of "man's relation to nature and, beyond these, life, death and rebirth"
(ibid.). The greatest example of this is the end of Georgic iv, where themes,
thoughts and implications fall into place with the death of Eurydice and
the miraculous Bugonia, leaving in addition a happy final sense of fulfil-
ment and completion (ibid. p.151f).

It has been suggested earlier that the subjectivity of Lucretius,
characteristically different though it is, has a broadly similar result
of conveying a whole outlook on life (p.84). In the next chapter the means
by which Lucretius conveys his own outlook can be considered more carefully.
Here a brief analysis of the serious quality of Vergil's structure, its
ability to suggest deeper meanings, is necessary as a basis for comparison
with the seriousness of Lucretius. A rapid contrast with the technique of
Hesiod described in chapter two will also then be possible. In view of
the choice of a passage from Book ii for detailed comparison with DRN (p.113)
that book will serve as an example.

Georgic ii falls into three sections. In the first (1-258) the
emphasis is on Variety; variety of trees and shrubs (9-82, including the
passage discussed in the final chapter) with the exuberance of Nature (sponte
sua 11,47)[1] who still needs the aid of man (scilicet omnibus est labor
impendendus); this variety leads to variety of lands (83-135) where the
tone rises steadily until the Digression (136-176) in praise of Italy (a
significant theme in the Georgics); followed with deliberate abruptness
by a lowering of the tone for variety of terrain (177-258).

The second section (259-419) deals with the Vine; firstly with planting
(259-314) where the tone rises with the description of a fire (298-314;
symbol of destruction) to the Digression on Spring (315-45; symbol of
rebirth) after which there is again an abrupt change of tone (back to the
'scientific' - introduced by a Lucretian 'quod superest' - p.89) for the
care of the vine (346-96). The section ends with a code (397-419) on the

[1]more spontaneously fruitful than Lucretius's 'natura' - p.94.

farmer's round, his labours and rewards. The labours of man are thus con-
trasted again (cf.9-82), in the coda, with the exuberance of Nature
represented by Spring.[1]

The last section (420-542) begins with a return to the other trees
(420-57). The tone rises steadily to a comparison with the harmful effects
of Bacchus the vine; this leads to an outburst on the good luck of the
farmers (458-74) which ushers in the Finale proper (475-540) with its con-
trast between country life, with its lingering traces of the Golden Age
(a neat excursus into the symbolic world of myth, which comes both at
the beginning and the end) and in the middle, decadent city life. The
sinister nature of the city (or its concomitant, war) is still reflected
in the last lines of the Finale,

> necdum etiam audierant inflari classica, necdum
>
> impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis   539-40.

Abruptly, since the impression must not be given at this point that the
poem has ended, Vergil adds;

> Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor,
>
> et iam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla.   541-2

- a reference back to the Labour of Man theme.[2]

Thanks to the skill with which the themes are woven together, their
pattern, once detected, can be set down with surprising clarity. Compar-
ison with the Works and Days shows no real increase in seriousness of thought.
Hesiod's themes of Zeus, Justice and Work are just as weighty as Vergil's
of man and his relationship to nature, of destruction and re-creation.
But the skill with which Vergil manages his transitions, alternation of
moods and references to significant themes far excels Hesiod's rudimentary
handling of the technique. One example will make this clear. In the Works
and Days, setting aside the complete lack of structure at the end of the
poem (see Appendix i p.167) what structure there is is so vague that schol-
ars cannot agree on where breaks or transitions occur (cf. the comments
of Verdenius and La Penna on Works 383 - op. cit. pp.149-50 and 170; the
two scholars cannot agree on the break there). In the Georgics, on the
other hand, it is possible to pinpoint every modulation, climax and trans-
ition with an extraordinary exactness: digressions involve significant
themes (p.103) and even abruptness is deliberate (cf. G ii 177,346,541).
Despite an apparent similarity to Hesiod's poem, Vergil's work, thanks to

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[1] an extension of the man/animals/plants comparison of the subjective style
mentioned at pp.84,91f.

[2] summary of Otis pp.163-9.

the extreme tactfulness and sensitivity with which it is constructed, is much more profound. In such a context, Sinclair's description of the Works and Days as a mere "medley" (p.xi, cf. p.55 above), though inexact, is understandable.

The thematic structure of Georgic ii is quite different from the logical structure of DRN. But it is just as consistent – in some ways more so, for it is free of Lucretian "suspensions of thought" (Bailey p.165ff). The thought itself, though serious in its implications, cannot compare in grandeur with Lucretius's philosophical contemplation of the universe; there are no 'sapientium templa serena'. Yet on the subjective level, by the appropriateness and continual connexions of its symbolic accompaniment (to use another musical image) Vergil's poem is calculated to arouse a serious emotional response which DRN does not consistently match; although Lucretius's poem frequently rises to greater heights, even for long periods at a time (v. p.124). In some respects, then, the structure of the Georgics is more satisfying than that of DRN, which has the great initial advantage of its logical nature.

d. But if Vergil completely outgrew the limitations of the in tenui tradition in his handling of structure, he was not so successful in the realisation of the poet-reader relationship. Here again he was faced with the limitations of the Alexandrian tradition (p.53f). Because the poet writing in tenui is not so involved in his subject, the poet-reader relationship is bound to seem less earnestly compelling. Lucretius, like Vergil (see p.157) may refer to the reader generally as 'tu' in the middle of his argument, but we are not likely to forget the burning sincerity of his desire to convert Memmius to Epicureanism after lines like I 414-7 (quoted on p. 36) which deserve quoting again;

> ut verear ne tarda prius per membra senectus
> serpat, et in nobis vitai claustra resolvat,
> quam tibi de quavis una re versibus omnis
> argumentorum sit copia missa per auris.

or

> digna tua pergam disponere carmina vita.   iii 420

By comparison what does Maecenas need to know about farming?

> tuque ades inceptumque una decurre laborem
> o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae,
> Maecenas, pelagoque volans da vela patenti.   G ii 39-41

No mention of life or death here (contrast both Lucretian passages); merely

a pretty metaphor about sailing off on a half-completed enterprise. Not
to mention Augustus

> ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis
>
> ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari   G i 41-2.

One feels that Augustus (despite his divine status - p.98) would not have
been a very effective guide.

But all this was inevitable in the society in which Vergil moved.
Vergil did not have a farm and a feckless brother to maintain as a matter
of urgency, like Hesiod. He would have been a remarkable member of the
emperor's circle if he did. He could have had a burning conviction about
philosophy, which was a more likely interest for a learned man in his day.
However he did not. In choosing to write about farming, in which he had
no more than a gentlemanly interest, rather than magnis de rebus, he auto-
matically ruled out a certain amount of conviction in the poet-reader rel-
ationship. Not that Vergil is insincere; it is just that he is not, like
Lucretius (or Hesiod, or Empedocles, pp.8ff,30ff) passionately convinced
of the urgency of what he is saying. It is one way in which his outlook
is too close to Aratus's.[1]

Incidentally as has been said (p.90) Williams's description of Vergil
as the discoverer of this technique will not hold water. What is undeniably
true is that he uses it much more effectively than Aratus and his translat-
ors, who Williams has in mind.

e.   Another shortcoming of Vergil vis à vis Lucretius is the comparative
lack in the Georgics of imaginative analogies "through which familiar or
unseen phenomena are made great or palpable by association with other pheno-
mena which immediately affect the imagination with a sense of sublimity"
(Sellar p.240). It is attributable partly to his temperament but also partly
to his choice of genre. Vergil is writing mostly about familiar objects
and does not need analogies to clarify his theme. (But they are important
nevertheless, as Sellar's words suggest - see the discussion of imagery
in the next chapter, p.125ff).

f.   At the same time, because Vergil is less ardently convinced in the
truth of what he is saying and is not writing magnis de rebus - because
as has been argued his thought is less lofty - there is less opportunity
for magniloquence and sublimity, to which Lucretius's images undoubtedly
add, in the verse of the Georgics. Statius speaks in a famous line of

---

[1] see also the discussion of the realisation of the poet-reader relationship
in G ii 35ff, p.157.

docti furor arduus Lucreti   Silvae ii vii 76.

Lucretius's 'furor' is 'arduus' because he is 'doctus', writing a philoso-
phical poem.[1] In Vergil there is no philosophical awe (except once, v. p.
97), no 'his ibi me rebus quaedam divina voluptas Percipit atque horror'
(iii 28-9), and therefore no 'flammantia moenia mundi' (i 73), no 'et quasi
cursores vitai lampada tradunt' (ii 79). Instead of Lucretius's exalted
vision Vergil offers his 'divini gloria ruris' (i 168). His poem contains
many felicitous natural descriptions, such as that of the irrigator (i 107-
11, cited in Appendix ii p. 170) and another which Sellar quotes (p.231);

    contemplator item, cum se nux plurima silvis

    induet in florem et ramos curvabit olentis;

    si superant fetus, pariter frumenta sequentur,

    magnaque cum magno veniet tritura calore: G i 187-90.

There is a graceful depiction of nature drawn from "long practised
meditation" (ibid.). But the grandeur of Lucretius's contemplation of the
nature of things, like the vividness and vigour of his analogies and the
depth of his intellectual conviction - all these resources of the sublime
are lacking in his successor's poem.[2]

The difference between Lucretian sublimity and the more obviously art-
ful and "poetic" style of Vergil is worth another example. A comparison
between a passage at the end of DRN ii, and one at the end of Georgic i
where Vergil echoes it will provide a good illustration.

    Writing of the present decay of the world Lucretius says;

    iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator

    crebrius, incassum magnos cecidisse labores,

    et cum tempora temporibus praesentia confert

    praeteritis, laudat fortunas saepe parentis.   1164-67

Apart from the sibilance and the polyptoton at 1166, the most impressive
thing here is the one word 'grandis' - logically unnecessary, but how express-
ively it makes the stark figure of the ploughman stand out against the back-
ground of decay!

    Vergil writes of the late aftermath of Philippi;

    scilicet et tempus veniet cum finibus illis

[1] a more likely interpretation, surely, than Kenney's, who takes it to refer
to Alexandrian learning - p.85.

[2] cf D A West's description of DRN as "the greatest poem in Latin". He is
not alone in this view. But it would be unfair to draw conclusions on the
basis of the Georgics alone (not that West does so). The Georgics is much
shorter than DRN (p.100); Vergil's epic is the Aeneid.

> agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro
>
> exesa inveniet scabra robigine pila,   495
>
> aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis,
>
> grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.   493-7

Here the picture has been transformed by Vergil's own particular sensibility. Much suggestiveness - "empathy" - has been introduced into the writing. The 'grandis arator' has become the 'agricola' (weak word) with a curving plough - 'incurvo' looks harmless but actually it suggests the bentness of age. Then other details are more openly suggestive; the spears are 'exesa scabra robigine', the helmets are 'inanis' (suggestion of desolation; note the expressive ringing repeated i/a sounds); finally the sibilance and 'grandis' are picked up together by Vergil in a line heavy with emotive details; the astonishment (mirabitur) of the farmer is recorded in the face of "bones" and "tombs" and above all 'grandia'. Lucretius's one emotive word has been transferred from the farmer, surely because Vergil has realised that it is not fully appropriate, if the world is decaying, for the younger element, the 'arator', to be 'grandis'. By the one stroke of making the bones 'grandia' Vergil introduces into his own picture the notion of a world in decline, because the men of the past were bigger, and compounds the playing with the reader's sense of time which he has already begun in the first line of the quotation (with the evocative vagueness of his future time). Milton works in a similar way on the reader's nostalgia before the vastness of time when he refers to what happened in the legendary past, happening "long" (significant word) after the events of his story

> - thus they relate
>
> Erring, for he with this ungodly crew
>
> Fell long before.
>
> Paradise Lost 746-8 (cit. also p.99)

Above all Tolkien evokes just the Vergilian sense of petty men living among the bones of past greatness in "Lord of the Rings", in episodes like that of the barrow wights. The Romans themselves suffer exactly the transmutation prophesied by Vergil in the Anglo-Saxon Elegy on Bath.

So all these suggestions of age and desolation build up to the sublime evocation of man's sense of awe before the past.

Nevertheless the picture of Lucretius is not only simpler, it is also starker and grander. What, after all, is more awe-inspiring than the irrevocable decay of all the world? Evocative as they are, the details of Vergil would only trivialise the terrible picture of the tall ploughman alone in the middle of this collapse, of which he is half-aware. One is reminded

of Tasso's comparison of Vergil's 'dederatque comam diffundere ventis'
with Petrarch's

>   erano i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi

>   che 'n mille dolci nodi gli avvolgea,   Rime xc 1-2.

Neither is better poetry, but one is epic and the other is lyric (Dell'Arte
Poetica, Discorso iii; Bari 1964). At a different level there is the same
difference between the two passages here.

But perhaps the sublime is better left to Longinus. The difference
in manner between the two poets is more safely revealed by a careful com-
parison of important techniques, as in the next chapter.

g.   Before that some general comments on <u>metrical skill</u> are necessary.
The complexity of the influences bearing on the development of Vergil's
metre has already been mentioned (p.87; cf. Bailey's introduction pp.109-23).
One important influence, according to Sellar, was Lucretius (see p.89).
But some critics, notably Wilkinson, take little account of Vergil's debt
to Lucretius in making unfavourable comparisons between Lucretius's metre
and Vergil's. The question therefore has a bearing on Lucretius's place
in the ancient didactic tradition.

Without entering into the controversy here, one may point out that in
this as in other matters preference is a question of taste. It is possible
to agree (perhaps impossible to disagree) with all the critics as to the
absolute perfection of Vergil's rhythmical ear, and even to agree with
Wilkinson (Golden Latin Artistry (GLA) p.131) that "with Vergil hexameter
verse achieved its maximum of effectiveness both in variety without undue
licence and in adaptability to subject matter". But it is a matter of opin-
ion whether many of Lucretius's sentences "straggle" (GLA p.189) or not
and quite wrong to assume that with Vergil hexameter verse had achieved
its maximum of effectiveness in an absolute sense and that there is no fur-
ther room for preference.

Consider a line like Ennius's

>   córde capéssere; sémita núlla pédem stabilíbat.

>   Annals Vahlen 43

What could be less Vergilian than this line with coincidence throughout,
except where Vergil regards it as normal in the fifth foot? And yet it
would be difficult to imagine a more effective rhythmical depiction of dream-
like panic, flight and stumbling (v. Appendix ii p.169 on this fragment).

Lucretius's command of metre in a line like

>   insatiabiliter deflevimus, aeternumque   iii 907

has always been admired (though Kenney and West no longer treat it with
"undue respect", v. Kenney, edn. of <u>DRN</u> iii, ad loc.). Far from relaxing

the tension generated by his two weighty words up to the beginning of the fifth foot, Lucretius screws it up yet further with his one tremendous spondaic word in the last two feet, followed by enjambement which maintains the air of expectancy. This noble effect - as Sellar admits (p.242) - would be impossible if the poet held by Augustan canons.

If it is legitimate to ignore the lack of such metrical _tours de force_ in Vergil, in the interest of sustained contemplation of his faultless metrical flow, then it is just as legitimate to ignore and even appreciate the occasional roughnesses to which Lucretius's metre is liable - in a word to "watch Lucretius heaving his Cyclopean masonry" (W S Maguinness, Lucretius, p.76) - in the interests of inspired moments like these.

However, the best way to clarify differences between Lucretius's metre and Vergil's, to examine each one's poetic manner more objectively and to substantiate what has been said generally about influences, resemblances and differences between the two didactic poets will be to study passages from _DRN_ and the _Georgics_ in detail. And that comparison is better left until the following chapter.

Summary. The difference between the _magnis de rebus_ poem of Lucretius and the _in tenui_ genre of Vergil's brings with it certain problems for Vergil. Some are turned to his advantage. The lack of a philosophical subject enables him to create variety and avoid "unpoetic" material. The lack of a philosophical structure is made up for by a poetic structure with serious symbolism. The poet-reader relationship is less successful. Poetic analogies are less necessary in the _Georgics_, but their lack is part of a comparative lack of grandeur in the poem. Vergil's metre is more polished but at times less powerful than Lucretius's.

CHAPTER 4
LUCRETIUS AND VERGIL (2)

In the first chapter it was shown that a scientific theory of the
Nature of the Universe magnis de rebus could be expressed, not just in verse,
but in verse regularly enhanced by poetic charm, 'musaeo lepore' (DRN i 934;
cf. general introduction p.1). The second chapter described the disadvant-
ages of a different but related tradition, and the evolution of a subject-
ive style which was used by Vergil to resolve the disadvantages. It was
seen that the subjective style was also used by Lucretius in a characterist-
ically different form. The following chapter recounted the influence of
DRN on the Georgics and surveyed the differences between the two poems in
a general fashion.

In this chapter, by referring to passages drawn from both poems, I
intend to consider how DRN gets its particular poetic charm, to clarify
what has been said already in comparing it with the Georgics and to examine
its consistency. In fact my aim is to see whether the honey of the Muses,
referred to in the lines which follow those cited in my introduction (q.v.),
is applied in quite the way Lucretius's simile would suggest:

> sed veluti pueris absinthia taetra medentes
>
> cum dare conantur, prius oras pocula circum
>
> contingunt mellis dulci flavoque liquore,
>
> ut puerorum aetas improvida ludificetur
>
> labrorum tenus, interea perpotet amarum   940
>
> absinthi laticem deceptaque non capiatur
>
> sed potius tali pacto recreata valescat,
>
> sic ego nunc, quoniam haec ratio plerumque videtur
>
> tristior esse quibus non est tractata, retroque
>
> vulgus abhorret ab hac, volui tibi suaviloquenti   945
>
> carmine Pierio rationem exponere nostram
>
> et quasi musaeo dulci contingere melle,
>
> si tibi forte animum tali ratione tenere
>
> versibus in nostris possem,

i 936—49 (= iv 11-24).

Consider first and foremost the implications for Lucretius alone. The
poet's analogy is intended to be just that, and not an exact and scrupulous
equivalent of his way of writing DRN. I make no attempt to regard it so
literally. But it is noticeable that the word Lucretius uses three times
(i 938,947, and 934 in the preceding lines, quoted on p.1), twice in con-
nexion with honey is 'contingens' - "smearing". Superficially the simile
implies that the charm of the Muses is something applied afterwards rather

than a thing implicit in the fabric of the poem. Critics have been ready
to seize on this image as an indirect admission that there were two styles
in Lucretius; purple passages like the introduction ("sugar") and a relat-
ively unpoetic style for the exposition ("pill"). Moreover, at this same
superficial level the simile has the further implication that the purple
passages have no other function than to brighten up the argument; they
exist separately from it and do not clarify or enlarge it in any way.

Bailey (pp.168-70) attempted to show objectively, by comparing a so-
called purple passage with a section of the argument, that there is no such
dichotomy between two styles. Kenney (edn. of DRN iii, 1971, pp25-9) after
comparing a purple passage with a paragraph of argument rather more closely
concludes that there is a difference in key rather than style, and confirms
Bailey's view (p.168) that in passages "highly charged with feeling" (Kenney
ibid. p.28) versification is more regular and enjambement more artful,
sentences longer; in Kenney's wider phrase "grammatical and rhetorical
structures are relatively elaborate" ('Vivida Vis', 1974, p.29). Having
established the real unity of Lucretius's style[1] Kenney goes on, in the
recent article just referred to, to show how very elaborate Lucretius's
art is when "highly charged with feeling", by detailed analysis of a purple
passage (i 62-101; pp.18-30).[2]

It is exceedingly tempting nevertheless to embark on a detailed ana-
lysis of passages from the proems and argument of DRN; partly to confirm
Kenney's latest findings and partly because his last analysis is of a
purple passage only and in much greater detail than his previous analysis
of both purple and argumentative passages (in his 1971 edition). There
is thus room for doubt in the case of passages from the argument as to how
much less elaborate they are; how unified Lucretius's style actually is;
whether Kenney himself has really completed the "thorough examination of
Lucretius's style" which he called for in his 1970 article on 'Doctus
Lucretius'.[3]

But, alas, such a comprehensive analysis is ruled out 'spatiis exclusus

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[1] contrast the clear discrepancy between Parmenides's proem and argument
(pp.21ff).

[2] cf. Anne Amory, Science and Poetry in DRN, Yale Classical Studies 21 (1969)
pp.143-63. Miss Amory surveys the problem in an interesting but general
way, showing that the argument parts of the poem are indeed "poetic", but
not how poetic they are as compared with the prologues etc.

[3] For the sake of convenience Kenney's three publications are referred to
in the rest of this chapter by the insensitive modern convention of name
+ date, as follows:
    'Doctus Lucretius', Mnemosyne, 1970, pp.366-92   — Kenney (1970)
    Edition of DRN iii, 1971   — Kenney (1971)
    'Vivida Vis', in Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry,
    ed. Woodman and West, pp.18-30   — Kenney (1974)

iniquis' by the limitations of space available.[1] Selection is therefore
called for. On balance it seems best to avoid the details of metre, which
are not always exciting, except where they modulate when "highly charged
with feeling" - the broad movement of "grammatical and rhetorical structures".
Imagery must be dealt with: it is not included by Kenney in his 1971 com-
parison, and on the other hand it is a field where the poet excels as will
be seen. These two elements - verse structure and imagery - have the fur-
ther advantage of being important vehicles of the poet's involvement, of
expressing his subjective outlook (p.84). It will be useful, too, to
examine a more straightforwardly didactic technique - Lucretius's handling
of the poet-reader relationship.

Within these limits it is possible to follow Bailey's and Kenney's
method of objective comparison of "purple" and "argument" passages, going
into more detail on a narrower range of techniques. It will also be useful
to take a second passage from the argument, in order to see if there are
any significant differences in Lucretius's style within the argument itself.

The passages chosen are:

1. ii 20-61, from the Prologue to ii.

2. ii 886-930, from a passage which had seemed particularly bare of imagery
on first reading.

3. v 614-49, from a passage regarded as difficult by Bailey (ad loc.)
where Lucretius accounts for the annual journey of the sun between the tropics.
The difficulty of the passage might involve awkward language rather than
absence of imagery. Moreover, the section draws on the description of the
same phenomenon in Cicero's Aratea and gives an opportunity for a comparison
with Cicero's poem (cf. p.69f; p.143f).

It will be seen that neither of the two passages from the argument
represents a middle case between what Kenney calls the "two extreme cases"
of a plain expository passage and a purple passage. Both were chosen as
being "low key" (Kenney, 1971, p.28) on first impression.

Another way of examining the specifically Lucretian nature of the charm
of DRN, and of confirming what was stated in the last chapter of Lucretius
vis à vis Vergil, will be to include a passage from the Georgics in the
comparison. Georgic ii 35-82 has been chosen, more or less at random apart
from a desire to avoid any of the more obvious proems, episodes etc.

General points that have not already been discussed can be dealt with
as they arise. An effort will be made to apply precisely the same criteria

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[1] Though the temptation to expatiate on the fascinations of Vergil's metric
proved unavoidable, - V. Appendix iii p.172ff.

in comparing the three passages from DRN. But some difference in method
will need to be adopted when considering the passage of Vergil, following
a difference in aim. The purpose in Vergil's case is not to see if diff-
erence exists at all, when it has already been acknowledged in the last
chapter, but to explore the nature of that difference -

> caecasquo latebras
> insinuare omnia et verum protrahere inde.

1 Grammatical and rhetorical structures - architectonics of verse

a. To begin with Vergil, since it was with the elegance of Vergil's metre
that the last chapter ended. Wilkinson gives the management of sentences
within the metre, with their subordinate structures of grammar and rhetoric,
the useful title of "architectonics of verse" (GLA p.189). As has just
been said, this architectonic or cumulative management of metre is more
revealing than a study of individual details.[1] In Vergil's case an examin-
ation of "architectonics of verse" in the passage chosen ought to be
especially rewarding, on the face of things. His verse needs elegance and
subtlety in a way that Lucretius's does not. It is part of his compensat-
ing for the lack of a logical structure magnis de rebus (p.100f). In the
verse of the Georgics "everything is done to maintain variety, energy,
appropriateness and grace in a subject that could not please without their
aid" (GLA p.196). Vergil's rhythm is so carefully worked out that it can
be set down with the same clarity as the structure of the poem (p.104).
An analysis of the rhythm of Georgic ii 35-82 on the lines laid down by
Wilkinson (GLA pp.193ff) will provide an example.

To begin with it is worth making a comparison with Milton. The English
poet used to dictate 30 lines of Paradise Lost at a time, and the rhythmic
unit of the poem is often a sentence of at least that length. For instance
the sentence in Book iv (268-311, chosen at random) beginning

> not that fair field
> Of ENNA where PROSERPIN gath'ring flowers,
> Herself a fairer flower by gloomy DIS
> Was gather'd, which cost CERES all that pain
> To seek her through the world,

goes on for over a page in the Oxford edition; but the rhythm never gets
lost and the poet almost seems to have had the whole in mind when he wrote
the beginning. Vergil gives the same impression here, but by surprisingly
different means;

[1] which may however be found in Appendix iii, if the individual references
to them here are found to be too brief.

"Like Cicero, Vergil is so grand that he may give the impression of having normally composed in long rolling periods. But this is not so... His style is 'δεινός' (forceful) and 'concitatus' (energetic). It relies not on elaborate subordination of clauses, but rather of the juxtaposition of short sentences...often without explicit connection ('pugiunculi' enlivened by all the rhetorical figures)" (GLA p.190).[1]

These shorter sentences must have made the grand, Miltonic effect harder to achieve, if anything. Yet everything is in place, nothing is superfluous, and the variety of the pauses and the difference in length of the cola is enormous. In each of the paragraphs Vergil works through a series of minor climaxes up to a main climax in the second half, and then runs the rhythm down to the end. Because he seems to know where he is going before he begins this advance and recession of the rhythm through successive sentences is enough to give the reader the sense of where he is. But it is done without the weighty periods of Lucretius (see p.118); and on the other hand without the surface _ars_ of Ovid and that excessive symmetry which mars his work (cf. GLA p.201f).

The first paragraph, then, not being part of the main argument, has shorter sentences in keeping with its more excited tone (cf. GLA p.197 on the _Aeneid_). Enjambement and internal pause occur in all the lines except the first, the last, and the first line of the address to Maecenas (39). Thus Vergil establishes the norm at the beginning of the paragraph, the beginning of the main section, and returns to it at the end.

The first section (35-8) is half the length of the second and falls into two sentences. Because it is the first section, the first line which is also the first of the paragraph is the most striking; the parts of the first sentence diminish in length, the second line is interrupted by a vocative and in the third a subordinate clause is introduced which ends abruptly at $3\frac{1}{2}$. The second sentence begins with its climax (iuvat 37) and thereafter the tension runs down; apart from a hyperbaton with homodyne fourth foot the last part is no more striking than the first. Although it is an end therefore it is not a very final or emphatic one (and though the last line contains enjambement up to $1\frac{1}{2}$ with which Vergil likes to end a paragraph, according to Winbolt (p.21 - an Edwardian guide, but reliable), its effect is countered by an elision). The impression of advance remains stronger than that of retreat.

The main section (39-46), twice as long as the first, contains three

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[1] For the various rhetorical figures in the passage v. Appendix iii, pp.179-81. Wilkinson adds in a note that "Quintilian, Macrobius and others regularly quote Vergil to illustrate these figures" (ibid.).

sentences. The first is like a repeat of the first sentence of the para-
graph but is more imposing. The vocative, instead of coming in the second
line after the crescendo of imperatives with which both sections begin (x!
and y with z!) is delayed by a parenthesis in two parts. The second of
these is more striking and longer than the first (40) and the vocative -
more impressive than 'agricolae' (36) because spondaic - comes to it as
the third, climactic part. The energy of the sentence is already spent;
as before (36) the vocative is followed by a third, most colourful, imper-
ative but this time no subordinate clause succeeds. The rest of the address
has to wait until after the main climax of the paragraph - an epic recus-
atio which interrupts it. In two mainly spondaic lines, with emphatic ana-
phora and repetition (ego...meis...opto 42; linguae centum...oraque centum
43) Vergil resoundingly states his refusal and follows it with an oracular
conditional - two parallel cola both containing the mysterious number 100,
which rolls to a pause at the end of the line; but the rhythm is pulled
up abruptly at 1½ in the next line, with a third phrase following in asyn-
deton and no number repeated.

The climax over, Vergil returns to Maecenas picking up his first imper-
ative (ades 39,44) for the rest of the line; reassures him abruptly in the
middle part of the sentence, which lacks connexion and verb and lasts only
half a line; and completes the rhythm with a pleonastic clause whose second
part, strictly otiose and with a striking dicolon abundans, follows without
a break. It is the longest member of the sentence, with the least signi-
ficance most leisurely expressed, satisfyingly final.[1]

A similar pattern, with the beginning and end clearly marked in terms
of rhythm - while in between, successive sentences and sections answer one
another, each containing their own small climaxes but each clearly advancing
towards a main climax or receding from it - can be seen in the other two
paragraphs. A brief examination of the last (73-82) will confirm this.

As part of the exposition this has longer sentences and a simpler struc-
ture - less rhetoric and a less portentous climax.[2] Again the beginning
and end are clearly marked.[3] In fact the first line is a self-contained

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[1] A Lucretian device which Vergil likes to use at the end of a paragraph
or period (though it occurs at the beginning of one in line 73) is that
of theme and variation (eg. 46,56,61-2,82). But Vergil uses it less freely
than Lucretius (see p.118n).

[2] but there is less variation from the high style than Lucretius permits
himself (Kenney 1971 p.17, cf. p.112f). Vergil, who is relying on orchestra-
tion, not logic, for his structure cannot afford sharp changes in register
(cf. pp.102ff).

[3] the end of the previous paragraph, as it happens, is marked by an un-Luc-
retian trick which Vergil has; attention is drawn to it by a lapse into
the generic aorist - ornusque incanuit etc., 71-2).

introduction, a small scale equivalent of the prospectus which begins the poem (G i 1-5); and the last, another redundant dicolon, is almost super-fluous in terms of the rhythm.[1]

The first sentence (74-7), like the first section of the first para-graph, has its longest part first, ending abruptly at 2 after the climax; its second part begins on the climax (emphatic 'huc' with coincidence of ictus and accent), the most important colon comes first, has "paragraph end" enjambement to $1\frac{1}{2}$, and is followed by what is in effect a restatement of it in more picturesque but less vigorous language. The impression of finality, though not complete, is perhaps greater than it was at the end of 38 (see p.115, and compare enjambement in 72-3).

The second period is a line longer. Like the first it has two halves, although this time the two are about equal in length. Part one has three clauses, of equal length, and slightly awkward connexions (especially 'deinde' 79). This slightly awkward impression, increased by the sense of little or no subordination in importance between the clauses, is expressive and also provides the foil for the second part. Here the subordination might be too complete, making the second member too loudly final; fortunately the third member is added. It seems almost gratuitous, but it provides a grand otiose gesture to complete the necessary leisurely running down of the rhythm and sense.

"The feeling of (Vergil's) rhythm becomes a main element in the real-isation of his meaning" (Sollar p.243); the expressiveness of these modul-ations of rhythm may be considered here briefly. In the first paragraph Vergil has to express the mock-epic pomp and circumstance of the invocation to Maecenas - only to express it, one might say, if that expression did not require tremendous virtuosity of rhythm. But in the description of grafting his rhythm and expression bend to reveal just that involvement and sympathy with the plants which was described in the second chapter (p.84). For example in lines 65, 78 and 80 the words 'ingens' and 'alte' are left at the end of the line, just after a pause, where the reader can dwell on the ideas of size and depth which they represent. In line 62 spondees emphasise the effort needed in planting the trees. In line 69 the rustling arbutus is allowed to quiver on after the end of the line, by hypermetre of the 'a' of 'horrida'. And naturally the farmer receives

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[1] GLA p.199, quoting from Mackail, edn. of the _Aeneid_ (1930); "It is a feature of the matured Vergilian style to continue the period a line further than where in the hands of a less potent master of rhythm it would conclude". Mackail goes on to speak of "this overarching superflux of rhythm". The whole passage (op. cit. lii-liv) is interesting.

sympathy (or "empathy") in the same way - by enjambement after a monosyll-
able to express excitement at the task in hand, for instance (line 49).

The very sound is important - think how the rr's quiver in 'horrida',
or consider the doleful a's and m's with the poet tells of the plant from
a poor background in line 55; rēmi mātris opācant. In fact Vergil's hand-
ling of the rhythm and sound of the verse is an important expression of
his subjective outlook, and a significant factor in the underlying unity
of the Georgics.

But this is getting away from the subject of verse-structure, though
much more could be said on the delightful topic of expressiveness - see,
for example, on elision, alliteration and hyperbaton in Appendix iii.
Before reaching any conclusions about the verse-structure of Vergil it is
necessary to examine architectonics of verse in the three passages from
DRN.

Architectonics of verse (b) - Lucretius

It has already been pointed out (p.112) that sentences in the obviously
elaborate parts of DRN (proems, episodes) are longer on average than those
from the argument. The proem to ii is no exception; two sentences, for
example, are eleven lines long, one seven (23-33; 37-46 (+43a in the OCT);
47-54). It is interesting to compare the late practice of Cicero in prose.
In Pro Archia the exordium and peroration contain much longer sentences
than the body of the speech, where, however, "the structure is still large-
ly periodic" (GLA p.182). Similarly the proem to the Georgics contains
two nineteen-line sentences (G i 5ff), although thereafter there are few
sentences more than four lines long (GLA pp.190,196; cf. p.115 above).

Wilkinson's critical views on Lucretian metre have already been referred
to at the end of the last chapter (p.109). More of them can be cited here.
He mentions, for instance, "the straggling, undisciplined form that a sen-
tence might take in pre-Virgilian hexameters" and proceeds to refer to
"Lucretius, whose indifference to some of the refinements of contemporary
verse is as notorious as it is understandable" (GLA p.194). But in fact
as has been said Lucretius's practice is broadly in line with that of Cicero
and Vergil; longer sentences in the proem, shorter sentences in the body
of the argument. And even if the word "broadly" is stressed, the differ-
ence in Lucretius's practice does not necessarily mean inferiority, as an
examination of the three passages mentioned will show.[1]

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[1] One characteristic Lucretian technique referred to below deserves a brief
note to itself. The biblical trick of "theme and variation" whereby one
idea is repeated in different words and often at greater length or more
elaborately is used by him constantly, and it has just the old-fashioned
dignity we associate with the bible. Compare 'nec domus argento fulget

To begin with the proem to ii. Analysis of the first long sentence (23-33) shows no trace of a "straggling undisciplined form". On the contrary the structure is very careful and (one might add) very satisfying, viz.:

One line of introduction:

gratius interdum nec natura ipsa requirit,   23.

Tricolon structure of five lines, lightening towards the end, so that by the end of the structure and the middle of the sentence, the verse is almost motionless in contemplation of the beauty of what it describes:

1.   si non aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes   a   24

     lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris   b   25

     lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur,   c   26

2.   nec domus argento fulget auroque renidet   27

3.   nec citharae reboant laqueata aurataque templa   28

Notice how the first three lines form a tricolon in themselves, the "theme and variations" in the last two lines, and how in the last line the number of verbs has been cut down to one.

This structure is answered by a loose tricolon structure of three lines (corresponding to (1)) and by a "coda" of two lines (corresponding to (2) and (3)):

1.   cum tamen inter se prostrati in gramine molli   a   29

<u>note</u> (cont)

auroque reni̱det (27); re̱ges reru̱mque potentes (50; + 32=3,35 etc. below) with the phrases of oral epic; Homer's, for example

βῆ δ᾽ ἰέναι διὰ δώματ᾽ ἵν ἀγγειλειε τοκεῦσιν,
πᾰτρι φίλω καὶ μήτρι.   Od vi 50-1

ἦ ῥ᾽ οἵ γ᾽ ὑβρισταί τε καὶ ἄγριοι οὐδε δίκαιοι,
ἦε φιλόξεινοι καὶ σφιν νόος ἐστι θεουδή;id 120-1

or those of <u>Beowulf</u>, where the trick is especially common -

Wod under wolcnum, to thaes the he̅ <u>win-reced</u>,

<u>gold-sele</u> gumena gearwost wisse   714-5

(and lines 728-9 from the same passage).

It is naturally most familiar of all from the Old Testament;
For lo, the <u>winter</u> is <u>past</u>, the <u>rain</u> is <u>over and gone</u>; the flowers appear on the <u>earth</u>; the time of the <u>singing of birds</u> is <u>come</u>, and the <u>voice of the turtle</u> is <u>heard</u> in our land (Song of Solomon ii 11-12).

Incidentally "biblical" is the word used to describe Lucretius's language by Latham (Penguin translation, introduction, p.16; cited p.17n1).

Altogether the comparative avoidance of this dignified locution by Vergil (p.116n1) is to be regretted.

propter aquae rivum sub ramis arboris altae   b   30

non magnis opibus iucunde corpora curant   c   31

2.   praesertim cum tempestas arridet et anni   32

tempora conspergunt viridantis floribus herbae.   33

The denser structure of the last two lines and their asymmetrical conpos-
ition (second clause, from 'anni' on, is longer than the first) spoils
the exactitude of the correspondence with (2) and (3) in the first part
of the sentence.[1] But it is necessary because the lines have the addition-
al function of rounding off the sentence, corresponding to the line of
introduction as well as to 27-8. In the asymmetrical sentence there is a
balance of rhythmical impetus between the first six lines and the last five;
the sort of "harmonious disharmony" found by Ritschl in the interplay of
verse- and word-accent in Latin hexameter poetry.[2] We therefore have;

Symmetry in length between the two parts of the body of the sentence,
but asymmetry in their composition;

Asymmetry between the first six lines viewed as introduction + first
part of sentence, and the last five viewed as second part including conclu-
sion, but symmetry between the rhythmical weight of the two sections.

Some effects, notably the "hovering" quality of 27-8, would be hard
to achieve in a shorter sentence.

But the sentence is itself part of a larger rhythmical unit, framed
by two three-line sentences which open the rhythm and round it off:-

Opening structure, dividing $1\frac{1}{2}+\frac{1}{2}$, and 1

1.   ergo corpoream ad naturam pauca videmus

esse opus omnino, quae demant cumque dolorem,

2.   delicias quoque uti multas substernere possit.   20-22

Closing structure, dividing 1, and $1\frac{1}{4}+\frac{3}{4}$. The rhythm is brought to
a climax late with striking enjambement, and then allowed to die away.
(Compare almost exactly the rhythm of the last three lines of the paragraph,
59-61; cf.p.122):

1.   nec calidae citius decedunt corpore febres

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[1] and there is only one long "theme and variation", between 'tempestas' and
'anni Tempora'.

[2] Opuscula ii p.xii, quoted in Wilkinson, The Augustan Rules for Dactylic
Verse, CQ 1940 p.33. That is to say, the conflict/resolution pattern
within the hexameter which Ritschl refers to has its parallel here in the
symmetry/asymmetry pattern of Lucretius's entire sentence.

2.   textilibus si in picturis ostroque rubenti

    <u>lacteris</u>, quam si in plebeia veste cubandum est   34-6.

The lines from 20-36 have a vigorous overall sweep which is not found in the passages from the argument (except ii 924-30 - see p. 122).

The rest of the paragraph has an equally vigorous movement, although it is possible to detect one or two flaws.

It begins with another eleven-line sentence (37-46) which divides into introduction (37-9) and main body (40ff). The introduction is similar in rhythm to the opening sentence of the previous section, ie. three lines dividing $1\frac{1}{2}+\frac{3}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{4}+\frac{3}{4}$ = 1. The rest of the sentence however is monotonously and clumsily articulated at the point where two participial phrases take up two successive lines (42 and 43) and are followed by a prosaic <u>resumé</u> (44; his tibi tum rebus). This sentences straggles, despite the appropriateness and vigour of 40-41 and 44-6.

The next sentence is seven lines long (47-53). After a double introduction (47, 48) there follows an appropriately majestic (cf. 50-52) <u>tricolon ascendens</u>:[1]

    1.   nec metuunt sonitus armorum nec fera tela,   49

    2.   audacterque inter reges rerumque potentis   50
          versantur

    3.   neque fulgorem reverentur ab auro   51
    nec clarum vestis splendorem purpureai,   52.

But the sentence ends on a lame note with a rhetorical question of one line, as unexpected as it is inconsequential (53). And Lucretius adds another prosaic line (54), inserted to prepare for his favourite end-of-proem simile in 55-61 (the lines are repeated at iii 87-93 and vi 35-41).

But it easy to share the poet's preference for these last lines. In the first sentence the modulation from dactyls (representing the children's fears) to spondees (grave adult common sense) and back to dactyls (reappearance of childish fears) produces exactly the required impression of gentle parody. The second sentence reproduces the rounding-off structure of 34-6 (1, and $1\frac{1}{2}+\frac{3}{4}$), with the additional refinement of dactyls to make the enjambement more vigorous, and final flourish of quadrisyllable unprotected by a

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[1] with "theme and variation" in each colon, increasing in elaborateness like the cola themselves.

monosyllable (ie. differing from the practice of Vergil, cf. Raven, Latin Metre p.100) to emphasise the key word of the paragraph.[1] Appropriately it is also the last word –

1.   hunc igitur terrorem animi tenebrasque necesest

2.   non radii solis neque lucida tela diei
      discutiant, sed naturae species ratioque.   59-61

The vigorous rhythm of the paragraph, especially in the middle section, is therefore due in an important degree to Lucretius's use of long sentences. Some of them may "straggle" in parts, to use Wilkinson's word – this must always be a danger with long periods in verse. But the rapidly-moving style of Vergil, for all its δειvότης , (cf. p.115) does not quite achieve the majestic utterance of 23-33 for example, even in the epic address to Maecenas (p.115f). Moreover the splendid movement of most of the passage is entirely appropriate to the splendour it describes (see on the imagery, pp.128ff). On the other hand when children make an appearance it is much more changeable. Lucretius's rhythm, too, shows a subjective identification with what he is describing (cf. p.118 on Vergil, and p.84).

However it is not easy to detect the same degree of momentum or the same care in the rhythmical structure of the other two passages. The structure is certainly adequate and the momentum is maintained and varied.[2] But with one exception there is no section so strikingly well constructed that the reader's attention is immediately drawn to it, as it is to the sentence 23-33 in the first passage. The exception comes at the end of the second passage (ii 924-30). The quality of the imagery, outstanding in context, is one means by which the poet builds up that section to provide a climax for the passage (p.126); it is matched by the rhythm. Lucretius's last rhetorical concession in the passage (924-6) has a very unusual structure, ie. 1½ and ¾, the ¾ involving enjambement up to 1½*followed by a very abrupt pause. (This is a variation on the opening structures mentioned before, eg. 20-22, where the first part is twice as long as the last). The abrupt climax is followed by a very low-key start to the last

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[1] It is emphasised because conflict of verse-ictus and word-accent occurs over it – rare in Lucretius and almost unknown in Vergil, in this position at the line-end.

[2] For example, the second passage (ii 886-89) begins with anaphora between clauses of increasing length and elaboration – an opening structure (cf. p.120); the first two sentences of the third passage (v 614-20) form a loose opening unit, with one line of introduction (614) one of conclusion (620) and the rest of the lines divided 3;2 (615-7; 618-9) – a typical opening pattern (cf. p.120). The momentum at the end is dispersed by a novel kind of closing structure; two rhetorical questions (646-9).

*The figure refers to the position of a break in the line, like the figures in the section on Vergil's metre and unlike those in the rest of this line

sentence, in the rest of the line. But the quiet start is meant to provide a contrast with the rest of the sentence. If is followed by a three-line dicolon dividing 1½, and 1½. The second colon is the more impressive, as befits a closing structure. It branches, and its second half fills the last line of the dicolon with a majestic hyperbaton, all spondees, the climax of the sentence and of the paragraph (comparable with Hesiod's gnomai (p.8) and the rhetorical 'ἐπιφωνήματα' cited by Wilkinson from Vergil in GLA (p.198f)):

1.	quod si forte suum dimittunt corpore sensum	a	924
	atque alium capiunt,		
	quid opus fuit attribui id quod detrahitur?	b	925

2.	tum praeterea, quod vidimus ante	a	926
	quatenus in pullos animalis vertier ova	b	927
A	cernimus alituum		
	vermisque effervere terram[1]		928
B	intempestivos cum putor sepit ob imbris,		929
	scire licet gigni posse ex non sensibu' sensus.	c	930

In general it can be seen that the rhythmical structure of the first passage is considerably more elaborate than that of the other two. At the same time the rhythm of the second and third passages is nowhere lacking in skill, and at the end of the second passage it is as skilful and monumental as in the best parts of the proem. More interesting than that, the climax to which the poet so powerfully builds up is the result of a sympathetic identification not with the world of man but with nature. By subjectively giving his sympathy to both worlds equally the poet establishes a link between them, as has been said (p.84), and thus provides or rather enhances the underlying unity of the poem.

The same is true of Vergil, of course. The greater consistency of his architectonic manipulation of the verse rhythm — though there is some variation between the proem/episode and his equivalent of argument (p.116) —

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[1] accepting the punctuation of Townend after 'terram' rather than before (CQ 1969, p.335f; preferably too 'quam' DQV rather than 'cum' in the next line). Apart from the reasons given by Townend there is the alliteration which links 'terram' with 'vermis' — the 'err' is the culmination of 'er's' starting at 'vertier' — more strongly than with 'intempestivos' in the next line. Also 'ova' is parallel with 'terram' just as 'vermis' is with 'in pullos animalis'. As the eggs produce chickens, so the earth produces worms. It is another personification of 'terra', like 'matris terrai' (i 251; cf. ii 873 - see p.137).

might lead us to expect a more satisfying subjective unity, arising from a more consistent identification with his subject-matter. But this is not really what happens. There is, perhaps, a more consistent identification with what Vergil is describing (cf. p.149). But the mighty climax of the second passage of DRN exceeds any of the most subjective parts of the passage from the Georgics in the intensity of its subjectivity, because it is more prolonged - just as it rises above the same passage, even the opening address to Maecenas, in the dignity and force of its rhythm. The argument of DRN, then, has moments of intensity joined with rhythmical virtuosity to which the exposition of the Georgics, and even its episodes, do not rise.

The consequence of this is worth emphasising. One thing which unifies the Georgics, and separate from its poetic structure (pp.101-5), is the way the modulations of Vergil's rhythm are always expressing his poetic outlook (p.118), suggesting his feelings towards what he describes. Lucretius does the same thing less consistently but, when he chooses to, much more intensely. The intensity makes up for the inconsistency. Both poems, then, are unified at one level by the impression of the author's outlook, almost the stamp of his personality, expressed by the rhythm. That unifying impression is more consistent in the Georgics, more varied and dynamic - more impressionistic, perhaps more impressive - in Lucretius's (poem.

One last comment. The perfect movement or δεινότης of Vergil's verse, its perpetual aptness, is a source of such great delight that criticism seems churlish. Yet even that perfection has a penalty in loss of naturalness. As Wilkinson himself acknowledges rather grudgingly "there will always be those who prefer the apparent spontaneity of Lucretius (GLA p.193).[1]

Et iam tempus equis fumantia solvere colla

- it is time to turn to the subject of imagery.

Summary. An analysis of three passages from DRN and one from the Georgics is called for to determine whether Lucretius uses two styles in DRN and to examine differences between his style and Vergil's.
The virtuosity in handling verse rhythm shown in Georgic ii 35-82 is part of the art with which Vergil compensates for lack of a logical structure. It is also used expressively.

[1] as for example in his moderate use of rhetoric and hyperbaton (see Appendix iii). Perhaps this loss of naturalness was the penalty on Vergil's part of writing after Cicero - cf. RGM Nisbett's comment; "By striving so persistently for rhythm and balance, Cicero destroyed something of the essential savour of Latin, the quality that he himself recognised in the conversation of certain elderly ladies (Brut. 211), the precise choice and arrangement of words that we can still feel in Terence and Caesar and the best of Lucretius." (Cicero, p.52)

Lucretius's verse rhythm is everywhere appropriate but ranges more widely between elaboration and simplicity. In general the rhythm is more elaborate in the proem, but it is just as elaborate at the end of the second passage. Such Lucretian climaxes are more powerful than any part of the Georgics passage.

2 Imagery and Pictorial Writing

A. The superiority of Lucretius's imagery and pictorial writing have already been alleged (p.106), and thus it will be appropriate to begin with Lucretius and leave Vergil to have the last word, so to speak.

"Imaging is, in itself, the very height and life of poetry" (Dryden, The Author's Apology for Heroic Poetry and Poetic Licence, 1677). After the brilliant example of Empedocles (see chapter one, pp.38-48) Lucretius was bound to illustrate the teaching of his poem on the universe with copious imagery. His success is perhaps the greatest distinction of the poem;[1] if Empedocles shows a great delight in description and imagery, then Lucretius's feeling for all kinds of pictorial writing can only be described as a passion. Yet the ὄμφαξ, the hyperbole and obscurantism of Empedocles's images which make his verse so difficult are entirely avoided by Lucretius. Only the fascination of Empedoclean imagery is maintained and enhanced by him.

Excluding comparison with other writers[2] the imagery of Lucretius has another interest. It is so prominent in DRN that any difference between the proem and the passages from the argument is likely to be especially marked when it comes to imagery.

1   It will be appropriate to begin, then, by considering the poet's use of similes and formal comparisons, since there is one in each of the passages in question. Unlike Empedocles (cf. pp.44-8), Lucretius often does not introduce what is in effect a simile as such (Townend, Lucretius, p.103). Thus although ii 55ff is an orthodox simile, introduced by 'nam veluti', ii 927ff and v 646f are developed comparisons introduced by "we see";

[1]In addition to Sellar's remarks already cited (p.106) cf.
"It is difficult to overestimate the contribution made to (Lucretius's) achievement by the poet's use of imagery" (Townend, Lucretius, p.112.
"No Latin poet can vie with Aeschylus, Pindar or Shakespeare in complexity and daring in use of imagery. But for sublimity and passion, the imagery of Lucretius is unsurpassed" (West, The Imagery and Poetry of Lucretius, p.1. The observation of Dryden cited above is quoted by West, p.9).

[2]Including Vergil for the moment.
There is no simile in G ii 35ff, but cf. the nightingale simile discussed on p.63.

'quatenus...cernimus' and 'nonne vides'.

a. In ii 55-9 Lucretius compares our superstitions to the nightmares
of children;

> nam veluti pueri trepidant atque omnia caecis
>
> in tenebris metuunt, sic nos in luce timemus
>
> interdum, nilo quae sunt metuenda magis quam
>
> quae pueri in tenebris pavitant finguntque futura.

The subtlety of the rhythm (p.121) is answered by a care in drawing
the parallel between the children's world and ours, and in the choice of
words. West (pp.84-5) notes how Lucretius takes up 'metuunt' in 'metuenda',
"to provide a logical signpost between simile and illustrandum." At the
same time he cites the plethora of words for 'fear' as an example of the
"characteristic opulence of Lucretius's vocabulary" - but it is _variatio_
with a purpose. The four other 'fear' words (trepidant, timemus, pavitant,
fingunt futura) are used to intensify the atmosphere of the image without
obscuring the signpost quality of 'metuo'.

'Metuo' has a meaning outside the simile too. It reminds the reader
at once of the point of the passage: the 'metus' (48) which 'nec metuunt'
(49) "martial panoply and worldly power", to borrow West's phrase.
Lucretius has taken care to tie in the simile to the argument without
weakening its force as an image.

Purely as a picture the image is especially striking because it refers
to one of our earliest and most profoundly felt emotions as children: the
fear of things that go bump in the night. It is both homely and disturb-
ing.

b. The "simile" in the second passage is also familiar;

> quatenus in pullos animalis vertier ova
>
> cernimus alituum, vermisque effervere terram,[1]
>
> intempestivos cum putor cepit ob imbris,
>
> scire licet gigni posse ex non sensibu' sensus.   927-30

Like the first simile this is distinguished by its subtlety of rhythm
(p.123). But it differs in that there is no tight parallel between the
illustration and the "illustrand"; hence Lucretius can give us two images
or pictures with the implication that these are only two of many examples
of the natural phenomena which he is describing. Moreover (at the risk
of being overcritical) it differs from the first simile in another way.

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[1] on this punctuation see p.123n.

There is no reference to a common deeply felt experience; just to aspects of the natural world which we may have noticed and found interesting but which have no intimate connexion with our childhood feelings.

But the spontaneous generation of worms image is remarkable in a different way. It links the passage to adjoining parts of the argument (ii 898 where it rounds off a shorter section and 871 where it introduces a section). More significantly than that, 'effervere' as West points out (p.16) is a reference to v 798-806 where Lucretius tells how the earth generated life from moisture and also heat. "The earth is boiling over with worms."

Most interesting of all, however, is this. The poet has evidently felt or sympathised with the detail of nature which he describes just as much as he did with the children in the previous simile. Because of his subjective expression of sympathy through metre and alliteration (p.122-3 and p.123n), the reader too sympathises more than he would do with the phenomenon per se. It is an example of the underlying unity of feeling in DRN.

c.   The comparison in the third passage is not as elaborate as that:

Nonne vides etiam diversis nubila ventis
diversas ire in partis inferna supernis?
qui minus illa queant per magnos aetheris orbis
aestibus inter se diversis sidera ferri?   646-9

The rhythm is appropriate, though in a simpler way than in the previous two similes (p.122n2), and it is assisted with rhetoric as will be seen. There is a close connexion between the illustration and illustrand, as in the first simile, but here a scientific connexion. The phenomenon has certainly been described before it is illustrated, but the illustration is useful (like Empedocles's siphon) in helping the reader to visualise, according to Lucretius's explanation, a complicated celestial movement which cannot itself be seen.

Like 'metuo' in the first simile, the key word 'diversis' is picked up from the illustration (646-7) in the illustrand (649). In the illustration itself Lucretius is prepared to resort to rhetoric in the shape of polyptoton of his key word, 'diversis...diversas' (also 'inferna supernis'), to make the complicated picture clearer.

Despite that he does not insist on the parallel; it is not a formal simile, just a suggestion ('qui minus illa queant...'). Moreover the picture, though interesting and showing rare powers of observation, lacks the quality of inner identification which the other similes have. The polyptoton, for example, is used for scientific clarity alone, not to show excitement or "empathy".

It is difficult to choose on any grounds at all between the first two similes - unless the formal quality of that which ends the proem is seen as important. They both not only make you "see what he saw" (as Eliot, quoted on p.63, said of Dante) but also feel what he felt, both experiences (whereas Vergil's simile, cited on the same page, is more concerned with feeling alone). There are certainly no grounds for seeing two styles here. The third "simile" is in a less profound vein. But it brings in the world outside the poem (p.60); it is sublime in the literal sense that it describes 'sublimia'; and it helps to unify the poem in a way by linking the vast with the visible and showing the unity of the universe. In different ways, therefore, Sellar's prescription of making what is familiar or unseen "great or palpable" by association with what is sublime (cited p.106) is fulfilled by all three similes.

Incidentally the "similes" disprove the theory of two styles in a purely mechanical way: each of them occurs at or near the end of the passage. Evidently Lucretius finds that the vivid imagery of a word-picture makes an appropriate rounding-off in any part of the poem.[1]

ii   But grandiose imagery loses much of its point if it is not integrated into the rest of the poem. Its part in the argument is one thing, and that has already been considered. But isolated peaks of word-painting clearly have less power to give the poem a unity of feeling than when they are joined by something more than logic. In DRN passages of description are part of a close fabric of metaphor. Some metaphors occur only once or twice, some are habitual (though they need not be ineffective).

a.   For example, in the first passage the personifications of Nature are habitual metaphors -

     natura ipsa requirit   23
     naturae species - "the face of nature"   61

They are only two of many personifications of 'rerum natura creatrix' (i 629) in Lucretius, the boldest of which is the prosopopeia at iii 931ff (cf. p.91) - an obvious instance of a grand description having links with the whole poem. The poet is ready to describe his creative principle as if it - "she" - were one of the old gods, perhaps after the example of Empedocles's Aphrodite and Ares (p.42f). She is a unifying leitmotiv or theme, rather like Vergil's Jupiter (p.96).

The other conventional metaphor has more immediate relevance to the moral of the paragraph. In 'rationi potestas' (53) Lucretius contrasts the real might of reason with the apparent might (shown by the pompous

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[1] cf. ii 77-9, cited p.34f.

display in 50-2) of kings, princes and potentates.

New metaphors in the passage are so numerous that it is convenient,
however insensitive, to begin with a list.

i   <u>delicias</u> quoque uti multas <u>substernere</u> possit   22

ii   tempestas arridet   32

iii <u>anni Tempora conspergunt</u> viridantis floribus herbas   33

iv   tuas legiones <u>Fervere</u> cum videas   41

v   <u>timefactae religiones</u>
     <u>effugiunt</u> animo <u>pavidae</u>; <u>mortisque timores</u>
     tum vacuum <u>pectus linquunt</u> curaque solutum.   44-6

vi   <u>curaeque sequaces</u>
     nec <u>metuunt</u> sonitus armorum nec fera tela
     <u>audacterque</u> inter reges rerumque potentis
     <u>versantur</u> neque fulgorem <u>reverentur</u> ab auro
     nec clarum vestis splendorem purpureai   48-52

vii in tenebris cum vita laboret.   54

viii hunc igitur terrorem animi <u>tenebrasque</u> necessest
     non <u>radii solis</u> neque <u>lucida tela</u> diei
     <u>discutiant</u>, sed naturae species ratioque.   59-61

Professor West's analysis of the metaphorical motif which runs through
the passage and into the final simile can usefully be quoted here as a pre-
lude to further discussion (cross-references in small Roman numerals or
      brackets mine). He begins by referring to the light metaphor in
the second half of the paragraph; there "fear is contrasted with martial
panoply (40ff) and worldly power (47ff) and Lucretius expresses this con-
trast in terms of light, the glow of gold (51), and the shining brilliance
of purple robes (52). Despite these dazzling appurtenances our life is
spent in darkness (54). To justify this claim Lucretius argues that although
we live in daylight we behave like little boys in the darkness (55ff, the
simile - cf. p.126). At the end we revert to the three weaving lines (59-
61 = i 146-8; ii 55-61 = iii 87-93)...In i 146-8 the shuttles of the sun
were unable to dispel the darkness of fear and the reader saw them in

contrast with the light of philosophy; whereas now in the second book they are seen against the flashiness of power and wealth and the darkness in a child's bedroom.

"...this whole play with the darkness of our lives, the inadequacy of the worldly lights, and the light of Epicurean philosophy, runs through the whole of the introduction to this book and the 'light' vocabulary is inexhaustible, _templa serena_ (8), _pectora caeca_ (14), _aurea simulacra_ (24), _lampadas igniferas_ (25), _lumina nocturnis epulis_ (26), _argento fulget_ (27), _laqueata aurataque templa_ (28), _auro renidet_ (27) answered by _tempestas arridet_ (32 ii)."

After pointing out that this organic repetition of an image throughout the passage occurs in several other places in _DRN_ West returns to other images in the earlier part of the passage:

"Wealth can lay a bed of luxury for man (22 i); but Nature feels no lack if you lie out in the soft grass (29), sprinkled with flowers (33 iii); you don't get rid of fever if you lie on purple or on embroidered coverlets (33-6), where surely _textilibus in picturis_ answers _consperqunt viridantis floribus herbas_;..."

Finally West finds "the sudden intrusion of acoustical phenomena when the arms clash in 49 (vi) in the middle of all this visualisation" characteristic of Lucretius's "sensuous prodigality".

The "sensuous prodigality" is important and will have to be taken up later (p.131). But first, a few aspects of the light/darkness or fear/panoply and power contrast which West passes over may be mentioned. The legions seethe (fervere 41 iv) perhaps like columns of air seen over boiling water (but cf. p.134). Life struggles (laboret 54 vii) in darkness. This image fits in well with the imagery of the passage, a dark hovel contrasted with the palatial wealth of 50ff. But also it acts as a transition passage to bring in the idea of darkness without which Lucretius cannot introduce his repeated lines about children in darkness (ii 55ff).

The panoply image too[1] is carefully developed. It begins with an element of mockery, as the trappings of war rout fearful superstitions (44 v) and make fear itself so afraid that it leaves (45-6). But in reality it is the fears and cares that are the pursuers (sequaces 48 vi); they neither fear (ironical repetition of 'metuunt' 49) the clash of arms nor even the dreadful missiles. They cheerfully go among princes and potentates, and do not shrink from the gleam of gold or the bright sheen of crimson cloth (50-2). The link here with the war-pursuit image is not just the contrast between military and civil pomp, both equally vain to suppress our fears of death, but perhaps also a continuation of that image; the fears can't be defeated in battle and they can't be overawed in the subsequent peace-

[1] see previous page.

negotiations, however resplendent.[1]

In this way the simile, even though it is repeated, is integrated into the intricate metaphorical patterns of the passage. In fact the patterns are so intricate that the poet manages to sustain two images at once; both the light image and the panoply image run through line after line.

But to return to Lucretius's "sensuous prodigality" (p.130). The remarkable thing about the imagery is not so much its sustained quality as the fact that it is felt and gloried in - its sensuousness (in which it resembles Ennius's Eumenides translation - p.82). Strictly speaking West's light/darkness image occurs only in the last eight lines (54-61). It grows out of a contrast between the glitter of wealth and the serenity of frugality (20ff; and as he rightly points out can be traced even further back, to 'templa serena' 8 'pectora caeca' 14). And there light is felt principally as a sensuous element, not as an intellectual element in an image. Its sensuousness is first hinted at in 22 (i). Then it occurs openly in the nocturnal banquet, at 26, and thereafter casts a sheen over the rest of the passage. It plays an important part in that description of a lavish banquet (lampadas 25 lumina 26 fulget renidet 27) and also in the description of a springtime picnic which Lucretius contrasts with it. There it is not explicitly mentioned, but it is obvious that if the weather smiles (32) than the sun is shining; besides the flowers are actively green (viridantis 33): they glow. The play of light, then, occupies the poet long before the emergence of a contrast with darkness.

Light as an image is thus only one factor in the sensuous quality of description for which the passage is so memorable. It is not even the only sensuous factor. As an image it is the link between three images; the 'templa serena' metaphor,[2] the wealth/frugality contrast and the light/darkness image. But it is only one of several sensuous elements in the second image. 'Aurea simulacra' (cf. West cited on p.130) is only incidentally connected with light. The statues shine indeed but with the deep sensuous glitter of gold, like the coffered and gilded beams (28); moreover they have the grace of human shape, whose connexion with light as a sensuous element (as opposed to something necessary for them to be seen) is incidental; it just happens that the beauty of the statues is highlighted

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[1] The actions of 'metus' (48) are underlined by subtle variations of the sentence-structure; the negative aspect of fear is emphasised by 'nec (49) ...neque' (51): but the idea of boldness is introduced by a positive 'que' (audacterque 50).

[2] Apart from its obvious connotations, the quiet precinct of the wise and the beautiful temples of the gods, 'templa' also recalls Ennius's 'caeli caerula templa' (Annals Vahlen 1 49) with its implications of much light (a piece of Ennian sensuousness like the Eumenides translation referred to above).

by the gleam of the torches. The house sparkles (27) but with silver. The torches themselves do not give light, but fire (25) which indeed creates light, but has its own sensuous, flickering attraction. The sensuous music of the lyre, with its emotive echo (28), has nothing to do with light. The most important quality of the picture, then, is not simply the presence of light but its presence as one element in a sumptuous appeal to all the senses (smell if we count the smoke of the torches, touch the tactile quality of the statues and taste the banquet itself).

But it is an artificial attraction, and against it Lucretius sets the sensuousness of nature. His picnickers are softly reclining (prostrati 29 - a luxurious word) in the pleasant shade of a tree beside the soothing flow of a stream (an appeal to the reader's ear as well as to his eye, and, in Italy, his dry palate). The weather is not just literally warm; it also has the human warmth of a smile (32). Moreover, Lucretius overlays his pleasant flowers and bright green grass with an attractive hint of myth. The flowers have been scattered by the seasons of the year, namely the beautiful Hours, attendants of Flora (cf. v 739ff). The contrasting pleasures of nature are thus equally sensuous (for smell we can count the smell of the flowers, and for taste, the picnic which Lucretius implies but, like the banquet, does not mention).

Lucretius is really cheating. He endows his natural scene with attributes which it does not possess in real life but might do if it occurred in literature or legend. The weather cannot smile - but Jupiter, the god of the weather, can. Nymphs don't occur in real life - but they seem real enough in Homer, or Theocritus. Or indeed, in Ennius. Lucretius could have found both his smiling weather god and his seasons[1] in the <u>Annales</u> -

> Iuppiter hic risit, tempestatesque serenae
> riserunt omnes risu Iovis omnipotentis.

> Ann. Incert. (Ann. i Steuart) 457-8 Vahlen

> aestatem autumnus sequitur, post acer hiemps it.

> Ann. xvi 424 Vahlen

It is possible that Lucretius is adding to the grace of his description the further attraction of <u>literary imitation</u>,[2] with its intellectual charm of recognition and comparison with the passage which is imitated, and its sensuous pleasure of recalling the beauty of the passage imitated at the same time as the reader enjoys what is written in front of him. In that

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[1] the context of Ann. 424 is lost, but perhaps the seasons were accompanied by the goddess or nymph of spring. Where they survive, witness Egeria (Ann. ii 119 Vahlen) Ennius's nymphs are convincing enough.

[2] compare with imitation of previous authors in Georgic ii 35ff, p.153f .

case Lucretius is increasing the sensual charm of his picture by even more indirect means. A reader as educated as Memmius would then be intended not only to visualise the countryside and the gods which inhabit it in legend, but also to recall purple passages in Ennius and perhaps, less closely, the pastoral landscapes of Theocritus. And these evocative associations of the _Annales_ do not end there; Ennius himself is thinking of Homer's Zeus (eg. Iliad viii 38).[1]

This may be fanciful. The resemblance of language between Lucretius and Ennius, though genuine (the 'tempestas' smiles in each case) is not very close. Lucretius may not be expecting his readers to recall the very passages which he himself has remembered, perhaps half-consciously; despite that the atmosphere of legend which overlays his natural description has an inescapable literary quality and, one might add, a very attractive one.

But it would be wrong to imagine that the description of the banquet by night has no association with myth and literature. The description of the statues –

> ...aurea sunt iuvenum simulacra per aedes
>
> lampadas igniferas manibus retinentia dextris,
>
> lumina nocturnis epulis ut suppeditentur   24–6

is a literal translation from Homer's lines in _Odyssey_ vii

$$\text{χρύσειοι δ'ἄρα κοῦροι ἐϋδμήτων ἐπὶ βωμῶν}$$
$$\text{ἕστασαν αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχοντες}$$
$$\text{φαίνοντες νύκτας κατὰ δώματα δαιτυμόνεσσι.}$$
                                                              100–2

Homer is describing how Odysseus stands admiring the palace of Alcinous while the king and heroes carouse within. If it can be assumed that Lucretius is not just borrowing the passage,[2] but also intends his readers to recognise the borrowing and to imagine that the banquet is as grand and heroic as that at which Odysseus related his adventures to Alcinous, then he is cheating to increase the attraction of his banquet scene just as much as he cheats, so to speak, to enhance the charm of his picture of a picnic.

Thus both descriptions are highly sensuous. The appeal of the second description is increased by mythological reference, and perhaps also by

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[1] Although as Miss Steuart points out in a useful note (after G Pascoli's edition, Livorno, 1911) "the smile of universal nature does not follow the smile of Zeus in Homer" (Steuart p.215).

[2] According to Bailey (p.29) Homer is the one poet of whom Lucretius makes a purely poetical use, and therefore perhaps one intended to be recognised.

reminiscence of purple passages in Ennius and Homer. It is possible that the first description is intended to be enjoyed simply at face value. However it contains a literal translation from the Odyssey which is probably an open reference to a Homeric banquet - Homeric associations which once recognised add further to its charm.

So far it seems that the sensuousness of luxury and that of the simple life in nature have been given equal attention. But in the next comparison Lucretius describes the very luxury whose value he derides - "figured coverlets and brightly-blushing crimson" (35) in highly sensuous terms, while the sensible opposite - "plebeian cloth" (36) seems dull indeed. The very metaphor with which the poet seeks to make luxury ashamed of itself ('rubenti', "blushing") invests it with an emotional quality, almost a personality, which the plain alternative completely lacks.

Moreover, in the application of this moral lesson from the experience of our bodies to that of our minds (37-61) the sensuous appeal of luxury and power is repeatedly apparent, however useless the poet declares them to be. In 37 the lure of "treasure" is unprofitable, in the next line the heady emotion of "glory". At first West's "martial panoply" (40-3; cited p.129) looks like an exception. It is described in terms of vigorous action ("seethe") rather than the glittering splendour which has come to be associated with the word "panoply". That is, until the useless missiles of 49 become the "shining shafts" of the sun (60); equally useless, according to Lucretius, and shining literally, not metaphorically, but enough to cast a glow of sensuality back over the real weapons which are mentioned in 49 and can be assumed in 40ff. Lastly, with the sensuous phrase "the gleam that comes from gold" (51) and its even more attractive companion "the bright sheen of crimson cloth" (52; reminiscences of 24-8 and 35) Lucretius informs us that even royal splendour cannot dispel the fear of death.

But the evocative quality of his language betrays him. Right from the sentence (35ff) after his careful weighing of the attractions of a banquet against a picnic (23-33; and even there the honours are equally divided, where the picnic ought to be more attractive if Lucretius is to convince us) the poet evokes with vivid language the sensuous appeal of the very thing whose futility he is asserting; luxury and power. The natural attractions of the countryside are not mentioned again in the passage. The creative artist in Lucretius seems to be fascinated by precisely the brilliant worldly display which, as a thinker, he rejects.

Lucretius's subjective outlook can be seen working at several levels in this passage. It works towards unifying feeling with language through

the imagery, mainly associated with light, which runs through the passage and forms a strong link with the simile. At the end the image becomes openly symbolic, when light is identified with reason and contrasted with darkness which is fear.

At another level light is used not as an image but as a sensuous element, along with other sensuous elements, to bring home the contrast between wealthy pleasures (24-8) and enjoyment of nature (29-33) at an emotional as well as an intellectual level; to make it felt as well as understood. Inconsistently, however, the poet goes on to give more play to the sensuous language of wealth but not to that of nature (35-61). Here the emotional response is at odds with the ideas and has got out of hand, so to speak.

Finally, in the passage contrasting wealth with simple pleasures (24-33) Lucretius uses literary reminiscence to add to the sensuous attraction of each picture.

Hence there is a great deal of subjectivity or "empathy" in the proem to ii, most but not all giving an underlying unity to the philosophical ideas expressed.

b. The second passage contains a different kind of imagery, and the "simile" with which it ends is integrated in a different way from the simile of the children in darkness (cf. pp.129-31). The distinction between new and habitual metaphors is also less relevant. But for the sake of consistency it is retained in the list of metaphors which are grouped together here for convenience.

New metaphors:

i	sensus expromere cogit	887
ii	permota nova re	900
iii	leti vitare vias	918
iv	vulgumque turbamque animantum	921
v	id quod Detrahitur	926
vi	vermisque effervere terram	928

Habitual metaphors - Lucretian:

vii	animum quod percutit ipsum,	
	quod movet et varios sensus expromere cogit	886-7

viii cum sunt quasi <u>putrefacta</u> per imbris   898

     (cf. putorem cum sibi nacta est/...tellus   872-3

        and (xiii) below.)

ix   <u>conciliantur</u> ita ut debent animalia gigni   901

cf.x   <u>coetu concilioque</u>

/ nil facient praeter vulgum turbamque   .   920-1

xi   sensus <u>iungitur</u> omnis

   visceribus nervis venis...   904-5

xii   suum <u>dimittunt</u> corpore sensum

   atque alium <u>capiunt</u>...   924-5

xiii terram/...cum putor cepit   (cf. (viii))   929

- occurring outside Lucretius:

xiv ne credas sensile <u>gigni</u>   888

    (cf. me gigni dicere sensus   893

       debent animalia gigni   901)

xv   vitalem <u>reddere</u> sensum   890

xvi qua sint <u>praedita</u> forma   895

xvii vermiculos <u>pariunt</u>   899

The much greater proportion of habitual metaphors and the small number of complex new metaphors is apparent at once. It will be argued later (p.137) that other factors make up for this deficiency. But it is a noticeable lack, so much so that only two metaphors ('leti vitare vias' and 'vermis effervere terram') and perhaps the 'putor' image, are developed beyond the tendency of the elements of the passage to be described in animate terms which is examined below. Those metaphors can be discussed here separately first.

In 'leti vitare vias' Lucretius has expanded the concept of the atoms "not dying" (a simple animate term, in line with the rest of the passage as will be seen) into a condensed and ambiguous reference. It may refer to the roads which lead to Death, ie. the Underworld. 'Leti' resembles in sound the mythical river Lethe in Hades. Or perhaps it refers to roads along which a monster Death advances, which mortal beings must not cross.

One is an image from myth, the other from a folk-tale like 'Cupid and Psyche'. But either way the atoms are being seen as legendary heroes, with the implied correspondence between the human and natural worlds which was mentioned on p.84.

And this subjective identification of the poet with the atoms is marked by unusual effects of rhythm and alliteration; the line has the unusual "Augustan" rhythm (Raven p.96) of caesuras at $1\frac{1}{2} - 2\frac{3}{4} - 3\frac{1}{2}$ to express the movement aside of the atoms as they "avoid the ways of death". The rare rhythm is accompanied by alliteration in v and assonance in $\bar{i}/\check{i}$ and $\bar{a}$. Like the simile (926-9) this metaphor shows a heightening of <u>ars</u> to accompany a specially vivid image (pp.122f).

'Vermis effervere terram' - an image within the simile, outside the body of the argument - has already been discussed on p.127. This image is fitted into the passage not by being joined to the main sequence of images, like the simile in ii 55-8 (p.131) but by being referred to twice before as the best illustration of the spontaneous generation of feeling (871-3, 898-9);[1] here it has its grand culminating statement. In 872 the image is particularly close because the same picture of decay as a disease is present: but there the earth catches the disease of decay - 'sibi nacta est', the ethic dative ' sibi' providing a nice homely touch - here decay comes over the earth; the image is more sinister.

One more comment. Surprisingly enough, Lucretius's sympathy is mostly with the little worms (vermiculos, 899) as they roll around with his grotesquely exaggerated alliteration in v e r(r) - an example of his ability to identify with all parts of the natural world which is a significant unifying factor in the poem.

But a greater unity is given to the passage by images which at first are less obvious. The matter which creates sensation, although itself insensate, is consistently described in animate terms (a characteristic of this book, cf. Townend, Lucretius, p.96). What better way of bringing the argument to life or of giving it continuity? During the argument Lucretius invests his "friendly little atoms" (Townend's phrase) with irony, pathos and even mock grandeur (cf. p.140).

He begins with a gentle mockery of those who believe that basic matter itself has sensation. Later on the very idea rouses the atoms to helpless laughter (976-9, quoted p.148; cf. Townend, ibid. p.97). But for the moment his irony is more subtle. In a series of human images (i, vii) an

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[1] 898-9 plays the part of rounding off a subsection of the argument (886-902, v. Bailey p.941) - a minor version of the role played by 926-9 (p.128).

unknown extraneous influence (quid id est 886) strikes, moves and forces
the mind to come out with certain feelings or "sentiments" (Latham, Penguin)
to the effect that sensation can't arise from the insensate. The use of
'sensus', a key word in the argument, in the different sense of 'opinions',
the opinions at that which the mind comes out with (expromere) as if it
were itself a person, is ironic; and the irony is compounded when the mind
is actually forced by something else to give its opinion. It is obviously
reluctant to take such a foolish step. There is a suggestion that just
as it is inappropriate for the mind to express its opinions, instead of
waiting for the reader to whom the mind belongs to express them (the
inappropriateness is indirectly suggested by the meaning of 'sensus' - =
opinions -   unexpected because we at first take it to mean "sensations"
as it does elsewhere in the paragraph) - in the same way it is inappropriate
for basic matter to have sensation, instead of waiting to be built up into
proper sense-giving 'concilia'.

The extraneous influence which forces the mind to express this unsuit-
able thought is kept deliberately vague at first. For a time we are left
to guess at the provenance of this mysterious impulse; appropriately enough
because, as it turns out, it is just a casual impression and not based
on certain reason (the right reason follows in 891-6).

Lucretius's manner towards the right reason changes to a suitably
affectionate one; he prescribes the reader's reactions subjectively by
"implicit bias" (Otis, cited p.79). The conventional metaphor 'gigni'
which he uses three times (xiv 888,893,901) means "to be produced". But
it keeps a suggestion of its original meaning "to be born"; sensation, like
a young animal, is born where there was no sensation before - in other words
'gigni' has exactly the right implications for the argument. But there is
also a hint of the tender feelings aroused by such a birth; sensation,
generated as it is from what has no sensation, is a precious and welcome
phenomenon. This pleasant conventional image (with which cf. 'creant' 892)
is elaborated. Wood and turf literally "give birth to" (pariunt 899 xvii)
worms (vermiculos', affectionate diminutive); because the atoms are moved
into new 'concilia' by the rain (just as the male seed creates 'concilia'
from which young animals are born), and inevitably animals must be born
from the new 'concilia' (debent animalia gigni 901). In the last word Luc-
retius picks up 'gigni' and reminds us of its literal meaning. Even a con-
ventional metaphor, then, is used by Lucretius all the time with a conscious-
ness of its original meaning.

Other conventional metaphors are used with the same care. In 'reddere'
(890 xv) 're-' has its sense of "due". Stone, wood and earth can't give
the sensation which they ought to (re-) because they are not in the right

order.

In 'praedita' (895 xvi) the seeds of sensation must be treated with respect and "endowed" with the correct shape, in the dignified image which Lucretius often uses of matter.

The end of this section of the argument flowers into a little picture of the spontaneously-born worms, (898-901) like the one Lucretius uses at 872 and expands at 929 (cf. p.126f). It shares one image with them (putrefacta, 898 viii). As was suggested earlier (p.137) there is some pathos in this sinister image of worms springing from mother earth. Two other images are used. One is Lucretius's usual metaphor for the formation of compounds (conciliantur 901 ix - another human image, see below) and the other less conventional. The bodies of matter are moved right out of their old formations (permota ex ordinibus 900 ii) by a "newcomer" (Bailey's translation for 'nova re'). 'Permota' is a strong word, and the description is accompanied by an appropriate metrical upheaval - the monosyllabic ending of line 900.

But the word 'ordinibus' suggests a further dimension to the picture. The atoms are like soldiers being brusquely moved out of their ranks upon the arrival of some new figure of authority, and then reforming (conciliantur). In this way an idea of the efficiency which is necessary for the proper ordering of nature is added to the comfortable image of birth and creation.

Finally, in the background, behind the idea of rain falling and creating life in the earth which all three worm-pictures share is the myth to which Lucretius refers in i 250-1 -

> postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater aether
> in gremium matris terrai praecipitiavit;

- the marriage of Heaven and Earth.

The next important image in the paragraph is that of "joining", picking up 'conciliantur' (901). At first Lucretius ignores the human associations of the image and concentrates on its physical aspect. Sensation is "joined"(iungitur 904 xi) to flesh, sinews and veins - actually it is produced by their joining in the appropriate 'concilium', but by transferring the idea of joining to the association between sensation and the 'concilium' of flesh etc. Lucretius emphasises how closely one follows from the other; only let the right 'concilium' be formed and sensation will automatically result.

The poet then returns to an examination of opposing views (907-26). He begins to exploit the human associations of 'concilium' and a note of irony creeps in again. In 920-3 (x) he points out that if sentient atoms form a 'concilium', they will not make up a useful structure but just a

mob. The sentient atoms lack the discipline of proper insentient atoms.
Lucretius ingeniously contrasts his usual ordered 'concilium', like a meet-
ing of the senate, with a new picture, perhaps of the populace milling around
outside the meeting - 'vulgum turbamque animantum' (921 iv). Moreover,
the sentient atoms will not be able to enjoy the proud name of 'primordia
rerum';

> qui poterunt igitur rerum primordia dici...?   (917)

which alone will give them the godlike quality of avoiding death (et leti
vitare vias iii cf. p.136f). Lucretius is comparing them ironically with
such heroic figures as Hercules.

In the last group of images before the "simile" with which the para-
graph ends Lucretius becomes more overtly ironical. The sentient atoms
are credited with actions which are actually only taking place in the
thought-processes of the poet's imaginary opponent. They act out his
thoughts in an embarassingly concrete way, too; by sending their own sen-
sation away and capturing another.[1] At this point Lucretius drops the
personification and the two actions are put into the passive, so that the
only person who is really responsible for them is seen to be the misguided
opponent. It is by him that sensation is first bestowed (attribui) - an
ironically ceremonial word, implying that it is superfluous - and then
taken away (detrahitur 926 v). The second action is as crude as 'attribui'
is elaborate. Lucretius emphasises his opponent's lack of finesse by enjambe-
ment with a strong following stop in line 926.[2]

Without a break after the increasing mockery of these last images (and
building on the same elaborate unit of rhythm, v. p.122f) Lucretius finishes
the paragraph with the more developed and serious imagery of the "simile"
which has already been discussed (p.126f; p.137).

There are few striking images in this passage, and none with the sensuous
quality which is so prominent in the proem to ii. With the exception of
the mock-heroic metaphor in line 918, what striking images there are here
are concentrated at the end of sections of the argument where their obvious
poetic force has a part to play in the structure of the paragraph.

But it is a sequence of commonplace images, not at all striking in
themselves, which play the most significant role in the passage. At a
didactic level they lend sympathy to the poet's own views and ridicule to
his opponent's. At a poetic level they lend an element of humanity to

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[1] One is reminded of the scene in 'Down with Skool' where prepositions
attack the gerunds and force them to take their cases.

[2] cf. Appendix iii p.176.

Lucretius's materialistic argument. It is not just this passage which gains a unity of feeling, of subjective outlook from this serial imagery, in addition to the formal unity of the argument. As Townend points out (see p.137) the atoms are described in human terms throughout Book ii and the whole poem, giving an underlying unity of feeling and outlook to both.

So perhaps the "friendly little atoms" make up for the lack of vividness and the sensual quality of description in the proem - after all they do not counter the drift of the argument, like some of Lucretius's sensuous writing, but instead reinforce it at an emotional level. At another level they are more significant than the images of the proem because they give the whole poem a backbone of feeling which it needs to make it more than philosophy in picturesque verse. In its poetic suggestiveness Lucretius's serial imagery resembles the serial imagery of the Georgics (see pp.149ff), and that is unlikely to be a coincidence.

But there are more atoms in Book ii than elsewhere in DRN, and perhaps Lucretius found other parts of the argument more difficult to humanise so effectively. It is worth examining the third passage (v 614-49) - like the second seemingly unadorned (p.113) but from another part of the argument - as a check.

c.   A distinction between new and habitual metaphors is as relevant in the passage from Book v as it is in the first passage, but for different reasons which are explained below.

First two habitual or conventional metaphors must be considered. In

Nec ratio solis simplex et recta patescit   614

Lucretius has adapted his usual 'patet' with an inchoative suffix - "it does not begin to be obvious". There is no apparent reason for this variation. It is easy to put forward the unworthy explanation that it has been made 'metri causa'. But the inchoative ending is justified by the fact that it fits the sound patterns of the line (e, c, s, x). In any case the metaphor is not a striking one. In

simplex his rebus reddita causaet   620

a cause is "imparted" to the phenomena Lucretius is describing, just as the seeds of matter were "endowed" (praedita) with shape in the second passage (ii 895, p.139). But unlike 'praedita' there 'reddita' does not fit into a pattern of humanising the subject matter of the passage. On the face of it a pattern or serial of metaphors is less likely in any case, because in this book Lucretius is not explaining one basic phenomenon, the behaviour of atoms, but a number of separate phenomena. It is that which makes new metaphors necessary here.

The new metaphors, which form a considerable body, may usefully be
listed here before being discussed separately.

i   (sol) brumalis adeat flexus[a] atque inde revertens[b]
      cancri se ut vertat metas[c] ad solstitialis,

ii   lunaque mensibus id spatium[a] videatur obire
      annua sol in quo consumit tempora cursu[b].   616-20

iii   cum caeli turbine ferri (cf. xiv)   624

iv   evanescere[a] enim rapidas illius et acris
      imminui[b] subter viris,

v   ideoque relinqui[a]
     paulatim solem cum posterioribu'[b] signis,

vi   inferior multo quod sit quam fervida signa.   625-8

vii a.   quanto demissior (lunae)
     cursus abest procul a caelo terrisque propinquat,
    b tanto posse minus cum signis tendere cursum.

viii a flaccidiore etiam quanto iam turbine fertur
      inferior quam sol, tanto magis omnia signa
    b hanc adipiscuntur circum praeterque feruntur.

ix   propterea fit ut haec ad signum quodque reverti
    mobilius videatur,

x   ad hanc quia signa revisunt.   629-36

xi   (aer) alternis certo fluere alter tempore possit,   638

xii a qui queat aestivis solem detrudere signis...
   ...b et qui reiciat gelidis a frigoris umbris   639,641

xiii quae volvunt magnos in magnis orbibus annos   644

xiv aestibus inter se diversis sidera ferri. (cf. iii)   649

It is instructive to compare this passage with the corresponding one
from Cicero's Aratea (p.69f), which it resembles rather less than the Storm

Signs passage of Vergil resembles Cicero's translation (cf.p.76ff). In fact it is the passage where Lucretius borrows most from the _Aratea_ (p.70n1) which shows how comparatively little he was influenced by it. But there are obvious borrowings; compare Aratea 333

> annua conficiens vertenti tempora cursu

with DRN v 619

> annua sol in quo consumit tempora cursu   (ii b)

and Aratea 338

> tot caelum rursus fugientia signa revisunt

with v 636

> ad hanc quia signa revisunt | (x).

Lucretius's main purpose in borrowing from Cicero is different from the literary imitation of the first passage (p.133f) and from Vergil's literary imitation of the _Aratea_ just referred to. He is interested merely in borrowing phrases to describe a phenomenon which he may not fully understand (Bailey p.1414ff) - even though his explanation is not the same as Aratus's. The rather unsubtle wholesale pinching of Cicero's phrases also suggests that Lucretius's aim is cannibalistic rather than allusive.

Aratus describes the Zodiac belt as moving transversely between the Aristotelian crystal spheres: however his explanation is very difficult to follow. By comparison Lucretius's different explanation seems like a model of clarity, which it certainly is not (Bailey p.1417). On a straightforwardly didactic level, then, Lucretius's version is preferable.

But Cicero's version has had some poetic influence on Lucretius, despite what has just been said. Cicero, expanding and adapting Aratus, attempts to enliven his explanation with new metaphors. For example, Aratus's list of the Zodiac signs (Phaen. 545-9) has become a procession in Cicero, full of verbs of motion - cedit - sequitur - consequitur - vadere pergit etc. (321-31). In Cicero the sun goes on a yearly journey (cursu 333).[1] Cicero also introduces a number of metaphors which are very appropriate the smooth leisured movement of the heavenly bodies - 'labens' 329, 'labentia' 336 (cf. 'caeli subter labentia signa' DRN i 2), 'volvens' 319 (cf. 'volvunt' xiii above and 'medio volvuntur sidera lapsu' Aen. iv 524),

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[1] The metaphor replaces a neater one in Aratus of the Sun leading on the year (551-3; cf. perhaps Lucretius's Pageant of the Seasons v 735ff):

> ἐν τοῖς ἠέλιος φέρεται δυοκαίδεκα πᾶσιν,
> πάντ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄγων καὶ οἱ περὶ τοῦτον ἰόντι
> κύκλον ἀέξονται πᾶσαι ἐπικάρπιοι ὧραι.

Cicero omits the second half entirely from his translation.

'tranans' 297 and especially 338 of Night

> Hoc spatium tranans caecis nox conficit umbris

which Lucretius must be imitating in the line following this passage;

> At nox obruit ingenti caligine terras   v 650.[1]

Here Lucretius has a model for turning the revolution of the heavenly bodies into something more than a dry succession of facts, just as Vergil found in the Storm Signs something more than a plain list of observations: though the Storm Signs are already much more lively in Aratus then the Zodiac. And as with the Storm Signs Cicero's subjective identification, through the imagery, with what he is describing is greater than Aratus's; though Cicero's translation of the Zodiac is in turn far less successful than his Storm Signs version.

But Lucretius takes up Cicero's metaphor of the sun's journey all the same. He interprets 'cursu' literally as "race", and expands it to include both his opening statement of the problems of explaining the sun and moon's movements, and his first explanation of them (616-36). A series of images from a chariot race is developed, running through the first half of the passage and accounting for the majority of metaphors in it (i-x and xiv).[2]

An analysis of the image is given first, followed by consideration of it.

i   The sun approaches its winter turning point (a) turns back (b) and returns to its turning point at the other solstice (c). Here Lucretius uses the technical term, 'meta', as in the Circus Maximus.

ii   The moon traverses the race-course (a - spatium) in a month while the sun runs the race in a year (b).

iii But the nearer the sun is to the earth, the less it (or he) can be carried by the current because

iv   as if it were a horse, its strength vanishes (a) and is sapped(b),

v   and so the sun is gradually left behind (a) with the stragglers (b) because

vi   it is inferior (as well as lower, the word is ambiguous) to those

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[1] As was suggested on p.70. The leisurely movement of Cicero's metre corresponds to the motion of the stars he describes. Perhaps it has influenced Lucretius's metre here, for the Lucretian passage contains unusually spondaic lines, free of enjambement.

[2] An account of the theory Lucretius is using may be helpful, although according to Bailey, as has been said, he has not fully grasped it. The passage deals with theories of the relative motion of the sun and heavenly bodies, the first of which (Democritus's) holds that the heavenly bodies are carried by the whirl (turbo) of the aether (caelum) which decreases in force towards its centre (the earth), so that if bodies come lower towards the earth they will lose impetus and fall behind relative to those bodies which are still high in the aether and away from the slack current round the earth. In this way the sun seems to move through the signs of the Zodiac – actually, being higher and having greater impetus, they move past it. Similarly with

spirited stars ('fervida' = "fiery with youth", eg. in Horace, AP 116, Od. i.9 10 and iv 13 26), which overtake it.

vii Just so the moon; the more its (or her) course droops near the earth being dispirited (a 'demissus' = both "low" and "downcast") the less she can keep up with the other stars (b 'tendere cursum' = both "direct her course" and also "strain it", with the idea of a struggle).

viii Because the weaker the current, like a horse, which carries her, being lower than the sun (a - and inferior), the more the other heavenly bodies, including the sun, overtake her (b literal meaning of 'adipiscor') and rush past.

ix That is why the moon seems to return to each constellation -
x actually they come back to her. (This last point does not continue the 'race' image, although Lucretius obscures the fact by using 'reverti' again (cf. 616) in a different sense. 'Revisunt' (636) has nothing to do with racing, although it is linked by alliteration with 'reverti'. Is is another borrowing from Cicero, Aratea 338.

At the end of the paragraph Lucretius returns vaguely to his image (xiv) of the current (aestibus) as the horse bearing (ferri) the moon and stars. Here too, then, the grand image - the drifting clouds - is linked to the main sequence of metaphors in the passage (p.128); though "integrated" would be too strong a word for this vague connexion.[1]

Apart from its sustained quality and picturesqueness the image is apt for two reasons. It keeps the traditional picture of the sun god and his sister the moon alternately driving their chariots through heaven. Secondly the Circus Maximus is particularly apt because an enormous course in a huge arena is seen from a great distance by the spectators at the Circus. By far the largest and most remote circular movement experienced in Roman daily life is compared to the vast and enormously remote motion of the stars in the arena of heaven.

Needless to say the comparison is not perfect. For example, though the planets move at differing speeds and overtake each other they do not actually race, and indeed move at a very slow and dignified pace. On the other hand Apollo moves at breakneck speed, but this is because he has so far to travel, not because he is racing anyone.

A more serious fault is this. There is only one 'turbo' by which all the heavenly bodies are borne along, whereas each chariot would be pulled by its own team of horses. In fact this part of the comparison would be better applied to the second theory, in which each planet and star has its own independent wind (643-5).

[1] for the remaining three images xi-xiii see p.146.

But the real weakness of the comparison is that it is so submerged, so to speak. Apart from phrases like 'metas' (617) and 'adipiscuntur circum' (634) the words do not refer specifically to a race, but they have a more general meaning which can be applied in that sense (like 'relinqui', 'fertur'). It is only when the reader pores over the passage - if he does so - that the real meaning of the chain of images, and its remarkable consistency, becomes apparent. This is not just a literary criticism: a more clearly developed race-image (eg. a simile) would probably have made the argument more intelligible, as well as more attractive. As it is the imagery lacks the sensuous quality of the brilliant images in the first passage (despite the faint suggestion of the myth of Apollo and Diana) and fails to give the general sympathetic impression of the serial imagery in the second. But it is more ingenious than either.

Before general conclusions about the imagery in this passage are reached the other images must be rapidly reviewed. With one exception they are of a similar quality.

xi   Here Lucretius adapts 'fluere' from its literal meaning to refer to his current of air in the aether (cf. ῥέιν in Greek). The adaptation seems to be dictated by scientific necessity rather than poetic considerations.

xii. The currents (a) dislodge the sun from the signs which preside over summer and (b) throw it back from the icy shades of winter. (Both terms are military. The last phrase is a delightfully imaginative metathesis for the winter Zodiac signs).

xiii 'Volvunt' has a double sense. The sun and moon as they roll round (cf. Cicero's use of 'volvens' of the Zodiacal belt, Aratea 319) roll on the years (cf. Vergil's 'volventibus annis', Homer's 'περιπλομενων ἐνιαυτων '). Lucretius's use is in the middle between Cicero's and Vergil's. It is more difficult, and perhaps less satisfying, than either.

The serial metaphors in this passage spring more from the poet's intelligence than from his intuition. They are noticed but not closely felt by the reader; they add to the interest of the description rather than inviting him to identify sympathetically with the heavenly bodies. The difference is made clearer by two other images. The picture of the drifting clouds (p.127) obviously makes a direct appeal to the senses and as has been seen (p.128) Lucretius likes to make such a poetic impression at the end of a paragraph. The brilliant sketch of winter (xii) - quite unconnected with the serial image and only an afterthought at the end of another metaphor - reminds the reader how vivid Lucretius's incidental imagery can be. It emphasises by contrast how he has not made the most of the poetic, as opposed to the intellectual possibilities of his serial metaphor.

But this sequence of metaphors does nothing to detract from the animate aura of Lucretius's material, even if it does not greatly add to it. And how much it does add can be seen by reference of Cicero's pallid metaphor which inspired it - itself more subjective, more sympathetic than Aratus's version. Besides it shows the remarkable versatility of the poet's imagery. The two passages from the argument differ as much between themselves as they do from the proem; there we have imagery used largely for its sensuous value, in the second passage a sequence of metaphors linked loosely and used to give an animate quality to the argument and here a true serial image, carefully worked out but less subjective.

The truth is that the sensuous quality of the imagery in the first passage - its purple quality so to speak - would not be welcome in some parts of the poem because it does not entirely benefit the argument. The play with the powerful forces of light and fear, the brilliant descriptive writing, the charm of literary imitation all have their significance in the role which the proem has to play - that of _captatio benevolentiae_ for the rest of the book. At the same time these images renew the undercurrent of comparison between all the parts of Lucretius's universe, and especially between things and man, which is characteristic of the whole poem. But at some points they predominate over the argument and run counter to it, as if the poet enjoyed them too much for their own sake.

The images from the paragraphs of exposition avoid this difficulty. Those from the second passage particularly draw the comparison between things and man much more specifically and more insistently, because they run through the whole of the exposition in that book. What is apparently a difference of style between the brilliant pictorial writing of the prologue and the more restrained imagery of the argument (where vivid pictorial writing is never completely absent, of course) is really a matter of tact. The argument of Lucretius's poem _magnis de rebus_ is its _raison d'etre_, to be underlined by the imagery where it is being expounded but never obscured by it. The argument thus brought to life is able to give a poetic unity ot _DRN_ (as was suggested before, p.84) as well as the completeness of logic; so ultimately the humble metaphors of the exposition are as important as the 'vivida vis animi' of Lucretius's most famous descriptions and pictures.

iii Before leaving Lucretius's imagery it will be helpful as well as pleasant to consider briefly the _range over which Lucretius compares things to men in DRN_, as he does in the second passage, moving from simple metaphors to similes and descriptions. But this time examples can be chosen from the whole poem where Vergil would have been able to find them - for

my point is that Vergil has developed the tendency of his imagery to des-
cribe nature in human terms not in the main from Aratus, Cicero and Varro
of Atax but from Lucretius (p.78).

We can start with the inanimate atoms of the second book. They were
unknown outside Greek philosophical works and Lucretius had to invent his
own terms for them. His terms, like 'concilium' and 'coetus' have the
advantage of personifying them (as they do in ii 920-3, v. p.139f), and
this he pushes home with similes and analogies like this from the motes
in the sunbeam:[1]

> multa minuta modis multis per inane videbis
>
> corpora misceri radiorum lumine in ipso
>
> et velut aeterno certamine proelia pugnas
>
> edere turmatim certantia nec dare pausam,
>
> conciliis et discidiis exercita crebris.   ii 116-20

The atoms are seen in midget squadrons, taking part in tiny battles. Or
compare the delightfully picturesque and ironic <u>reductio ad absurdum</u> of
the idea that the atoms are animate:

> scilicet et risu tremulo concussa cachinnant
>
> et lacrimis spargunt rorantibus ora genasque.   ii 976-7

As has been said the poet is dealing with the atoms during three books (<u>DRN</u>
i-iii) and it is not long before the reader regards them as friendly pres-
ences (p.137).

Coming up the material scale, the same thing is done in passing, not
once but hundreds of times, with visible objects like mother earth and the
worms (p.137) or the shells:

> concharumque genus parili ratione videmus
>
> <u>pingere</u> telluris <u>gremium</u>, qua mollibus undis
>
> litoris incurvi <u>bibulam</u> <u>pavit</u> aequor harenam.   ii 374-6

and animals - eg. the cow looking for its calf (ii 352-70) the young lambs
(i 257-61) the animals in the prologue (i 12ff) and so on. The result is
that although Lucretius refuses to see anthropomorphic deities active in
the world (except Natura - p.128) the universe from the atoms upwards seems
to be alive. It seems as has been said to reflect the human world. It is
this aspect of Lucretius's imagery rather than its magnificence and vivid-
ness which Vergil imitates.

But in the <u>Georgics</u> imagery no longer has the framework of argument
within which to work. Vergil's answer is to develop the consistent and
organic nature which we see in Lucretius's atomic imagery, for instance,
until it is complete and works throughout the poem. Whereas Lucretius

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[1]This image is originally Pythagorean however - p.20.

uses his humanising metaphors of 'concilium', 'coetus' etc. along with inanimate metaphors of movement and reaction - 'confluo', 'subsido' etc. - Vergil describes almost everything in human terms. The poetic unity of Vergil's imagery underlies the poetic structure of the Georgics (pp.101-5)[1] which, as has been said, is in some ways more satisfying than the logical structure of ORN.

B. Imagery and Pictorial Writing in Vergil

i   An example of Vergil's imagery is needed, and it can be provided by the passage from Georgic ii (35-82) discussed before. In this passage Vergil is talking of plants, a topic where to some extent this human identification already existed; 'exire' is used of plants to mean "spring up" by Varro, Pliny and Columella (compare Lucretius's use of 'subigere' mentioned on p.91). But this humanising tendency, perhaps innate in Latin, is extended by Vergil so that every time plants are the subject, and often when they are the object, the language is that of human action. Not only plants either; one of the most striking metaphors refers to the earth

neu segnes iaceant terrae.   38

The parallel with Lucretius is obvious. But the ideas are linked more closely than they are in ORN (except in the different context of v 614-50, pp.141ff) - more in the way of the ambiguous successions of metaphorical language used by Catullus.[2] The idea of taming, teaching, civilising and bringing into line is repeated - 'fructus feros mollite' (36) 'exuerint silvestrem animum' (51) 'in quascumque voles artis haud tarda sequentur' (52) 'cogendae in sulcum (the usual metaphor is 'in ordinem', a military one) et multa mercede domandae' (62) 'docent' (77).

There is also the idea of the birth and growth of children; 'sterilis ...rami matris...adimunt fetus...urunt ferentem' (53-6) 'degenerant sucos oblita priores' (59) 'nascuntur' (65) 'nascitur' (68) 'fetu nucis' (69)

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[1]This is implied in Otis's account of Vergil's subjective style cited on p.80; but at the risk of some repetition it is worth setting out the practical implications here. The three separate elements which present Vergil's vision of the natural world - the structure of themes, the imagery, and also the rhythm (p.117f) are very closely linked. The themes (what Vergil says) the imagery (how he says it) and the rhythm (because of its expressive quality, his guarantee of the sincerity of what he says and how he says it) all present the same motif, the same message of man's close relationship with nature.

Some disadvantages of this meticulously consistent subjective style are discussed on p.151.

[2]see Appendix ii p.171 . This care with details perhaps springs from the "new poet" side of Vergil - cf. p.84f.

'steriles platani malos gessere valentis' (70) 'ornus incanuit' (like an old man, 71) 'tenuis rumpunt tunicas' (like children, 75) 'ingens exiit ad caelum...arbos, miraturque...' (80-2).[1]

These metaphors lack the brilliance, the power to astonish and the variety of many of Lucretius's. They are aimed almost exclusively at human-ising the plants, as has been suggested, just as Lucretius brings the atoms to life in Book ii. A better parallel would be the farming passage from Book v (206-17) discussed on pp.90-3, (q.v.) where Lucretius's language is not just human but sympathetic and "subjective" in Otis's sense (cf. p.80); the poet uses words which arouse an emotional reaction like 'perimunt' and 'vexant' of the plants' natural enemies. (To a lesser extent he uses this emotively biased language briefly when sympathising with the right reason in ii 891ff - see p.138 - and parodies it in ii 917f - see p.140). It has already been pointed out (p.92) that Vergil carries this tendency fur-ther; how much further can be seen in this passage where all the metaphors cited are not just human but biased so as to point the finger of sympathy.

The plants have to be "tamed" and "cast off their rustic frame of mind": they will learn "skills", have to be "forced into line": they are endan-gered by their mother's branches: "burst their tender" - emotional word - "tunics", sadly "degenerate" or against all expectation "bear healthy apples", like children, though sterile. For the ideas to be drawn from the human world is one thing. But all these ideas are drawn from the world of chil-dren, for which we feel special affection (as was suggested when consider-ing Lucretius's children in darkness simile on p.126). Not only that but they are concerned with the tender relationship between children and their parents (and significantly that adjective occurs in one of the metaphors just cited) and the care of parents for their upbringing. The subjective identification with what the poet is describing is much stronger than Luc-retius's with the atoms; the parti pris (to use Otis's expression - see p.80) is much more evident.[2] The reader is more immediately involved than he is in much of DRN.

And unlike Catullus (whose metaphors in Peleus and Thetis are subjec-tive in a very similar way)[3] Vergil is able to avoid monotony. Consider

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[1] Other transparently human metaphors are 'vestire' (38) 'surgunt' (48) 'mandet' (50) 'oblita' (59) 'respondent' (64) 'visura' (68) 'trudunt' (74). More concealed are 'proprius' (35) 'cultus' (35, of animals) 'sponte sua' (47) 'se tollunt', 'se sustulit' (45, 57) 'laeta et fortia' (48) 'exit', 'venit', 'exiit' (53,58,81) 'alienus' ("unrelated" 76) 'praedam' (60, con-tinuing the sacking metaphor of 56).

[2] especially when external details of style are taken into account - v. App-endix iii and p.117f.

[3] cf. p.149.

the subtle changes in feeling implied between

        et steriles platani malos gessere valentis   70

and

        nascitur et casus abies visura marinos   68.

This marked subjective identification between the human and natural world runs through the whole poem. It conveys implications about "man's relation to nature" (Otis, p.147, cited p.103) which in their way are as grandiose as the philosophical themes of Lucretius. Moreover they give the poem that unity of feeling, helping to make up for its lack of a philosophical structure, which has been mentioned before (cf. p.149).

But this series of highly subjective metaphors has obvious disadvantages. Vergil's method narrows the range of imagery a great deal, and the more straightforward images of DRN seem refreshing after it (the simple ones such as those cited by Townend, Lucretius, p.106). And significantly there is no explicit Lucretian simile or analogy in this passage,[1] in sharp contrast to each of the passages from DRN, and very little writing which is clearly pictorial. The exceptions are not very exceptional. There is the sad case of the fir tree (68), the rather conventional nautical metaphors addressed to Maecenas (41,44-5) and the introduction of pigs which enables Vergil to day "and oaks are grafted on elms" (72) in an elaborate and interesting way at the end of a paragraph. In other words the narrow range of the poet's imagery limits the extent to which it can refer to the world outside the poem - a function which Lucretius's imagery discharges so well. Free of Vergil's narrow subjectivity - a hidden disadvantage of his in tenui subject which he cannot avoid - it ranges happily from clouds to atoms as has been seen. It is able to show "sublimity and passion" (West, cited p.125); whereas as Sellar says "there is...scarcely any great poem from which so few striking and original images can be quoted as from the Georgics" (p.241 - cf. p.106)

ii   But Vergil has other methods of referring to the world of experience outside the poem, more in keeping with his Alexandrian models, which Lucretius uses less often. In fairness they have to be considered here. For example we see in this passage the Alexandrian device of particularity, by which names are used for their associations with mythology, exotic geography and Greek literature (see Fordyce, cited in Appendix ii p.171).

[1] cf. the nightingale simile discussed p.63 - highly subjective at the expense of picturesque qualities, the introduction of the world outside the poem referred to elsewhere on this page.

These names provide, like similes and pictorial writing in general, a broadening sense of contact between the world outside the poem and the subject in hand, and do so in an economical way - the poet can rely on the reader's knowledge of a memorable passage in a previous writer (who has, so to speak, done his descriptive work for him in this case) and does not have to describe what he alludes to himself. They also have a part of play in the poetic structure of the <u>Georgics</u>, for they are a neat and convenient way of referring to Themes (p.102); as can be seen from the following names which occur:

Ismara	37	a mountain on the southern coast of Thrace (Foreign Lands Theme).
Baccho	37	by a picturesque metathesis[1] for 'vitibus' (Mythology Theme).[2]
Taburnum	38	a small mountain-chain south of Caudium, between Samnium and Campania, abounding in olives (Glories of Italy Theme - v. p.103).
Paphiae	64	the myrtle, like Paphos, a city in Cyprus, was sacred to Venus (Foreign Lands and Mythology Themes).
Herculeaeque	66	the poplar was sacred to Hercules (Mythology Theme).
Chaoniique	67	the Chaonian father, by an allusive periphrasis,[1] is Jupiter (Mythology Theme with suggestions of Providence Theme). The Chaones lived in the northwest of Epirus, where Dodona, seat of an oracle of Zeus or Jupiter in a grove of oak trees, was to be found (Foreign Lands Theme).

This complexity of allusion and richness of associations is to be expected in Vergil (cf. Sellar p.235f on his "tendency to overlay his native thought with the spoils of Greek learning"). Particularity helps the poet to introduce his unifying themes, and it extends the world of the poem rather as Lucretius's use of imagery does; but less directly, because the world is seen through the "spectacles of books".[3]

[1] For the use of rhetorical techniques in this passage see Appendix iii pp.

[2] Note that Vergil has transferred the meaning beyond that of 'wine' which Lucretius already thought was an abuse (DRN ii 656: see also p.43).

[3] Dryden on Milton, quoted by Johnson in his Life of Milton. Actually the impulse to use the associations of mythological or legendary names is allowed by Lucretius, as has been seen (albeit grudgingly), and it is not necessarily "learned". It is found in Homer - not to mention writers outside the classical tradition altogether like the Provençal poets. For example Bernart de Ventadour, in the poem 'Can vey la lauzeta mover', loses his heart 'com perdet se Lo bels Narcisus en la fon'.

iii A grander means of allusion which is also used more frequently by Vergil is that of <u>learned imitation</u>; with its opportunity for the reader both to summon up the atmosphere of a passage in a previous writer and add it to the effect on himself of the passage in hand, and also, on a more intellectual level, to compare the style of the work he is reading with that of the writer to whom he alludes (Vergil's imitations of Lucretius, p.89, are a good example).

Lucretius uses imitation of Homer to some effect in the proem to ii (p.133) though perhaps more to borrow the sensuous atmosphere of the passage he echoes than to give his readers the learned pleasure of recognition. He does not use it in the passages from the argument, and in the same way Vergil has concentrated learned imitation in the first paragraph of this passage with its more elevated style.

But much more is concentrated in a much shorter space than the proem to ii - 35-46, only twelve lines. The first example is 'iuvat' (37) recalling Lucretius's famous lyrical description of his mission (see Appendix iii p.182). 'Generatim' (35) is a Lucretian word (Conington ad loc.) but it is important to distinguish words like this which have been "absorbed" (p.93) from deliberate imitation as in 'simulacraque luce carentum' (G iv 472, quoted on p.89), where the context is also referred to. An example of this is line 36 -

> fructusque feros mollite colendo.

As was pointed out earlier (p.94) this is reminiscent of the lines on the evolution of agriculture

> inde aliam atque aliam culturam dulcis agelli

etc. (v 1368-70). Vergil does not often use the affectionate diminutive common in Lucretius and Catullus (cf. Bailey p.138) but he seems glad enough here to borrow the overtones created by 'agelli'. On 'in luminis oras' (47) see p.92. This is an imitation, not an absorption, because 'in luminis oras' is not a word but a <u>lumen ingeni</u>, carrying its own portable context like a good Homeric formula.

Grandest of all is the Homeric reminiscence of the hundred tongues (42-4) -

> πληθὺν δ'οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ'ὀνομήνω,
> οὐδ'εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἶεν
> φωνὴ δ'ἄρρηκτος χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη.
>
> Il. ii 488-90[1]

---

[1] "Serv. as Verg. Georg. ii 42. Lucreti versus; Serv. ad Verg. Aen. vi 625 Lucreti versus sublatus de Homero", Martin edn. of "fragmenta" (end of Teubner Lucretius). Does Vergil borrow from Lucretius the voice of <u>iron</u>, which is stronger than brass (which Homer mentions, but not applied to the φωνή)?

By such subtle and indirect means Vergil makes up to some extent for his

lack of striking and original images (learned imitation almost becomes a

Theme in itself). But naturally there is bound to be a loss of freshness

and immediacy when the world is seen through the medium of learning and

the eyes of other authors, even when the writer is as skilful as Vergil.

Summary. Imagery is often considered to be the most important part of poetry.
Critics give Lucretius's imagery special praise.
    All three passages of DRN end with a "simile". Each is well-observed,
the first and third are more closely integrated, the first more formal.
The first and second are more elaborate than the third. They communicate
feeling as well as describing what is seen.
    The similes are part of a pattern of imagery. The imagery in the first
passage is more brilliant and sensuous, but its sensuousness in part runs
counter to the argument. The imagery is accompanied by learned imitation.
The imagery is the second passage is less novel, but it runs through the
whole book and brings the argument to life. The third passage has a lenthy
serial image of intellectual distinction, which lacks warmth by comparison
with the other Lucretian passages, but not with Cicero's Aratea. The range
of imagery is very wide. In general it provides a poetic counterpart to
the structure of argument and adds to the unity of the poem.
    Vergil imitates the serial aspect of Lucretius's imagery. In the
passage from the Georgics the imagery compares plants to the human world
of children with great consistency. This consistency gives the poem a sub-
jective unity of feeling necessary to make up for a structure of argument.
But it narrows the range of imagery. To some extent particularity and learned
imitation make up for this.

3 Realisation of the Poet-Reader Relationship

It is appropriate that the last technique to be considered in this

chapter should be not poetic or subjective but purely didactic. The real-

isation of the poet-reader relationship by Hesiod can be seen as a poetic

Theme (see p.57). But it is primarily the objective device for holding

the attention of reader or audience which was described in chapter one

(pp.8ff). It is a technique which is equally useful in poems in tenui,

like the Works and Days, and magnis de rebus, like Empedocles's. If Hes-

iod and Empedocles had used the technique consistently (which they do not,

see p.9f.) as well as vigorously (which they do) their poems would have gained

the purely objective unity of being addressed to one person throughout;

and that would have made up to some extent for the poetic unity which they

lack (v. p.83f).

On the other hand the consistent and vigorous use of this technique

in DRN is an important reinforcement of the poetic unity which the poem

gains from its imagery and from Lucretius's subjective art. Leaving the

Georgics aside for the moment it is worth examining Lucretius's use of the

poet-reader relationship in the three passages from DRN discussed before —

how well he handles the technique and how far his use of it differs between

them. (One obvious difference, of course, is that only the last two passages are really didactic, in the sense of teaching the system of Epicurus; the first is more of a meditation. But the poet is still engaged in trying to win the reader over to his point of view and, as will be seen, the range of didactic devices is given full play).

a.   In DRN the technique works at two levels. The poet can refer straightforwardly to his own experience (ego: first person singular); the reader's experience (tu: second person singular) or their common experience (nos: first person plural). More artfully, he can pretend to engage in an exchange with him either by a rhetorical question (a pretence because he always assumes that he gets the answer he wants) or by a rhetorical concession.

1   In the first passage Lucretius begins by implying that it is shared knowledge (videmus 20) that our bodily needs are few. He mentions the reader's experience of tossing in fever (iacteris 36) and refers again to shared experience (nostro in corpore 37) in restating his point. Next he mentions the reader's legions (tuas legiones 40...fervere cum videas 41 - he must be thinking of aristocratic officers like Memmius watching mock battles (belli simulacra) in the Campus Martius) pointing out that they will not scare away Memmius's fears of death (tibi etc. 44). Bearing in mind passages like i 398-417 (v. p.36) it is possible to imagine Lucretius wagging an admonitory finger at this point. The poet then implies that it is shared knowledge that martial power will do no such thing (videmus 47) and in a rhetorical question asks Memmius how he can doubt that only the power of reason has that ability. Lastly he refers to common experience of vain fear (nos timemus 56).

ii   Lucretius begins the second passage with a rhetorical question. What is it that stops the reader from believing that sensate is created from insensage matter? (quid id est...? 886 ne credas 888). There is one point he should bear in mind (meminisse decebit sc. te 891). Soon Lucretius points out that he personally is not saying that sensate is created from any insensate matter (me gigni dicere sensus 893). It is shared knowledge that the conditions for such creation do not normally occur in wood and earth (videmus 897).

    Lucretius's next point involves shared knowledge about what matter is perishable (905 videmus). But the reader may not accept that point; he is granted a rhetorical concession (sed tamen esto iam 907). Common experience is repeatedly referred to here (ad nos...respicit 911; manus a nobis secreta 912; quae sentimus sentire necesse est 915). Then the reader is asked a rhetorical question; how can sensate atoms exist? (917-9). But

the poet is ready to make another concession (quod tamen ut possint 920)
before he asks his last rhetorical question; how can such an absurd supp-
osition be made (924-6)? Finally he refers to shared knowledge (cernimus
928) of a point which was made before and presumed accepted (quod vidimus
ante 926).

The reader is addressed by Lucretius or included in the first person
plural 9 times in the last 27 lines. And that is not all. A further dim-
ension is added to the poet-reader relationship by reference to 'they',
the poet's opponents, descendents of Hesiod's Vηπιοι (p.9; qui sensile
posse creari Constituunt 902). Perhaps they, and not the reader, are the
butt of the rhetorical questions in 917-9 and 924-6.

iii In the third passage the poet in person emphasises an opening point
(non, inquam, simplex his rebus reddita causast 620). But then he does
not mention either himself or the reader until he reaches the "simile" at
the end of the paragraph. The reader is addressed in a rhetorical ques-
tion referring to his own experience (nonne vides...? 646). Hasn't he seen
the clouds drifting different ways? Assuming that the reader answers 'yes'
Lucretius immediately asks another rhetorical question; why therefore
can't the stars do the same? (qui minus...648).

The reader is not referred to during the exposition which forms the
main part of the paragraph.

It will clarify the differences between Lucretius's use of this did-
actic technique in the three passages and make comparison with Vergil
more convenient if it is summarised in the form of a table:

No. of references to:	ii 20-61	ii 886-930	v 614-649
Ist singular	-	1	1
Ist plural	4	6	-
2nd person	5	1	1
Rhetorical questions	1	3	2
Rhetorical concessions	-	2	-
3rd person opposition	-	1	-

In the first passage the poet-reader relationship is made more inter-
esting because the poet seems to have one reader particularly in mind -
Memmius. In the second the reader is less closely envisaged (less refer-
ences to the second person) but the relationship is more frequently insis-
ted on. However, for a large part of the third passage the relationship
is ignored.

There is therefore some variation between the proem and the second passage, but more between them and the passage from Book v. (This fact indicates strongly that the theory of a purple style versus an argument style - p.112 - is false. Rather it suggests that each passage in ORN has individual qualities - and faults). A certain unevenness is apparent; but even at their least insistent, in the third passage, the skill and inventiveness of Lucretius's realisation of the poet-reader relationship cannot be doubted. His pleasant involvement of the reader runs like a thread through the whole poem, providing a unity somewhere between the logical structure of the argument and the unity of feeling given by the poet's imagery and art. It is interesting to compare the way in which the technique is used by Vergil, who learnt it from ORN.[1]

b. After what has been said in the previous paragraph and in the previous chapter (p.105f) the passage from Georgic ii might be expected to show that Vergil is less assiduous than Lucretius in the realisation of the poet-reader relationship. This proves to be the case. The poet addresses the farmers and more especially Maecenas in a rather rhetorical way for 12 lines (35-46), and then makes no more reference to them or to the reader in general. Reading beyond the end of the passage confirms this impression. In the following 50 lines (to 135) he addresses Raetica once (96) Rhodia and Bumastus once (102) and the reader twice (aspice 114, quid tibi referam 118). True, Vergil mentions himself in relation to him, in the last case, but even so the reader might be forgiven for thinking he was being half forgotten about.

Comparison with the table on p.156 shows Lucretius handling the poet-reader relationship much more vigorously and convincingly than this and with more variety. Besides, Memmius makes a more credible addressee than Maecenas (p.105). Consideration of a longer section of ORN confirms the point - witness the comparison between Empedocles and Lucretius (pp.34-6 - where Empedocles is found to be, if anything, even more insistent than Lucretius). Looked at from another point of view the poet-reader relationship in the Georgics has only the status of a Theme, like those discussed on p.102. Hence Vergil's poem lacks the reassuring impression that the argument is in progress as you read, that there is an interaction between poet and reader, as well as being without the formal structure of logic of Lucretius's poem magnis de rebus. Vergil is not able to avoid this part-

[1] see p.90. Williams, who is tracing a direct line from Aratus to Vergil, is mislaid into crediting the latter with the invention of this technique merely because it is present in the Georgics and almost absent in the Phaenomena (see Williams p.257). His failure to recollect its use in the magnis de rebus tradition from Hesiod to Lucretius is surprising, the more so because all the philosophical poets use it more effectively than Vergil.

icular pit-fall of the _in tenui_ style altogether.[1]

Summary. Realisation of the poet-reader relationship is a less subjective technique. It is already effectively used by Hesiod and Empedocles. The technique is vigorously used in the first two passages from _DRN_, less so in the last passage. It is not so successfully used by Vergil.
    This is a disadvantage of the _in tenui_ genre which Vergil does not avoid altogether.

<p style="text-align:center">*   *   *   *   *</p>

In each of the important techniques considered in this chapter, analysis of the three passages from _DRN_ has shown not two styles but one style with a remarkable range of key. This is in accordance with Kenney's view, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter (p.112). As the second passage demonstrates (significantly because it was originally chosen for its low-key nature) the poet ranges from one level of intensity to another with marvellous ease and fluency. At opposite ends of this range the third passage, mainly low-key, is certainly not without loftier flights, while parts of the brilliant proem are in a rather prosaic vein.

It seems ungenerous to criticise the _Georgics_. But comparison of a passage from that poem with the three passages from _DRN_ has revealed disadvantages underlying the remarkable technical skill with which Vergil overcomes the drawbacks of the _in tenui_ tradition.
    Vergil's skill, in fact, is so great that _DRN_ often seems to be at a disadvantage - in flaws of metre and in a certain prosaic content in the expression and lack of uniformity to which its _magnis de rebus_ character makes it liable. But the consistency of tone which Vergil has to maintain to ensure unity in a poem which lacks the structure of argument has certain penalties. Loss of liveliness in the poet-reader relationship is an obvious drawback. Less obvious but more serious are the limitations of range which it imposes. The greater naturalness, the powerful climaxes and rich imagery of _DRN_ are all products of the wide-ranging style which Lucretius is free to use because his poem already has the formal structure of logic. The expressive use to which Vergil puts many of the devices of rhythm and sound which he handles so skilfully is a minor quality but a pleasing one. It, at least, can be set down in his favour without reservation.
    There is a phrase that Lucretius uses to describe his enthusiasm for Epicurus's philosophy, which applies very aptly to his own poem but less well to the _Georgics_. It could be used to symbolise the difference between

[1] cf. p.53f.

the two poems. Everyone is seized by 'divine delight' when they read
De Rerum Natura and the Georgics, but our 'awe' is reserved for Lucretius
alone.

CONCLUSION

Summaries have been given at the end of each section and the whole argument of the dissertation can be found summarised in the abstract. I shall confine myself here to a brief review of points made and to drawing general conclusions.

In the introduction a famous passage in which Lucretius lays claim to originality was examined and four claims to originality were distinguished. Two of these were considered important; the claims to originality in writing magnis de rebus and in smearing all with the honey of the Muses - 'musaeo contingens cuncta lepore'.

Lucretius was certainly not the first poet to write magnis de rebus. Parmenides and Empedocles had already written magnis de rebus and Empedocles had used mearly all the formal didactic techniques later adopted by Lucretius. However Lucretius's poem was longer, and it was the first poem magnis de rebus in Latin.

Naturally the originality of Lucretius does not just lie in that. It could lie in the alternative claim that he had "smeared all with the honey of the Muses". But at a superficial level that can be said of Empedocles. The point is that the wording of Lucretius's claim is rather misleading. Between the time of Empedocles and the composition of De Rerum Natura a new style of writing had been developed by the Alexandrian Greeks and by Roman poets like Ennius. That subjective style had entered the didactic tradition in a minor but related genre. Lucretius adopted it and used it to give De Rerum Natura a unified poetic outlook, in addition to the philosophical structure of argument. It is this introduction of the honey of the Muses into the plot of the poem, so to speak, which distinguishes De Rerum Natura and turns it from an interesting poem into a great one.

That, perhaps, is the level at which discussion of Lucretius's achievement could be left, if he had not inspired Vergil to write a didactic poem a few years after the appearance of his own. Vergil's Georgics marks a new point of comparison. It is apparently written in the minor in tenui genre; but partly by imitating the seriousness of Lucretius, partly by developing the poetic outlook of the in tenui genre to its logical conclusion and partly by carrying the polished style made fashionable by the Alexandrians to a peak of perfection, Vergil created a major poem. The Georgics, in fact, is so successful that is has cast doubt in some ways on the success of De Rerum Natura. In particular Vergil's consistency of tone has made critics accuse Lucretius, by contrast, of having two distinct

styles - an accusation that has provided a challenge to admirers of
Lucretius.

But a closer look at <u>De Rerum Natura</u> reveals not two styles but a sin-
gle style with a very wide range of expression, accompanied by richly var-
ied and intelligently integrated imagery and a lively exploitation of
didactic formulae - in fact a style admirably suited to the poet's enormous
subject. Reference to the <u>Georgics</u>, on the other hand, shows that Vergil's
consistency of tone, necessary because the poem does not depend on a
closely argued structure of logic, rules out the powerful climaxes of <u>De
Rerum Natura</u>.

This has its relevance for Lucretius's first claim to originality.
Although he is not the first to write <u>magnis de rebus</u>, the range, power
and clarity of imagination with which he writes about the universe - the
contrast with Vergil makes this quite clear - is not just original but
unique. <u>De Rerum Natura</u> is thus the chief monument of the Greco-Roman
didactic tradition.

APPENDIX 1

POETIC STRUCTURE OF THE WORKS AND DAYS (cont.)

The pattern of themes in the poem, discussed on pp.56-8, continues in the following way;

Second Section of the Poem - the Farmer's Work (342-617)

A paragraph of assorted gnomai (342-82) of the kind

$$\text{Τὸν φιλέοντ' ἐπὶ δαῖτα καλεῖν, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν ἐᾶσαι}_{342}$$

leads to the second section of the poem; that on farming proper. As mentioned in the first chapter (p.7) this begins with a line made up of three words only[1] - imposing in sound and so unusual that it it the only one in the poem;

$$\text{Πληιάδων Ἀτλαγενέων ἐπιτελλομενάων}$$
$$383.$$

The poet proceeds to explain the best time for sowing (384). Soon a precept is expanded into a small description;

$$\text{Οὗτός τοι πεδίων πέλεται νόμος, οἵ τε θαλάσσης}$$
$$\text{ἐγγύθι ναιετάωσ' οἵ τ' ἄγκεα βησσήεντα}$$
$$\text{πόντου κυμαίνοντος ἀποπρόθι, πίονα χῶρον,}$$
$$\text{ναίωσιν·}$$
$$388-91$$

which is followed immediately by another kind of instruction (familiar from Vergil - G i 299);

$$\text{γυμνὸν σπείρειν, γυμνὸν δὲ βοωτεῖν,}$$
$$\text{γυμνὸν δ' ἀμάειν...}$$
$$391-2.$$

This in turn is succeeded by a reference to the importance of efficient work, if poverty is to be avoided; ὥς τοι ἕκαστα
$$\text{ὥρι' ἀέξηται, μή πως τὰ μέταζε χατίζων}$$
$$\text{πτώσσῃς ἀλλοτρίους οἴκους καὶ μηδὲν ἀνύσσῃς.}$$
$$393-5.$$

This seems to be a general point, but Hesiod continues;

$$\text{Ὥς καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἔμ' ἤλυθες. Ἐγὼ δέ τοι οὐκ ἐπιδώσω}$$
$$\text{οὐδ' ἐπιμετρήσω· ἐργάζευ, νήπιε Πέρση,}_{396-7.}$$

Thus in the space of a few lines it is possible to see a succession of various themes and techniques, some of which (the description and the brisk

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[1] like Lucretius's 'insatiabiliter deflevimus, aeternumque... (iii 907; cf. p.109f).

change of tone at 391 'γυμνὸν σπείρειν 'etc.' - cf. Vergil's abrupt-
ness, p.104) are new here, and others (work, poverty as one of the evils
which beset man, and Perses) have already been recognised in the first sec-
tion. The address to Perses takes up a good part of the latter half of
the paragraph (396-404) and serves to join the section with what went bef-
ore - that is to say, Perses continues to have the effect of linking the
parts of the poem together.

The first paragraph of the new section in this way maintains the var-
iety and structure of the previous section. It is fairly typical of the
following paragraphs, where Hesiod tells Perses to "start by getting a house,
a woman, and a labouring ox" (405; the woman is bought, not married, so
that she can follow the ox if need be); also to make a plough (423-36);
and when to start ploughing (448-57).

Sowing (463-4) leads Hesiod back to the theme of Zeus. He is no
longer the guarantor of justice, but simply the provider of plenty, although
by implication he rewards hard work and men that help themselves (p.96);

$$\text{Εὔχεσθαι δὲ Διὶ χθονίω Δημήτερί τ'ἁγνῇ}$$
$$\text{ἐκτελέα βρίθειν Δημήτερος ἱερὸν ἀκτήν}$$
$$\text{.......................... εὐθημοσύνη γὰρ ἀρίστη}$$
$$\text{θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις, κακοθημοσύνη δὲ κακίστη}$$
$$\text{Ὧ δέ κεν ἁδροσύνη στάχυες νεύοιεν ἔραζε,}$$
$$\text{εἰ τέλος αὐτὸς ὄπισθεν Ὀλύμπιος ἐσθλὸν ὀπάζοι}$$

465-6; 471-4.

The theme of Zeus recurs in the following paragraph (483,488). Note,
incidentally, the rare optimism of line 490;

$$\text{οὕτω κ'ὀψαρότης πρωιηρότη ἰσοφαρίζοι}$$

Even in winter, continues Hesiod, it is not wise to rest (493);

$$\text{Πὰρ δ'ἴθι χάλκειον θῶκον καὶ ἐπαλέα λέσχην}$$
$$\text{ὥρη χειμερίη}$$

because a hardworking man can make improvements to his house and it is fool-
ish to do nothing, rely on hope and the kindness of others - again the tech-
nique of description and work/poverty theme can be noted. However, the
idea of winter (one of the evils which beset man) so strikes Hesiod that
a long and justly famous digression on winter follows (504-63; cf. p.5) -
its icy winds (506-18), shivering cattle (529-33), the cold mist that rises
from the "ever-flowing rivers" (547-53) etc. The bleak landscape is con-
trasted with a charming picture of the young girl who stays indoors and is
not chilled by the winter wind (519-23): but this interruption is not
permitted to last long, and soon the sunless winter begins again (526).

This descriptive digression and the one which follows is of course the inspir-
ation for many such digressions in the <u>Georgics</u> (eg. Autumn, i 311ff) and
also those in <u>DRN</u> such as the Poet's Task, quoted on the first page. There
is even an anticipation of Vergil's "foreign lands" theme (p.102n);

οὐ δέ οἱ ἥελιος δείκνυ νομὸν ὁρμηθῆναι,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ κυανέων ἀνδρῶν δῆμόν τε πόλιν τε
στρωφᾶται, βράδιον δὲ Πανέλλήνεσσι φαίνει.
526-8.

Next, spring (564-70) and early summer (571-81) are dealt with compar-
atively briefly. Hesiod is no more prepared to let the farmer rest in May
than in January -

φεύγειν δὲ σκιερὸὺς θώκους καὶ ἐπ' ἠῶ κοῖτον
574.

But in high summer the farmer is at last allowed to rest, and the poet dig-
resses to give another description. (This one is quoted as a fine example
of its kind - the sort of description which inspired Vergil's in the <u>Geor-
gics</u> - by LPW p.5; cf. p.5 above);

Ἦμος δὲ σκόλυμός τ'ἀνθεῖ καὶ ἠχέτα τέττιξ
δενδρέῳ ἐφεζόμενος λιγυρὴν καταχεύετ'ἀοιδὴν
πυκνὸν ὑπὸ πτερύγων, θέρεος καματώδεος ὥρῃ,
τῆμος πιόταταί τ'αἶγες καὶ οἶνος ἄριστος, 525
......Ἀλλὰ τότ' ἤδη
εἴη πετραίη τε σκιὴ καὶ βίβλινος οἶνος,
μάζα τ'ἀμολγαίη γάλα τ'αἰγῶν σβεννυμενάων,
καὶ βοὸς ὑλοφάγοιο κρέας μή πω τετοκυίης
πρωτογόνων τ'ἐρίφων ἐπὶ δ'αἴθοπα πινέμεν οἶνον
ἐν σκιῇ ἑζόμενον, κεκορημένον ἦτορ ἐδωδῆς,
ἀντίον ἀκραέος Ζεφύρου τρέψαντα πρόσωπα
κρήνης τ'αἰενάου καὶ ἀπορρύτου ἥ τ'ἀθόλωτος
τρὶς ὕδατος προχέειν, τὸ δὲ τέτρατον ἱέμεν οἴνου.
582-5; 588-96

Next comes an instruction to have the slaves winnow the corn (597-9), to
take on a servant without children (χαλεπὴ δ'ὑπόπορτις ἔριθος
603) and a dog with sharp teeth, and to feed it well,

μή ποτέ σ'ἡμερόκοιτις ἀνὴρ ἀπὸ χρήμαθ' ἕληται. 605

Hesiod ends his description of the farmer's year with another address

to Perses, who is to wait until the Dawn sees Arcturus and then harvest his grapes. Afterwards it is time to begin ploughing and sowing again -

$$\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\grave{\omega}\nu\ \delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \chi\theta\sigma\nu\grave{o}\varsigma\ \grave{\alpha}\rho\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\eta.$$

617.

In this way Perses is addressed both at the beginning and at the end of this section, and the two major digressions are followed by a return to the norm of instruction, as it were, before the end. This part of the section (383-617) thus has a roughly cyclic structure, with Perses at both ends and digression in the middle. Its variety, based on the altern-ation of different themes and techniques, has been suggested in the pre-ceding pages.

Third Section - Trade (618-764)

In the first part of this section, which has much in common with the previous section, because it also consists of instruction with a leaven-ing of digression, Hesiod turns to the alternative of earning a living by trade. Typically he begins with a negative injunction. When the Pleiades fall into the misty sea and the blasts of every kind of wind are seeth-ing -

$$\kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \tau\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\ \mu\eta\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\ \nu\hat{\eta}\alpha\varsigma\ \check{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\nu\ \grave{\epsilon}\nu\grave{\iota}\ o\grave{\iota}\nu\sigma\pi\alpha\ \pi\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega.$$

622.

Here already we have the descriptive technique and the idea of nature's hostility, begind which lies the man-beset-by evils theme. The poet goes on to give advice on preparing for the spring voyage, enlivened by homely details like

$$\pi\eta\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\nu\ \delta'\ \grave{\epsilon}\upsilon\epsilon\rho\gamma\grave{\epsilon}\varsigma\ \grave{\upsilon}\pi\grave{\epsilon}\rho\ \kappa\alpha\pi\nu\sigma\hat{\upsilon}\ \kappa\rho\epsilon\mu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\vartheta\alpha\iota.$$

629.

The advice seems general enough - indeed Hesiod admits later on that he knows little about ships or shipping (649). But Hesiod suddenly introduces a personal note, as he did at 396 (p.162);

$$\grave{\omega}\varsigma\ \pi\epsilon\rho\ \grave{\epsilon}\mu\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\tau\grave{\eta}\rho\ \kappa\alpha\grave{\iota}\ \sigma\acute{o}\varsigma,\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\ \nu\acute{\eta}\pi\iota\epsilon\ \Pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\sigma\eta,$$
$$\pi\lambda\omega\acute{\iota}\zeta\epsilon\sigma\kappa'\ \grave{\epsilon}\nu\ \nu\eta\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota},\ \beta\acute{\iota}\sigma\upsilon\ \kappa\epsilon\chi\rho\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\varsigma\ \grave{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\lambda\sigma\hat{\upsilon}\cdot$$
$$\sigma\grave{\upsilon}\kappa\ \check{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\nu\sigma\varsigma\ \phi\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\gamma\omega\nu\ \sigma\grave{\upsilon}\delta\grave{\epsilon}\ \pi\lambda\sigma\hat{\upsilon}\tau\acute{o}\nu\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \check{o}\lambda\beta\sigma\nu,$$
$$\grave{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\ \kappa\alpha\kappa\grave{\eta}\nu\ \pi\epsilon\nu\acute{\iota}\eta\nu,\ \tau\grave{\eta}\nu\ Z\epsilon\grave{\upsilon}\varsigma\ \check{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\ \delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\sigma\iota\cdot$$
$$\nu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\alpha\tau\sigma\ \delta'\ \check{\alpha}\gamma\chi'\ {}^{c}E\lambda\iota\kappa\hat{\omega}\nu\sigma\varsigma\ \grave{o}\check{\iota}\zeta\upsilon\rho\hat{\eta}\ \grave{\epsilon}\nu\grave{\iota}\ \kappa\acute{\omega}\mu\eta,$$
$$\check{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\rho\eta,\ \chi\epsilon\hat{\iota}\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\kappa\hat{\eta},\ \vartheta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\ \grave{\alpha}\rho\gamma\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\eta,\ \sigma\grave{\upsilon}\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \pi\sigma\tau'\ \grave{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\lambda\hat{\eta}.$$

637-40

Here the poet reveals in fascinating detail the source of his pessimism (which is of course a motif); but the biographical information which he gives fits well into the structure of the poem, although it is technically a digression, because it is an expansion of the Perses theme.

Moreover the poet has not yet finished telling his audience about himself. After the disclaimer of sailing knowledge already noted (649) he adds that he has himself never embarked on the wide ocean:

εἰ μὴ ἐς Εὔβοιαν ἐξ Αὐλίδος, ᾗ ποτ' Ἀχαιοὶ
μείναντες, χειμῶνα πολὺν σὺν λαὸν ἄγειραν
Ἑλλάδος ἐξ ἱερῆς Τροίην ἐς καλλιγύναικα·
ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος
Χαλκίδα τ' εἰς ἐπέρησα·... 655

.... ἔνθα μέ φημι
ὕμνῳ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα·
.... τόσσον τοι νηῶν γε πεπείρημαι πολυγόμφων· 660
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὥς ἐρέω Ζηνὸς νόον αἰγιόχοιο·
Μοῦσαι γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξαν ἀθέσφατον ὕμνον ἀείδειν.
651-5; 655-6; 660-2

In these lines a second autobiographical digression, in addition to the story of Hesiod's father, has grown out of the Perses theme. It is integrated into the structure of the poem by the presence of other themes; not this time the man-beset-by-evils motif of lines 639-40, but by the names of Zeus and the Muses (661-2) which recall the opening Hymn (1-10).

There follows an anticipation of Vergil's mythological theme in 651-3 (the story of Troy) which together with the reference to Zeus and the Muses serves to heighten the tone of the passage. This is appropriate, because at 661-2 Hesiod makes a remarkable claim; he seems to be saying that lack of knowledge about the sea will be compensated for by the fact that, being a poet, he knows the mind of Zeus. We are on the verge of the "poet's mission" theme of Lucretius and Vergil (v. p.1).

Hesiod completes his advice on sailing without any more such digressions. Instead he gives full rein to his pessimism (and provides antiquity with a favourite τόπος) - for example

Εἰαρινὸς δ' οὗτος πέλεται πλόος· οὔ μιν ἔγωγε
αἴνημ'- οὐ γὰρ ἐμῷ θυμῷ κεχαρισμένος ἐστίν,
ἁρπακτός· χαλεπῶς κε φύγοις κακόν· ἀλλά νυ καὶ τὰ
ἄνθρωποι ῥέζουσιν ἀιδρείῃσι νόοιο· 685
χρήματα γὰρ ψυχὴ πέλεται δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι.
Δεινὸν δ' ἐστὶ θανεῖν μετὰ κύμασιν. 682-7

The passage ends with another aphorism like that in 687:

μέτρα φυλάσσεσθαι, καιρὸς δ'ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἄριστος .

694.

(The staccato rhythms of 682-4 have already been mentioned on p.7).

Like the previous section, therefore, Hesiod's advice on sailing con-
sists of a didactic passage, due attention being paid to variety of pres-
entation, with two digressions set in the middle. (An optimistic digression
follows a pessimistic one, as with the descriptions of winter and summer).
Both digressions grow out of the Perses theme and share other themes with
the rest of the section and the poem as a whole. The joint desiderata of
variety and structure are therefore present here as well.

The didactic section proper is rounded off by advice on getting married
(some of it anti-feminine - 701,703-5 - so that it is possible to speak
of misogyny as a further theme in the <u>Works and Days</u> - cf. the story of
Pandora's box (80ff) and 373-5 and 603, cited above, p.164). This section
ends, as the previous section began, with a passage of various <u>gnomai</u>
(706-64).

Fourth Section - the Days (765-828)

The poem ends with the section on Days, to which the title of the poem
refers. They have a certain naive quality and an antiquarian interest which
recommended them to Vergil - eg. with 802-4

πέμπτας δ'ἐξαλέασθαι, ἐπεὶ χαλεπαί τε καὶ αἰναί
ἐν πέμπη γάρ φασιν Ἐρινύας ἀμφιπολεύειν
Ὅρκον γεινόμενον τὸν Ἔρις τέκε πῆμ' ἐπιόρκοις.

compare G i 277-80

> quintam fuge; pallidus Horcus
>
> Eumenidesque satae; tum partu terra nefando
>
> Coeumque Iapetumque creat saevomque Typhoea
>
> et coniuratos caelum rescindere fratres.

The last two and a half lines are not in Hesiod. Vergil has imitated and
exaggerated here the breathless syntax we get elsewhere in the Days, eg.;

.... καὶ πίνεα μήλων
σηκόν τ'ἀμφιβαλεῖν ποιμνήιον ἢ πιον ἦμαρ·
ἐσθλὴ δ'ἀνδρογόνος· φιλέοι δ'ὅγε κέρτομα βάζειν..

786-8.

However Perses is not mentioned, Zeus is mentioned only peremptorily (765
-9), the descriptive technique is not used, the importance of work is not
stressed, the motif of pessimism does not occur (unless we regard lines
like 802-4, just cited, as such); and the poem ends with a perfunctory
exhortation to take account of these days which is only seven lines long

(though the corresponding exhortation at the end of the _Phaenomena_ is shorter still - two lines long).[1] The section thus lacks both variety and structure.

[1]Surely an inadequate conclusion to a poem of this length - contrast Vergil and Lucretius - p.90.

The authenticity of the Days is much disputed, eg. by La Penna in the Discussion following Verdenius's paper, but it is accepted by Mazon (Budé p.151) and Verdenius (op. cit. p.154). Sinclair (p.lvii) points out that the Days were regarded as Hesiodic at least as far back as Heraclitus.

The short ending of the Days, just referred to, and the lack of what Verdenius (p.155) calls an "allgemeine Zusammenfassung" are from a modern point of view artistic blemishes. However neither the _Theogony_ nor the Homeric poems have a grand formal ending. To quote Verdenius again, "ein Lehrgedicht nicht dasselbe ist wie ein Lehrbuch" (ibid.).

APPENDIX 2
THE SUBJECTIVE STYLE IN ENNIUS AND CATULLUS

I   The extent to which Ennius is already master of the subjective style
is not fully apparent from the comments on pages 81-3. The broad express-
ive quality of his rhythm in the Rhea Silvia's dream fragment can be glimpsed in
the contrast between its mobility, keeping pace with the agitated vision,
and the much steadier narrative rhythm of the Romulus and Remus passage.
See for example Steuart (p.108) on 'corde capessere'. There is also much
refinement in structure and balance of cola. Further detail would unfort-
unately take up too much space.

But the poet's careful tense differentiation, to use Otis's word
(p.80) can be examined more rapidly and is worth the trouble. It is not
just confined to the sentence at the end of the fragment where Steuart's
note draws attention to it. On the contrary it can be seen at work through-
out the passage.

At the beginning the scene is set in the remote past (attulit); but
significantly Rhea Silvia is introduced in the historic present (memorat);
she speaks in the present (deserit), made more vivid by contrast, in a
parenthesis, with the remote past (amavit). Her narrative begins in the
perfect, but significantly in the passive (visus); but as it becomes more
agitated passes into the imperfect ('videbar', 'stabilibat' for actions no
more repetitive than 'vivus'). This is most effective because it is neither
one nor the other - it gives an impression of the past trying to break through
into the present. Her father appears in the historic present (videtur)
in contrast with his disappearance into the remote past (recessit) though
his daughter calls on him in the imperfect past ('tendebam', 'vocabam';
many actions). Sleep leaves her in the perfect('reliquit'; correctly, as
this is one action, but also completing the narrative in the past where
it began and belongs).

In case this pattern still seems arbitrary it is worth mentioning that
the same play with tenses - a sort of contest between past and present
with the past trying disconcertingly to break through, and the present
winning the struggle when the poem ends in the past where it belongs -
is found in such very sophisticated works as Milton's 'Lycidas', Marino's
canzoni and Góngora's 'Polifemo'.[1]

The success of Ennius puts later achievements in perspective (note
especially the consistency of his subjective tense differentiation in the
last example). The human sympathy of Cicero with the animals and Lucretius
with the atoms, the continuous "empathy" of the neoterics and even Vergil
are in some ways no more than logical developments of it in new situations.

[1] cf. Lowry Nelson Jnr., Baroque Lyric Poetry, pp.21-84 and 103-9. The
Ennian passage is also discussed by Williams, pp.689f.

ii   Varro of Atax is a good example of the closeness of the neoterics to Vergil's own style but Catullus is a better one. Otis remarks that _Peleus and Thetis_ is "especially rich in empathetic feeling...(but the empathy) is put to no dramatic use_" (p.100; his italics). The poem is monotonous both in action and metre (many lines are end-stopped, hyperbaton is over-used; cf. GLA p.215). Here lies the great difference between Vergil and Catullus (or Varro), many of whose individual lines could be Vergil's (p.75).

But when Catullus escapes from these constraints, as in the simile of the falling tree (64 105ff) the result is something remarkably like Vergil - and obviously imitated by him. It runs as follows;

> nam velut in summo quatientem brachia Tauro   105
>
> quercum aut conigeram sudanti cortice pinum
>
> indomitus turbo contorquens flamine robur
>
> eruit (illa procul radicitus exturbata
>
> prona cadit, late quaevis cumque obvia frangens),
>
> sic domito saevum prostravit corpore Theseus,   110
>
> nequiquam vanis iactantem cornua ventis.
>
> 105-11

The last two lines, end-stopped and both containing hyperbaton, are typical of many in the _Peleus and Thetis_. But the simile itself (prototype in Homer - eg. Iliad v 560ff xii 389ff - and Apollonius - iii 967ff and iv 1682ff - acc. to Fordyce ad loc.) is remarkably skilful.

Consider firstly the virtuosity and expressiveness of the rhythm, unexpected in Catullus's hexameter poetry. Particularly Vergilian is the trick of holding back the verb of sudden action for more than one line, and then emphasising the pause which follows it by a change of subject (is it fanciful to see in this the pause between the roots of the tree giving way and it starting to fall?). Apollonius (iv 1686) has the same trick less effectively used.

Vergil must be remembering this passage when he writes in _Georgic_ i -

> et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
>
> ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
>
> elicit? illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
>
> saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva.   107-10

The rhythm is identical - verb of sudden action held back for more than one line appearing in the same _sedes_, followed by strong pause and change of subject, indicated by the same word 'illa'. The verb even sounds the same ($\bar{e}^{\cup}$ it). At the beginning of the next line we again have the same rhythm as the corresponding line of 64 in the same _sedes_ ($-\cup/\cup-$) and even similar sounds ($- \upgamma \, c^{\cup}- $ t). The really interesting point is that Vergil has remembered the rhythm not in a similar context (eg. Aen ii 626-31, simile of falling ash-tree) but in a very different one. Catullus

has produced a rhythm which is so Vergilian that Vergil will use it in any context and with no intention of reminiscence.[1]

Leaving the metre, there are other interesting similarities. Like Vergil in the storm-signs passage, where he refers to birds in the meadows of Cayster (i 384, cf. p.76) Catullus here "uses the Alexandrian device of particularity to add colour and life to the image: the falling tree is on the summit of Taurus, the great massif which closes the central plateau of Asia Minor on the south" (Fordyce, ad loc., cf. p.151).

The clarity and multiple application of the image are also Vergilian. (Contrast the similes of Aratus in this respect, p.60f). Catullus himself picks up 'quatientem brachia' (105) explicitly with 'iactantem cornua' (111) but the point of 'brachia' for 'ramos' - that the Minotaur is flailing with his arms as well as his horns - is left for the reader to grasp. The wind appears in both parts of the comparison (turbo 107; ventis 111); the havoc caused by the falling tree reflects the destructive nature of the Minotaur. The ambiguity of language is Vergilian too. The use of human language as vigorous as 'quatientem brachia', 'indomitus', 'exturbata' (used of driving people from their possessions) for the natural world, a tree, is very like Vergil's in the passage from the Georgics discussed above (p.149). And just before Catullus's simile there is a succession of five linked metaphors referring to both fire and love (91-3: flagrantia ...lumina...concepit...flammam...exeruit) like the serial metaphors of Vergil (ibid.).

So close are Catullus and his contemporaries, at their very best, to Vergil.[2]

---

[1] As he does with the phrases of Lucretius - p.92.
"Vergil was in fact "filling his mind with the finest cadences he could discover"(Ezra Pound, Article 7, Imagist Manifesto) in the abstract" (GLA p.195).

[2] At 43 there is a curious reminiscence of Ennius, when Catullus for no apparent reason introduces the perfect 'recessit' (in the same sedes as the same word in the Rhea Silvia fragment, line 12) into a context of historic presents - a coincidence? Catullus's use of suggestive tense differentiation is much less enterprising than Ennius's, perhaps because the story as he tells it is less dramatic. But the poet uses the device competently and has the sensitivity to describe the departure of the mortal guests, for instance, in the past (265-77) in contrast with their arrival in the present.

APPENDIX 3

RHYTHM AND SOUND IN GEORGIC ii 35-82

The details of Vergil's handling of metre and sound are themselves often an expression of his subjective outlook, his sympathy with what he describes (p.117f). In this they resemble the details of Lucretius's imagery. This is not to say that the details of Lucretius's metre are not often expressive in this way. But to make a gross generalisation it is true that the broad movement of Lucretius's verse (p.123) is more effectively expressive than any of its details, whereas in Vergil the details are expressive in themselves and rewarding to analyse.

In the following account, analysis of metrical and rhetorical techniques in Georgic ii 35ff is followed in most cases by very brief reference to the same techniques in the three passages from DRN discussed in the last chapter. Comparison is often revealing, not least where it shows the consistent level of sophistication already reached by Lucretius.

Metre[1]

1 Line-endings: In orthodox terms the passage has only one unusual ending, at 49;

> tamen haec quoque, si quis
>
>   inserat...

Like most monosyllabic endings in Vergil (cf. Ewbank p.62f, Raven p.101) it is double, preceded by a pause and followed by enjambement so as to minimise the movement away from coincidence of ictus and accent at this point. Vergil does not often depart from the norm like this without a reason; Winbolt (op. cit. p.140) suggests that the enjambement of two monosyllables here is used to express excitement at the task in hand.

A less traditional anomaly is the hypermetre at 69 -

> inseritur vero et fetu nucis arbutus horridā͡
>
> ͡et steriles platani...;

perhaps, in conjunction with the -rr- of 'horrida' it is meant to express rustling which does not stop rapidly (like a normal line-ending) but continues to tail off after you expect it to be silent (v. also p.118).

Compared with the three passages from DRN Vergil is more sparing in his use of unusual endings here than Lucretius - 2 as opposed to 7, 11, and 2 respectively (as he is generally, v. Bailey's table, p.115). He is also more directly expressive (though cf. the expressive upheaval of the monosyllable ending at DRN ii 900

> antiquis ex ordinibus permota nova re)[2]

[1] for a general outline see Raven, pp.90-103.

[2] see also p.139 on this line.

- and he is more inventive.

2.   Most of the lines in the passage have a main <u>caesura</u> (see Raven,
p.95f) at 2½. However 5 have it at 3½ supported by one at 1½ and 2¾ (this
represents 1 in 7, quite a high proportion) for the sake of variety. Line
51 -

exuerint | silvestrem animum, |cultuque frequenti

lacks a minor caesura at 2¾ to support 1½ and 3½; perhaps the elision, by
spoiling the easy flow of the rhythm, makes it unnecessary. Other lines
have no caesura at all other than 3½ -

tuque ades inceptum|que una|decurre laborem	39
fraxinus Herculeae|que arbos|umbrosa coronae	66
nec modus inserere at|que oculos | imponere simplex	73.

3½ is helped out here by an apparent caesura (one crossed by elision)
at 2½; however this combination is extremely rare (1 in 800, according to
Winbolt p.85), and it is surprising to find three examples of it in one
short passage, and for no obvious reason.

Vergil's usage is broadly similar to Lucretius's. This passage has,
out of 47 lines, 38 with 2½ caesura, 5 with 1½/3½ and 4 with neither but
preserving conflict of ictus and accent. The figures for the three pass-
ages from <u>DRN</u> are respectively:

ii 20-61   Out of 42 lines 33 - 7 - 2 (preserving conflict)
ii 886-930   Out of 45 lines 37 - 7 - 2 (not preserving conflict)
v 614-55[1]   Out of 42 lines 38 - 8 - 2 (one preserving conflict, one not).

Lucretius, incidentally, seems remarkably consistent in his use of the
caesura.

3.   There are 21 <u>elisions</u> in the passage, about half the number of lines;
a proportion typical of Vergil (Winbolt p.174). Of these 10 involve the
elision of final short e (in 7 of these, in -que)[2] and another 4 where
final vowel is followed by short e, which may be assumed to be prodelided
(see p.174n1)

longa exorsa 46; laeta et 48; vero et 49; aliena ex 76.

The remainder all express some sort of difficulty;

exuerint silvestrem animum 51

cogendae in sulcum ac multa mercede domandae 62

aut rursum enodes trunci resecantur 78

deinde feraces

plantae immittuntur   80

[1] ie. for the sake of comparison the passage is extended by five lines to
bring it to the approximate length of the others.
[2] 35, 38 (2x), 39 (id), 56, 66, 71, 73 (2x).

except

> quare agite o proprios generatim discite cultus 35

at the beginning of the passage, where it adds to the liveliness of the rhythm, and

> etiam ardua palma
> nascitur   68.

This is a fairly noticeable elision in a place where elision is very rare (Winbolt p.174) with no obvious expressive purpose.

Elision in Vergil is very frequent (id, ibid.) and (despite the last example) very often has an expressive purpose if it is not an "easy" elision (one involving short e). In fact Vergil uses elision more frequently and expressively than any other major Latin hexameter poet. Not surprisingly, then, he uses elision more frequently and artistically than the cautious Lucretius.[1]

4. **Alliteration** and assonance need not be obvious to be effective. In view of Wilkinson's criticism that alliteration in Lucretius "ran to excess" (GLA p.26) it will be as well to begin with an example from DRN;

> non radii solis neque lucida tela diei   ii 60.

There is no striking or "excess" alliteration here, but a skilful use of concealed sound repetition. l is repeated three times, and so is the combination di (reversed in 'lucida'); in the last two feet the word stress falls twice on ē. By fitting together well the sounds have a feeling of rightness or inevitability which is missing in the ordinary phrases of conversation.

This is the kind of subtle alliteration and assonance which Vergil prefers, without excluding the more obvious forms of it. For example, in the passage —

> sterilis quae stirpibus exit ab imis   53

there is deliberately prominent cacophonous alliteration in s + consonant, x (cs) and assonance in the sharp front vowels ĕ and i. In

> cogendae in sulcum ac multa mercede domandae   62

prominent alliteration in m is used to express barrenness and effort.

[1] There are 14 elisions in DRN ii 20-61, 18 in ii 886-930 and 12 in v 614-55 (six lines being added to bring the passage up to the same length as the others — cf. p.173n1). Of these all but 5 in the first passage, 2 in the second and 2 in the third involve elision of short final final e or prodelision of 'ex', 'in', 'et' or 'ut/uti'.

Ennius, incidentally, is even more cautious. In the 411 surviving whole lines of the Annales he allows himself only 80 elisions — less than one in five lines — as against 689 in the first 410 lines of Plautus's Miles Gloriosus, for example. Lucretius has one every three or four lines of DRN, Vergil one every two.

But far more often Vergil's alliteration is too subtle to be noticed on first reading, as it is in Lucretius's line quoted above. It conveys instead a general impression of melodiousness and of the inevitability just mentioned. The words seem the right and only ones to fit the context, because they chime together in sound - for instance in

<p style="text-align:center">fraxinus Herculeaeque arbos umbrosa coronae 66.</p>

Here there is no alliteration at the beginning of words; but the consonant cluster with which the line starts contains an r which runs through the line. That fr cluster, moreover, is taken up half-way through the line in reversed order and with the related stop of b instead of f. Then the tow sounds are taken up again in the new form but in their original order -br- in the next word, which however has also borrowed the second syllable of arbos -os-, this time carrying the ictus and accent. In the last word the ō appears again, again carrying ictus and accent; but instead of being followed by s it has taken up the r which preceded it in 'umbrosa'; - 'corona'.

On a simpler level, Ismara and Baccho (37) go well together because the voiced nasal m with ǎ in Ismara is taken up in its non-nasal form b in Baccho. Another example; in

<p style="text-align:center">rami matris opacant 55</p>

the pathetic plight of the young plants is emphasised by assonance in ā (+ ictus and accent) which Jackson Knight (Roman Vergil p.247) says is "often tragic and sad".[1]

Here then Vergil's alliteration is usually subtle but musical and express-ive. In his general avoidance of noticeable alliteration he is very diff-erent from Lucretius, who revels in it (Bailey pp.147-53 has a very good section on this); but is capable of equal subtlety.

5.   Enjambement occurs as follows;

a.   to 1   iuvat Ismara Baccho

      conserere atque...   38

                     ; si quis

    inserat,   50

                 ; etiam ardua palma

    nascitur   68

[1] see also p.118.
    Compare also: 52 'quascumque...artis...tarda. the -ar- in 'tarda' has become familiar by the time it is reached, so the word stands out and is emphasised. 64: resonant o sounds - 'solido de robore. 82: no...on (with ictus) lengthening to no - o. This is the last line in the paragraph, and the assonance helps to give it an appropriate lapidary effect.

b. to 1½ - dactylic:

ornusque incanuit albo

    flore piri   72

       spondaic:

,propagine vites

    respondent,   64

; huc aliena ex arbore germen

    includunt   77

c. to 2   , angustus in ipso

    fit nodo sinus: 76

d. to 2½   deinde feraces

    plantae immittuntur: 80

The pause at 2 (fit nodo sinus) is not common. Here (as Winbolt points out, p.27) it represents the rapid slit of the knife.

The variety of the pauses Vergil chooses here after enjambement is almost matched by Lucretius in the proem to ii;[1] comparable too is the fact that all is significant, that the most striking pauses (at 1 in Vergil, at 1½ in both; representing sudden action)[2] are light so as not to over-emphasise them, and that where the pause is after the first word in the line that word is a verb strong enough for the emphasis it receives. But enjambement in the other two Lucretian passages is not always so vig-orous;[1] and the significant Vergilian pause before enjambement (see p.177) does not occur in Lucretius. But it should not be forgotten that Lucretius's practice is not necessarily inferior. For instance, see page 123 on the grand enjambement at ii 926.

Vergil is also prepared to start enjambement in the last two feet:
at 4¾ scilicet omnibus est labor impendendus, et omnes

    cogendae in sulcum   61

    plantis et durae coryli nascuntur et ingens

    fraxinus   65

    aut rursum enodes trunci resecantur, et alte

    finditur in solidum cuneis via,   78

nec longum tempus et ingens

    exiit ad caelum   80

  at 5   , si quis

---

[1] Enjambement up to a marked pause at 1½ occurs at DRN ii 35,37,50,56 and 60. Enjambement occurs 9 times in ii 20-61, mostly in a striking form, 5 times in ii 886-930, only once in a striking way - the example referred to on this page - and only twice, and then almost imperceptibly, in v 614-50.

[2] see GLA p.66.

inserat

Such enjambement beginning at 4¾ is rare in Vergil (and very rare in Lucretius: there are no examples in the three passages from ORN, though cf. ii 32). Clearly here the poet intends the reader's mind to dwell on the idea of size, height or totality contained in the adjective thus isolated during the pause between the lines. Winbolt also thinks (p.51) that the effect of the pause in 61 is to stress 'impendendus' before it.

On 'si quis inserat' see above, p.172.

6. Apart from those following enjambement, there are a number of <u>other</u> <u>pauses within the line</u>;

	light	heavy
at ½	43	—
at 1	40	—
at 1½	36,41,53,54	44
at 2½	48	45,71
at 3½	51,63	49,67

In fact only 21 lines (out of 48) contain no internal pauses and four of these are involved in enjambement or hypermetre. The contrast with the static manner of Cicero and Catullus (p.75) is plain. Like Lucretius, Vergil crosses the rhythm of the line with smaller and larger rhythms working within a larger unit. But in Lucretius sentences are longer (p.118) and therefore tend to be more complete in themselves; though he is always aware of the importance of siting his period within the rhythm of the paragraph as a whole (p.122). In Vergil the whole paragraph is more important, his periods are short (they rarely exceed four hexameters - GLA p.196) and quite often end in mid-line,[1] and his rhythms are usually incomplete before the end of the paragraph. The longest sentence here is six lines (63-8) interrupted twice (64,67) and even so, as Wilkinson's figure shows, it is unusually long. In this way - and this is why Vergil often has pauses <u>before</u> enjambement as well as after, unlike Lucretius (p.176) - the movement and excitement of the paragraph (its 'δειvóτηϛ ') are increased (cf. GLA pp.189-96 and on the architectonic structure of the passage, pp. 114ff above).

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[1] So <u>3x</u> here (37,44,49) and there are strong pauses (colon or semi-colon) at 45,67,71,76,80.
   In the three passages from ORN the figures are <u>0x,2x,0x</u> respectively for sentences ending in mid-line and <u>0x,1x,1x</u> respectively for strong pauses in mid-line.
   There are fifteen sentences in the present passage as against 8 (a very noticeable difference), 14 and 11 respectively in the three passages from ORN.

7. <u>Hyperbaton</u>, still infrequent in Lucretius,[1] is used often here. The traditional placing of the preposition between the noun it governs and an adjective agreeing with it (cf. Ennius's 'magna cum curd, pictis e faucibus' etc. - <u>Annales</u>, Vahlen 77,86) occurs at 76

> huc aliena ex arbore germen
> includunt

allowing Vergil to secure coincidence of ictus and accent in the fourth foot and so stress the important word 'aliena'. The same figure, but with the noun and adjective more widely separated, occurs at 53 and 64; this is neater, since it allows Vergil to place another word which he does not wish to emphasise in the middle. At 74

> qua se medio trudunt de cortice gemmae

it is expressive as well (cf. GLA p.66); the verb like the bud it describes is tucked away in the middle of the bark.[2]   )

Separation of adjective and noun in hyperbaton without a preposition between them occurs 14 times (as against 6, 7 and 12 times respectively in the passages from <u>DRN</u>) - notably

> pelagoque volans da vela patenti   41

where the phrase is expressively opened out by the imperative to set sail;

> tarda venit seris factura nepotibus umbram   58

where the reader, like the man who plants the tree, has to wait for the appearance of 'nepotibus'; and

> angustus in ipso
> fit nodo sinus   76

where the little word 'fit' comes in the middle as unobtrusively as the narrow slit (already mentioned p.176) in the base of the bud.

At 39

> inceptumque una decurre laborem

the participle is separated from its noun because it is particularly emphatic - it stands for a clause. The same holds for 50 - 'scrobibus mandet mutata subactis'.

At 80

> ingens
> exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos

the adjective is separated because it has adverbial force (like 'tarda' in 52), but the separation is greater than it need be, and the noun comes last

---

[1] though cf. below on v 614-49. For a general comment on hyperbaton see GLA pp.213ff.

[2] cf. Góngora, <u>Soledad Primera</u> 795, "de las que el bosque bellas ninfas cela", where the poet boldly uses hyperbaton to hide the "bellas ninfas" between the wood (bosque) and the verb (cela).

because Vergil wants to emphasise both terms.

Hyperbaton is used here with Vergil's usual skill (cf. GLA p.215) but considerably more frequently than in any of the passages from DRN except the last.[1]

8. **Present participles** are worth a brief mention. They are traditionally poetic in Latin but easily abused - as for instance in the straggling sentences of Cicero's Aratea. (In Aratea 295-340, the passage which contains the crafsman simile (p.60f) and the procession of the Zodiac (p.142f), there are 22). However in this passage they are as rare as they are in Lucretius.[2] They occur 4 times; twice in a lyrical descriptive line[3]

    pelagoque volans da vela patenti   41

and twice replacing clauses in an elliptical way

    crescentique adimunt fetus uruntque ferentem   56.

An important difference between Lucretius and Vergil lies in their use of **Rhetoric**. Lucretius is as sparing of it as he is free with polysyllabic line-endings (cf. p.172) and rare words (cf. Bailey pp.132ff). But the present passage, as is usual with Vergil, contains many rhetorical figures. Particularity has already been mentioned (p.151f); the others are given below.

9a. Firstly

    Chaoniique patris glandes   67

provides an example of a metathesis - **part for whole** - because strictly speaking it is not the acorns which are grafted but the oak-tree. But Vergil wishes to remind the reader of the profit of labour; hence the fruit, not the tree itself is mentioned. (So the device has a straightforwardly didactic function. Contrast the essentially lyrical use, the interest in poetic detail, shown when Lucretius uses metathesis, for instance at v 641 'gelidis a frigoris umbris' - cf. p.146f).

b. Another kind of metathesis - **singular for plural** - is common in the passage; it is always used of the trees, particularly in the list of the ways in which various ones are grown (47-72). It has the advantage of

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[1] All in all Lucretius uses hyperbaton 9 times in ii 20-61, 8 times in ii 886-930 and 19 times in v 614-49. The frequency of hyperbaton in the last passage may be due to its prevalence in Cicero's Aratea which Lucretius is drawing on there, as stated above (p.142).

[2] eg. in the three passages from DRN 2x,0x and 1x respectively.

[3] ie. poetical, in the way that Hesiod's descriptions (p.5) are.

helping the reader to visualise what is described, since he only has to think
of one tree and not an indefinite number (confusing, especially in a list).
Also it is an unobtrusive way of keeping his attention by variation - some-
times the tree is mentioned in the singular, sometimes in the plural (cf.
53-72. Singulars underlined: arbos 57 uva 60 oleae vites 63 myrtus 64 coryli
65 fraxinus arbos etc. 66 glandes palma 67 abies 68 arbutus 69 platani 70
castaneae fagos ornus 71 (flore piri) glandem ulmus 72. Also Baccho 37).

In the next paragraph the figure is used in the middle of literal
plurals to concentrate attention on the minute operation of grafting

<div align="center">angustus in ipso</div>

> fit nodo sinus: huc aliena ex arbore germen
>
> includunt udoque docent inolescere libro.   75-7

Finally the section finishes with it used in a close-up - tell-tale sub-
jective style word - to draw the reader's attention to a single tree which
has grown from one of these graftings;

<div align="center">et ingens</div>

> exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos...   80-1.

Like part for whole it has a didactic function rather than the poetic eff-
ect that metathesis has in Lucretius.

c.   The same is true when the epithet is transferred at line 44 for emph-
asis - 'primi lege litoris oram'. This is another form of metathesis.

d.   Other devices add to the excitement ($\delta \epsilon \iota \nu \acute{o} \tau \eta s$ - cf. p.115) - for
instance, the abruptness of asyndeton

> non mihi si linguae centum sint, oraque centum/
>
> ferrea vox   43

<div align="center">propagine vites</div>

> respondent,/ solido Paphiae de robore myrtus   64
>
> et steriles platani malos gessere valentis/
>
> castaneae fagos;   71

e.   also suppression of the copula

> in manibus terrae 45
>
> omnes Cogendae in sulcum 62
>
> nec modus inserere...simplex 73
>
> nec longum tempus 80

f.   and anaphora (in an elaborate invocation)

> tuque ades...
>
> o decus, o famae merito pars maxima nostrae,
>
> Maecenas...

nŏn ego cuncta...nŏn,
...adĕs et primi lege litoris oram; 39-44

g. also apostrophe - here perhaps there is ♂ touch of humour too, because Vergil addresses Maecenas (41) incongruously just after the farmers (agri-colae 36)

ᛐ

h. and hyperbole - 'non mihi si centum' etc. (43)[2] and on a different level 'vacuos...digesta per agros' (54) and 'exiit ad caelum' (81).

i. Verbal variatio (which we are told was favoured by most Roman poets though "stigmatised by Fowler"[3]) is used in the last paragraph without the loss of clarity which according to Maguiness (see note 3) would follow, to convey the notion of "ingrafting": viz. 'inserere'...'oculos imponere' 73 'germen includunt udoque docent inolescere libro' 76-6 'immittuntur' 80.

But Maguiness's point is a fair one, even though it can be criticised in detail. Generally Lucretius avoids complicated rhetorical tropes unless he is particularly excited (anaphora, see note 1) or captivated by some detail (metathesis, see p.179). In the three passages from DRN he uses the simple tropes of enumeration, pleonasm, periphrasis, polyptoton and sym-metry.[4] Vergil needs rhetoric for his ' δειvóτη S ' (p.180).

10. But ' δειvóτηS ' calls for variatio on a larger scale which can be called variety of expression. It takes a different form in the first para-graph (35-46) from the rest of the passage, because the paragraph is part of the introduction to the book and not part of the exposition.

Vergil has no argument to link and develop. The only connexions he uses are a connecting relative at the beginning of the paragraph ('quare' 35, which falsely gives it the air of being part of the argument - "for these reasons")[5] and an unemphatic '-que' (39). Instead he rings the changes

[1] compare Cicero's excited anaphora (p.71) and Lucretius's in the passage Vergil has in mind here (p.182). Vergil seems less sincere (cf. p.105 on Maecenas), more artful.

[2] Homeric, but also apparently in imitation of Lucretius - see p.153.

[3] W S Maguiness quoting H W Fowler, Elegant Variation in English Usage, in 'Lucretius', p.73. By implication Lucretius is praised for refraining from it; but cf. (for instance) DRN ii 842-6. Even in ii 886-930 Lucretius has 'animalia' etc. 901,909,918, but 'animantibus', 'animantium' 914,921.

[4] enumeration   (2) ii 895,905,921
pleonasm   (1) i125   (2) ii 906,923   (3) v 641
periphrasis   (3) v 615,616,617
polyptoton   (3) v 638,644,646
symmetry   (3) v 639-42

[5] cf. Sellar's comment (p.89) discussed on p. .

on apostrophe to a group, "Come on now, farmers...", personal comment, "It's delightful to..." more intimate apostrophe "You turn up as well, Maecenas" and grandiose anaphora, "I cannot embrace all...not all" contrasting with more intimate anaphora, returning to Maecenas "turn up and...". There are only two subordinate clauses (neu 37 non si 43) and the sentences are short; their parts are linked by unobtrusive "and"[1] or asyndeton (44,45), common in ordinary speech and without the slightly laboured quality of elaborate subordination,[2] or else by the lofty rhetorical devices of anaphora and denial-in-anticipation (42-3; 45 non hic...) which also avoid it.

What results is just as grandiose and perhaps more intimate and exciting than the traditional rotund periods of Latin verse; the contrast between the loose, almost conversational structure of 39-41 "and x and y...and z" and the insistent rhetoric which follows it "not a, not if b, c", is a very striking one. "Like Cicero, Vergil is so grand that he may give the impress-ion of having normally composed in long, rolling periods. But this is not so...His style...relies not on elaborate subordination of clauses, ...but rather on the juxtaposition of short sentences...often without explicit con-nection ('pugiunculi' enlivened by all the rhetorical figures)" GLA p.190, quoted before on p.115.

Some comparison with DRN is called for. It seems natural to compare Vergil's first paragraph with the famous purple passage which his 'iuvat' (37) shows he has in mind here -

> _iuvat_ integros accedere fontis
> atque haurire, _iuvatque_ novos decerpere flores
> insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam
> unde prius nulli velarint tempora musae;   i 927-30.

At first there appears to be little difference: there is the same combina-tion of loose unemphatic "and" with rhetorical anaphora (p.181n1). Only 'inde...unde' stresses a subordination unnecessarily. In fact Vergil might well have developed his connecting technique from this and similar parts of Lucretius. But it is not typical either of what goes before it - 'nunc age _quod superest_[3]...et 921 nec...sed 922 et _simul_ 924 quo 925'; or what

note 4 (cont). There is also a simple anaphora in ii 886-7, an oxymoron at v 622 and further examples of metathesis at ii 35, 51 and 52. It can be seen that rhetoric, like hyperbaton, is much more frequent in the third passage and probably due to the influence of Cicero's _Aratea_ - see p.179n1.

[1] -que 36 atque 38 -que 39 -que 41 et 44 atque 46.

[2] which Lucretius does not avoid (GLA p.189).

[3] cf. Vergil's 'quare agite', with an excited elision and no prosaic 'quod superest' anticipating the coming argument.

follows -

> primum quod magnis doceo de rebus et artis
>
> religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo,
>
> deinde quod obscura de re tam lucida pango
>
> carmina, musaeo contingens cuncta lepore.   931-4

The sentence rolls on, connected as explicitly and, it must be admitted,
as prosaically as a good lecture. And this is not a passage of exposition.
Vergil uses Lucretius's formulas of transition, but infrequently (sometimes
almost deceitfully, as with 'quare' at 35) so as not to "impede the pure
flow of his poetry" (Sellar's words cited p.89). Lucretius has no such qualms;
he is always concerned with making "continuity of thought" (ibid.) explicit
(like Parmenides, p.23, and Empedocles, p.34) from 'nam' (i 6) to 'namque'
(vi 1283) - from one end of DRN to another.

In Vergil's next paragraph the exposition demands connexions. Being
the beginning of a new section, and unlike the previous paragraph, obviously
relevant, it doesn't need to start with a connexion (no 'quare'). After
that, as demanded by variatio, every sentence has a different one, but always
one which would be relevant in conversation rather than proper to a didactic
exposition.[1] The exception is rhetorical rather than didactic (nec non et
53). As before Vergil prefers 'and' with asyndeton to elaborate subordin-
ation,[2] although this time there is little grandiose rhetoric in contrast
with it; 'δεινότης' is maintained by the shortness of the sentences and
clauses, and the abruptness which is due not only to asyndeton but also
to a tendency for Vergil to use a connexion which is not quite the most
obvious one in the context (like 'quare'). For instance, it is not immed-
iately clear that the contrast in 'sed' (63) is with grafting (inserat)
fourteen lines back; so with the ellipse of "nor (do you have to wait)
a long time (before..."; 'nec longum tempus') in line 80. All this can be
seen in the next paragraph as well. Vergil avoids the heroics of 35-46 but
keeps the effect described by Wilkinson (cit. p.182).

There is a difference in the paragraphs following the purple passage
of DRN which could be anticipated from the passage itself. The sentences
are longer, subordination is more common and the connexions are painstakingly
clear, frequent and logical.[3] It lacks Vergil's 'δεινότης'. It has the
grand unfolding of the argument instead.

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[1] tamen 49 iam 57 scilicet 61 sed 63 vero 69.

[2] subordinate clauses 'si quis...' 49 'quascumque' 52 'quae' 53,57. Relative
avoided by participle in 'visura' 68. Contrast the procession of "ands" (63-72).

[3] sentence connexions: sed 951 igitur 958 porro 960 nunc 963 praeterea 968
enim 974 quorum 975 nam 977 hoc pacto 980 postremo 984. Subordination:
quoniam 951 quaedam...necne 953 quod 954 seu in quo 955 utrum...an 957 etc.
(31 in 37 lines).

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<u>List of abbreviations</u>

CQ   - Classical Quarterly

DK   - Diels Kranz; see item 9

DRN   - De Rerum Natura

G   - Georgic

GLA   - Golden Latin Artistry; see item 53

GRBS - Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies

KR   - Kirk and Raven; see item 22

LPW - ' The Georgics of Vergil'; see item 52

OCD - The Oxford Classical Dictionary

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