Caesar, the Circus and the charioteer in Vergil's Georgics

Nelis, Damien Patrick

Caesar, the Circus and the charioteer in Vergil's *Georgics**

Damien P. NELIS

References to and descriptions of chariot racing are not uncommon in ancient epic poetry, beginning with the race during the funeral games for Patroclus at Homer, *Iliad,* 23.262-652. In Latin epic, a section of the fifth book of Vergil's *Aeneid* (114-284) describes a boat race in a way that makes it obvious that Vergil has in mind both Homer's contest and chariot races in the Circus Maximus[1]. From very fragmentary evidence we can see that Vergil also had a model in Ennius, who had a regatta which he compared to a chariot race, probably in the seventh book of the *Annales*[2]. There are also descriptions of chariot races in Statius, *Thebaid*, 6.296-549, and Silius Italicus, *Punica,* 16.312-456, not to mention, outside the epic genre, Ovid, *Amores,* 3.2 and *Ars Amatoria,* 1.135-170, and Sidonius Apollonaris, *Carmina,* 23.307-427[3]. Once the generic boundary of epic crossed, further examples come to mind. Greek tragedy offers the famous account of Orestes' death in Sophocles' *Electra,* 698-763[4]. Pindaric and Bacchylidean epinician celebrates victories in chariot races and repeatedly exploits the image of the chariot of the Muses in doing so[5]. And it is well known that chariot imagery is prevalent in didactic poetry, from Parmenides on[6]. This paper will attempt to trace the role of chariot racing and related imagery in Vergil's *Georgics*, a didactic poem in which generic identity is a vital ingredient and in which epic and epinician elements are of considerable importance[7]. In doing so, it will attempt to study Vergil's creation of a nexus of references to charioteering at key moments in the poem in light of the Roman political context, involving both recent historical events and contemporary architectural developments in the Circus Maximus, including the reorganisation of chariot racing as a mass spectacle of considerable ideological importance[8].

Much of the third book of the *Georgics* is devoted to horses and to the training and care required to prepare them for, among other things, the purpose of chariot racing[9]. After the prologue, the book begins like this (3.49-51):

> *Seu qui Olympiacae miratus praemia palmae*
> *pascit equos, seu qui fortis ad aratra iuuencos,*
> *corpora praecipue matrum legat.*

* I would like to thank for help and encouragement of various kinds Sylvia Barbantani, Alessandro Barchiesi, Philip Hardie, Martin Korenjak, Helen Lovatt, Jim McKeown, Jocelyne Nelis-Clément, Jean-Michel Roddaz, Alessandro Schiesaro, Tony Woodman and audiences in Bordeaux, Dublin, Bern and Rome, where earlier versions of this paper were presented.

1. See Feldherr 1995, Lovatt 2005, 48-54. More generally, see Davis 1966.
2. Skutsch 1985, 623.
3. For a good survey see Lovatt 2005, ch. 1. On Ovid see especially Henderson 2002 and McKeown forthcoming; see also Freudenburg 2001, 42, 78f. Ancient sport in general has become a focus of lively debate in recent years: see the work published in *Nikephoros* and, for example, Golden 1998, Decker & Thuillier 2004, Koenig 2005, Nicholson 2005, Kyle 2007.
4. See also the description of Orestes comparing himself to a charioteer losing control in Aeschylus' *Choephori*, 1021-1025 with Dewar 1988, 563. On the famous Platonic image of the soul as a chariot in *Phaedrus* see most recently Belfiore 2006.
5. Simpson 1969, Nünlist 1998, 255-264, Lovatt 2005, 29. I have not seen Goh 2004, but the summary of the thesis published at *HSCP* 102 (2004), 462f suggests that it provides a survey of much of the relevant Greek material.
6. See Gibson 2003, on 467-468, 809-812, Hardie 2005, 27, Rosenfeld-Löffler 2006, 36-57.
7. On epic, didactic and the *Georgics* see in general Farrell 1991, Morgan 1999, Nelis 2004. On epinician elements see Wilkinson 1970, Buchheit 1972, 99-159, esp. 148-159, Thomas 1998 = 1999, ch. 10, Balot 1998, Henderson 2002, 62f, Nappa 2005, 117-24.
8. Aspects of charioteering in the *Georgics* have attracted considerable attention in recent years: see for example Balot 1998, Gale 2000, 188-192, Freudenburg 2001, 42f, 78-82, Henderson 2002, 62f, Hardie 2004, 2005, 24-27, Nappa 2005, 66-68, 119-133, 158f, 220, Lovatt forthcoming.
9. The provision of horses for the races in the *ludi* will have been a major business operation; see Humphrey 1986, index 4 s.v. horse-breeding; on racing in the Republican period see Rawson 1981; see also Cameron 1976, showing that the organisation of the famous circus factions with their colours dates back to the Republic; on the complex nature of the massive organisation required for staging the races see Nelis-Clément 2002. On circuses in Rome see Coleman 2000, 210-219.

Desire for Olympic victory makes an interesting beginning, given that in the prologue to book 3 a chariot race, that for the hand of Hippodame, had been included in a list of hackneyed topics (3.4-8):

> *omnia iam uulgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum*
> *aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?*
> *cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos*
> *Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno*
> *acer equis?*

Furthermore, later in the same prologue, it had been predicted that both this Greek mythological race and historical Olympian and Nemean games would give way to plans for magnificent and triumphal Italian celebrations involving chariot races (3.17-20):

> *illi uictor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro*
> *centum quadriiugos agitabo ad flumina currus.*
> *cuncta mihi Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi*
> *cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu.*

It is rather surprising, therefore, to find desire for victory at Olympia in line 49; no doubt the ancient Greek games maintained their prestige, and of course the Italian games are still only projects for the future (*agitabo*, *decernet*). Vergil also has much instruction to provide in the rest of book 3 on the training of race horses, before he can turn his attention fully to victories and triumphs, topics which, in the context of the poetic symbolism of the prologue to book 3, seem to have more to do with the composition of the *Aeneid* than with the *Georgics*[10]. In any case, myth, history, poetics, the work of the farmer and the relationship between Italy, Rome and the Greek world are all combined here in a complex way which is typical of the *Georgics* as a whole. Further study of chariot racing throughout the poem will help to contextualise the opening of the third book and reveal something of the importance of the subject for the work as a whole.

It is of course on one level idle to speculate whether Vergil actually enjoyed going to watch chariot racing, but there can be little doubt that he expected his readers to have some experience of the *clamor* and *furor* of a day at the races, as the following lines illustrate, with the danger of the rush from the starting gates and the gathering speed of the chariots as the charioteers apply all their skill (3.103-122)[11]:

> ***nonne uides****, cum praecipiti certamine campum*
> *corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus,*
> *cum spes adrectae iuuenum, exsultantiaque haurit*
> *corda pauor pulsans? illi instant uerbere torto*
> *et proni dant lora, uolat ui feruidus axis;*
> *iamque humiles iamque elati sublime uidentur*
> *aera per uacuum ferri atque adsurgere in auras.*
> *nec mora nec requies; at fuluae nimbus harenae*
> *tollitur, umescunt spumis flatuque sequentum:*
> *tantus amor laudum, tantae est uictoria curae.*
> *primus Ericthonius currus et quattuor ausus*
> *iungere equos rapidusque rotis insistere uictor.*
> *frena Pelethronii Lapithae gyrosque dedere*
> *impositi dorso, atque equitem docuere sub armis*
> *insultare solo et gressus glomerare superbos.*
> *aequus uterque labor, aeque iuuenemque magistri*
> *exquirunt calidumque animis et cursibus acrem,*
> *quamuis saepe fuga uersos ille egerit hostis*
> *et patriam Epirum referat fortisque Mycenas,*
> *Neptunique ipsa deducat origine gentem.*

10. On the prologue to book 3 and its relationship to both the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* see Nelis 2004.

11. For élite distaste with regard to the spectacle see Plin., *Ep.*, 9.6.1, with Sherwin-White 1966, *ad loc.* and Juv. 3.223, 10.78-81, with Courtney 1980, *ad loc.*

Not only do these lines catch vividly something of the speed, excitement and danger of the spectacle, they even reveal the distant origins of the sport and its inventor, Ericthonius[12]. Similarly at 3.179-208, on the training of young horses, chariot racing once again attracts the poet's attention, and once more the passage is worth quoting in full because of the way in which it evokes familiarity with the sport, particularly the training of the horses in order to prepare them for the noise and excitement of both race day and battle:

sin ad bella magis studium turmasque ferocis,
aut Alphea rotis praelabi flumina Pisae
et Iouis in luco currus agitare uolantis,
primus equi labor est animos atque arma uidere
bellantum lituosque pati, tractuque gementem
ferre rotam et stabulo frenos audire sonantis;
tum magis atque magis blandis gaudere magistri
laudibus et plausae sonitum ceruicis amare.
atque haec iam primo depulsus ab ubere matris
audeat, inque uicem det mollibus ora capistris
inualidus etiamque tremens, etiam inscius aeui.
at tribus exactis ubi quarta accesserit aestas,
carpere mox gyrum incipiat gradibusque sonare
compositis, sinuetque alterna uolumina crurum,
sitque laboranti similis; tum cursibus auras
tum uocet, ac per aperta uolans ceu liber habenis
aequora uix summa uestigia ponat harena:
qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris
incubuit, Scythiaeque hiemes atque arida differt
nubila; tum segetes altae campique natantes
lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaeque sonorem
dant siluae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus;
ille uolat simul arua fuga simul aequora uerrens.
hinc uel ad Elei metas et maxima campi
sudabit spatia et spumas aget ore cruentas,
Belgica uel molli melius feret esseda collo.
tum demum crassa magnum farragine corpus
crescere iam domitis sinito; namque ante domandum
ingentis tollent animos, prensique negabunt
uerbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis.

These lines recall and develop an important aspect of the earlier passage quoted, the link between rearing horses for chariot racing and preparing them also for war (cf. *arma*, 3.83, *armis*, 3.116, *bella* 3.179, *arma…bellantum* 3.182f)[13]. Finally, near the third book's close, comes a grim description of the death by plague of a victorious horse:

labitur infelix studiorum atque immemor herbae
uictor equus fontisque auertitur et pede terram
crebra ferit; demissae aures, incertus ibidem
sudor et ille quidem morituris frigidus; aret
pellis et ad tactum tractanti dura resistit.
haec ante exitium primis dant signa diebus:
sin in processu coepit crudescere morbus,

12. On aetiology in the *Georgics* see Shechter 1975, 366f, Hardie 1998, 29, 44; on Ericthonius see Mynors 1990 and Erren 2003, *ad loc.* His involvement in the first Panathenaea suggest a parallel with the poet's institution of Italian games and races at 3.17f; cf. *uictor…quadriiugos… currus* at 3.17f and *currus…/iungere equos…uictor* at 3.113f. Obliquely, Vergil provides a history of the sport, from its Greek origins to both its current popularity, via this vivid description, and its immediate future in Italy, via the games planned in lines 3.17-19. In addition, line 122, *Neptunique ipsa deducat origine gentem*, takes us back to the origin of the horse, produced by Neptune from a trident blow; cf. 1.12f.

13. Cf. also *Alphea*, 3.180 and *Elei*, 3.202 (two periphrases for Olympia) recalling *Alpheum* at 3.19 and *Olympiacae* at 3.49. On the simile in lines 196-201 see Schindler 2000, 166-170. For students of Vergil's interest in horses and knowledge of equine lore generally, the commentary of Mynors 1990 is partcularly rich and helpful. For recent work on horses in the ancient world see Gardeisen 2005, Griffith 2006.

tum uero ardentes oculi atque attractus ab alto
spiritus, interdum gemitu grauis, imaque longo
ilia singultu tendunt, it naribus ater
sanguis, et obsessas fauces premit aspera lingua.
profuit inserto latices infundere cornu
Lenaeos; ea uisa salus morientibus una.
mox erat hoc ipsum exitio, furiisque refecti
ardebant, ipsique suos iam morte sub aegra
(di meliora piis, erroremque hostibus illum!)
discissos nudis laniabant dentibus artus.

The care of horses, whether destined for warfare or for racing, conforms to a consistent pattern in the poem as a whole. There is an inextricable connection in the *Georgics* between farming and warfare, between man as farmer and as soldier, between farming and the world of Roman military power, and also between life and hard work one the one hand and suffering and death on the other. This aspect of the work suggests of course that it must be read as a reflection on the human condition and humankind's relationship to the natural world, but it also suggests that the descriptions of horses and references to chariot racing may carry possible contemporary Roman political resonances[14]. It is generally agreed that the *Georgics* were written from around the mid-30s to the early 20s BC, even if it is salutary to appreciate the true extent of our ignorance of the exact dates[15]. During this exact period, as the Roman world was split between rival factions and caught up, once again, in the horrors of civil war[16], important developments were taking place in the Circus Maximus, probably the most remarkable construction in the city, even by the impressive standards of Triumviral or early Augustan Rome[17]. In this regard, John Humphrey's magisterial summing up of the evidence concerning the activities of both Julius Caesar and Octavian/Augustus merits quotation[18]:

> There can be little doubt that the canonical shape of the Circus Maximus with its two long sides meeting in a semicircular end was firmly established by Julius Caesar, although some of the work was evidently finished by Augustus. Major work on the Circus is attributed to Julius Caesar by Pliny (*Nat.,* 36.102) and Suetonius (*Iul.*, 39.2). Only the much later writer Cassiodorus (*Var.*, 3.51.4) attributes the Circus to Augustus. Suetonius and Pliny should be regarded as reliable, although it remains true that Augustus was probably responsible for the pulvinar… and the obelisk…, and it is quite possible that, as with many other buildings in Rome, he completed work begun by his adopted father. It is possible that there was not time for the reconstruction to be completed during Caesar's brief tenure of supreme power in Rome. In any event, the fire which "destroyed much of the Circus" in 31 BC (Dio. 50.10.3) would have necessitated major reconstruction by Augustus even if he was simply following the lines of Caesar's work. The temple of Ceres nearby was also destroyed by the fire and restored by Augustus. However, Augustus claimed as his own only the pulvinar, and it seems likely that the major credit for the new Circus should go to Caesar. Caesar was probably inspired to to work on the Circus by Pompey's recent work on Rome's first permanent theatre (55 BC) and may well have intended to complete it intime for his triumph in 46. He may have paid for the work with his campaign spoils.
>
> The figure of Agrippa should also be brought into connection with the Circus of Caesar and Augustus. Although only the eggs and dolphins are specificaly atributed to him (33 BC, Dio. 49.43.2), Dio probably derived this information from a longer account of the work of Agrippa and Augustus on the Circus. Much of Augustus' work on the Circus was probably under the direct control of Agrippa.

14. For the image of the ruler as a charioteer and the associations between the chariot and divinity, victory and triumph generally see Weinstock 1971, 54-59, ch. 5 and n. 48 below. For an example of the application of the image to the interpretation of the politics of Latin poetry see Ahl 1984; for the idea in the *Georgics* see, for example, Wilhelm 1982, Dewar 1988, 1990, Schindler 2000, 207, Hardie 2004, 90 and below, *passim.* Weinstock 1971, 54-59, cited above, is a discussion of the chariot set up in Julius Caesar's honour on the Capitol after Thapsus, which is highly suggestive of the topicality of the association for Vergil and his readers. For the highly politicized nature of the Circus see Veyne 1976, 660-693 and below n. 20.

15. Belief in the story of the *laudes Galli* of course brings the completion date down to the mid-twenties; for discussion of the dating see Horsfall 1995, 63-65, 86-89, Hardie 1998, 35, Von Albrecht 2006, 12.

16. On the *Georgics* and contemporary Roman politics see the remarks of Horsfall 1995, 93f, Hardie 1998, 33-39 and in general now Nappa 2005.

17. Dion H., *Ant.*, 3.68.2.

18. Humphrey 1986, 73.

In light of this reconstruction of the history of the Circus Maximus in Vergil's lifetime and of the important work done during the years in which he was working on the *Georgics*, within the context of a long tradition of passionate interest in chariot racing in Roman culture, no Roman reader could have read the passages of book 3 quoted above without connecting them in some way to the races held in the massive sporting complex situated in the dip between the Palatine and the Aventine hills[19]. It is surely worth considering, therefore, in what ways the use of chariot racing and its imagery in the *Georgics* relates to contemporary architectural and political developments, and how the evocation of the Circus in the poem relates to the development of an imperial culture reliant on associating itself with images of victory and triumph and intent on establishing "the pageantry of power"[20].

The relevant literary background is of course of venerable antiquity and very considerable depth and complexity. The idea of the "chariot of song" is as old as Pindar, and the image goes hand in hand with the conception of a poem as a path or way followed by the poet, an idea which seems to go back deep into the Indo-European past[21]. In the late fifth century, Choerilus of Samos (*Supplementum Hellenisticum,* 317) could write:

> O lucky one, whoever was a skilled poet at that time,
> servant of the Muses, when the meadow was still untouched.
> now everything has been apportioned and each art has its limits,
> and we are latecomers left behind in the race, and there is
> nowhere to drive a newly-yoked chariot.

Here the poetic tradition itself becomes a chariot race and the poet a charioteer trying to find a path to follow[22]. Choerilus' complaint hinges of course on the issues of genre, tradition and originality, and he employs very traditional imagery in formulating it. For example, Pindar, *Isthmian,* 2.1-4, referring to earlier poets, writes[23]:

> The men of long ago, O Thrasyboulos,
> who used to mount
> the chariot of the golden-wreathed Muses,
> taking with them the glorious lyre

The poem is for Xenocrates of Acragas, winner of the chariot race, so there is for Pindar a clear parallel between the chariot of the Muses and, specifically, chariot racing[24]. The force of the image for Pindar is put well by Simpson, highlighting associations with wealth, social prestige and power[25]:

> The importance of the chariot-metaphor is … its ability to express, through the associations evoked by the chariot, the *value* Pindar attributed to poetry. By means of the figure he attributes to his art the grandeur, mobility, and speed of a chariot, the magical aura derived from its use in epic and myth by the gods, and its consequent access to the divine realm. To himself, a practitioner of that art, he attributes the skill and control of a charioteer who, if not a god himself, can move among them in their realm.

19. On the archaeology of the Circus Maximus since the publication of Humphrey 1986, see Ciancio Rossetto 1993, 272-276, Dumser 2002, 87-89, Ciancio Rossetto in this volume, Nelis-Clément in this volume. On Augustus and the Circus and games see for example *RGDA* 19 (the *puluinar ad circum maximum*; see the discussion of Humphrey 1986, 78-83; *RGDA* 22.2 (*ludos feci meo nomine quater, aliorum autem magistratuum uicem ter et uiciens*; Suet., *Aug.*, 10 on the *ludi uictoriae Caesaris*; 18 on the Actian games, 23 on games for Jupiter; 31 for the *ludi Saeculares*; 43 on his being ill and carried in the *pompa*; 45, *Ipse circenses ex amicorum fere libertorumque cenaculis spectabat, interdum ex puluinari et quidem cum coniuge ac liberis sedens*; see Spannagel 1999, Register 2, *ludi* and *lusus Troiae.* On Cassius Dio's possible use of a detailed account of the work of Augustus and Agrippa on the Circus see Humphrey 1986, 73. For the placing of the obelisk on the *spina* see Plin., *Nat.*, 36.71, Amm. 17.4.12 and Humphrey 1986, 269-272, Royo 1999, 50, Coleman 2000, 214.

20. For this phrase see Beacham 2005. On the political aspects of Roman spectacle much has been written; see n. 14 above on the ruler/charioteer image, and from recent work on the whole topic see for example Coleman 2000, Bell 2004, Sumi 2005, ch. 9, Berlan-Bajard 2006, ch. 7. For application to Latin poetry, see Feldherr 1995, Henderson 2002. As the latter, on 42, points out, circus races have received less attention from this point of view than gladiatorial games.

21. See Durante 1968.

22. On this particular aspect of poetic careers see Lovatt forthcoming.

23. Trans. Race 1997, 147.

24. For further chariot imagery see for example Pd., *O.,* 6.22-25, 9.80-81, 10.109-111, *P.,* 1.6-10, 10.64f, *N.,* 1.7, *I.,* 8.61-63. Cf. also Bacchyl. 5.176-178, 195-197, 10.51f., and see Goldhill 1991, 145-166 (a reading of Pd., *O.*, 6, but containing material of much wider significance), Nünlist 1998, 255-264, Asper 1997, ch. 2, Lovatt 2005, 23-32 and Lovatt forthcoming.

25. Simpson 1969, 440.

Such imagery and its associations are also to be found in Hellenistic poetry[26]. Callimachus opened the third book of his *Aetia* with a celebration of the victory of Berenices' chariot in the Nemean Games[27]. It is difficult to work out the relationship between this chariot race and the famous use of chariot imagery (clearly not involving a race) of the poem's prologue, fr. 1.25-28, but there can surely be no doubt that the passages are connected in some way[28]. The prominence Callimachus gives to the victory finds a parallel in the epigrams concerning horse-racing in the Milan Posidippus papyrus, where there was a whole section devoted to *Hippika* and Ptolemaic racing successes[29]. It is well known that there is in fact a direct link between Vergil's presentation of himself as a poet in the *Georgics* and both Callimachean and Pindaric practice in particular[30]. When he assumes the role of an epinician poet celebrating the victories and triumphs of Caesar, he uses his Greek models and their use of chariot races to enrich his poetic exploration of the contemporary Roman context. The passages of the greatest importance for exploring this aspect of the *Georgics* are the openings of books 1 and 3, and the endings of books 1, 2 and 4, providing a neat structural pattern, with clustering of key passages at book beginnings and endings and, most tellingly, at the start and close of each half of the poem. A sequential reading will reveal the development of a thematic pattern which is a vital part of the overall architecture of the work as a whole.

BOOK 1

Following a brief summary of the work's contents (1.1-5a) and the invocation of twelve deities connected with agriculture and the farmer's year (5b-23), the poet continues, in a sentence of challenging complexity, with an address to Caesar (24-39) and a prayer, which brings the whole prologue to a close (1.40-42):

> ***da*** *facilem* ***cursum*** *atque audacibus* ***adnue coeptis***
> *ignarosque* ***uiae*** *mecum miseratus agrestis*
> ***ingredere*** *et uotis iam nunc adsuesce uocari.*

The addressee of this prayer is Caesar, and the context is that of his imminent apotheosis (*tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum/ concilia incertum est…, Caesar*, 24f). But strikingly, he is asked to take an interest in the progress of the poem itself. For Mynors the use of *cursum* here "could be a metaphor from either chariot driving (2.541f) or navigation (2.41 and 44f, 4.116-117)"[31]. Erren, however, links these lines to the preceding invocation of the gods and argues that what

26. On Hellenistic epinician see Barbantani forthcoming, with extensive bibliography.

27. *Supplementum Hellenisticum (SH)* = Lloyd-Jones & Parsons 1983, 254-269; see Parsons 1977, Fantuzzi & Hunter 2004, 83-85. Chariot racing appears also in the *Victoria Sosibii*, another Callimachean elegiac epinician; for discussion of its relationship to the *Victoria Berenices* see Fuhrer 1993, D'Alessio 1996, 680f.

28. For some relevant discussion see Seiler 1997, 32-37, and on the metapoetic aspects of the *Victoria Berenices* see Seiler 1997, 90-110. It is of course important to distinguish between passages in which there is clear reference to actual racing and those in which it is only a matter of transportation by chariot. On both the sources and the influence of Callimachus' chariot of poetry see Wimmell 1960, 103-111, Massimilla 1996, 220, Asper 1997, 32-43. Something similar occurs in the *Georgics* when in the second proem of the book at 3.284-294, Vergil imagines his chariot of song traversing the heights and ridges, off the beaten track (*iuuat ire iugis, qua nulla priorum/ Castaliam molli deuertitur orbita cliuo* 292f). In this case, even if we are dealing with the image of the chariot of poetry, it is certainly not a chariot race; in fact, the idea is that Vergil has left the path followed by his predecessors in order to enter uncharted territory, which he presents as singing of Pales and the flocks of smaller animals (*angustis*, 290) in the grand style (*honorem*, *magno… ore*, 290, 294; cf. 4.6, of the bees). But he takes care to link the two passages (see Gale 2000, 190-192), with *ueneranda Pales, magno…* (294) recalling *magna Pales,…memorande* (3.1). Also, the unusual use of *agitare* in relation to goats and sheep in line 287 brings out the contrast with the opening prologue, where *agitabo* (18) is used of one hundred *quadrigae*. Cf. also *iuuat* at 292 and 23, with the contrast between riding in a chariot in the *pompa circensis* and riding off over the mountains of Parnassus and near Castalia. Given Theocritus 7.148, where Castalian Nymphs and Parnassus are combined, these places certainly carry specific poetic and generic significance; in the earlier prologue, Vergil drives his chariots *ad flumina* (18, rather oddly, given that it must be to the Mincius of line 15), and soon after we hear of the *undantem bello magnumque fluentem/ Nilum* (28f). Callimachus' highly poetic water imagery famous from the end of his *Hymn to Apollo* (on which see Asper 1997, 109-125) is no doubt present in both passages, as suspected by Thomas 1988, on 3.292-293; see also Fleischer 1960, 302.

29. For discussion of these poems and their cultural background see Fantuzzi 2004, 2005, Kosmetatou 2004, Thompson 2005, Decker in this volume and Barbantani forthcoming. See also the epigrams collected at *Anth. Pal.*, 15.41-50, *Anth. Plan.*, 335-387, celebrating the charioteer Porphyrius and some contemporaries, on which see Cameron 1973.

30. See Balot 1998, Thomas 1998, Nelis 2004. On Callimachean epinician and Pindar see Fuhrer 1992. More generally on Augustan and Vergilian epinician see Cairns 1989, ch. 9, esp. the remarks at 217f. Buchheit 1972 remains the fundamental study of this aspect of the *Georgics*, even if he downplays the importance of Callimachus.

31. Mynors 1990, on 40. Commentators seem uncertain how to take this line, and many fail to interpret. La Cerda 1647 notes, "*sententiam Poetae retuli ad nauigationem*", and it is the case that at 2.39-46 the course of the poem is explicitly described as a voyage by ship; see Mynors 1990, on 41. But even there, chariot imagery seems to be present; line 39, addressed to Maecenas, reads, *tuque ades inceptumque une decurre laborem*. La Cerda here relates *decurre* to the circus: "*explicui hanc sermonem cum relatione ad circum, quam meam explicationem adfirmat exitus huius libri, ubi ait, equos soluendos a labore*". For *decurro* used in relation to the *ludi circenses* see *TLL*, s.v. 229. 54-77. It is obvious that the voyage and the race were two useful metaphors for presenting the progress of a narrative, and there is obvious interaction between the spheres of chariot racing and sailing (see Skutsch 1985, 625, Schindler 2000, 205, Volk 2002, 133f), and sea battles were actually staged in the

we have at the opening of the poem is a divine *pompa* followed by the signal for the beginning of a chariot race[32]. Strong support for the idea that a Roman reader would have interpreted these lines in terms of a *pompa* may be provided by a comparison with *Am.,* 3.2.43-46, 55-58, Ovid's description of the arrival of the *pompa circensis*:

sed iam ***pompa*** *uenit — linguis animisque fauete!*
tempus adest plausus — aurea ***pompa*** *uenit.*
prima loco fertur passis Victoria pinnis —
huc ***ades*** *et meus hic fac, dea, uincat amor!*
…
nos tibi, blanda Venus, puerisque potentibus arcu
plaudimus; ***inceptis adnue****, diua, meis*
da *que nouae mentem dominae! patiatur amari!*
adnuit *et motu signa secunda* ***dedit****.*

It seems clear from the similarities between these lines and *Georgics,* 1.40f (*ades/adsis*, 1.18; *da*, *dedit/da*, 1.40; *adnuit/adnue*, 1.40; *coeptis/inceptis*, 1.40), that Vergil has in mind the start of a chariot race, and that he has indeed presented the whole opening section of his poem in terms of a *pompa* followed by the signal for the beginning of a race[33]. This opening sets up the basic framework within which all subsequent references to chariot racing in the poem must be interpreted.

As well as being asked to grant a favourable start to the course this poem seeks to follow, Caesar is also asked to join the poet in pity of the countryfolk who are "ignorant of the way": (1.41f)

ignarosque uiae *mecum miseratus agrestis*
ingredere…

Interpretation of the phrase *ignarosque uiae…agrestis* is not as easy as it may appear at first sight. Of exactly what "way" are the farmers ignorant? Page tackles the difficulty and notes, "*uia* is used metaphorically = 'the true method' or 'principles', and 'of agriculture' is of course to be understood"[34]. He is correct of course, but there is more to be said. We soon learn that the way is not easy (1.121-128), and this time it is explicitly the *uia colendi*:

Pater ipse ***colendi***
haud facilem esse ***uiam*** *uoluit, primusque per artem*
mouit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda
nec torpere graui passus sua regna ueterno.
ante Iouem nulli subigebant arua coloni:
ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum
fas erat; in medium quaerebant, ipsaque tellus
omnia liberius nullo poscente ferebat.

In the world of Jupiter, the world of the iron age as opposed to the Saturnian Golden Age, the "way" is not easy, and Jupiter himself has made it difficult in order to oblige mankind to work hard. It is a world in which there is a need for teaching (*prima Ceres ferro mortalis uertere terram/* ***instituit***, 147f) and learning (*ut uarias usus* ***meditando*** *extunderet artis/paulatim*, 133f), and so also for the didactic text and its ideal reader and reception.[35] The same development is present

Circus Maximus; see Bajard in this volume and in general on aquatic displays Coleman 1993, Berlan-Bajard 2006. Without wishing to deny either the presence or the importance of nautical imagery, this paper will attempt to isolate and concentrate on Vergil's circus imagery in order to trace the overall structural pattern operative throughout the poem. On related mingling of ship and chariot imagery in Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* see Gibson 2003, 4f. For the mythic and poetic background in earlier poetry see Segal 1986, 72-88.

32. Erren 2003, *ad loc.* and 13. For the procession of the gods into the Circus which marked the ritual opening of the races in the Circus see Versnel 1970, 94-115 with the bibliography at 96 n. 2, Beard *et al.* 1998, vol. 1, 40f, 59f, 262, Feeney 1998, 55f, 96f, Rüpke 2001, 82f, 90-97, 100, Lovatt 2007.

33. Cf. also Vergil's *ferte pedem*, 1.11, requesting the deities to come forth or to attend the opening of the poem. The parallel between Vergil and Ovid is noted by *TLL,* s.v. *adnuo*, 790.41f and McKeown forthcoming. Cf. also Ov., *Fast.,* 1.15-25, where one finds, *adnue, da, habenas, Fast.,* 4.10 where there is an explicit reference to training horses, but whether for cavalry or the circus is not made explicit; see Fantham 1998, *ad loc*. Note also *Fast.,* 6.585f.

34. Page 1898, *ad loc.*

35. The fact that *uertere terram* in line recalls *terram/uertere* of the poem's opening facilitates the shift from the instruction of Ceres to that offered by the poem. At Varro, *R.*, 1.3 the metaphor of the race occurs.

in line 41. There too, the *uia* is inextricably related to the poem as a whole, since it is the text which, with Caesar's help, will show the way. It thus becomes very difficult not to connect the use of *uia* to the presence of *cursus* in the preceding line. Vergil is reinforcing the idea of the poem as having some kind of path or trajectory which it must follow. And as it follows its own path (*cursus*), it will guide, with the collaboration of Caesar, its intended audience of countryfolk, who are ignorant of the way (*uia*). In terms of the work's reception, those who read it will learn the correct way, and so, if we are prepared to align the reader with the countryfolk, the poem constructs a model of its ideal readership and its ideal reception in a perfect example of didactic communication between teacher and pupils in need of instruction. It is important to note that Vergil gives a vital role to Caesar in this hoped-for scenario[36]. It is Caesar as a god-in-waiting who is asked to grant the poem its safe course and, having pitied the countryfolk, to begin: *ingredere* (42). But to begin what? The Latin here, as commentators recognise, is ambiguous and difficult, since this verb, prominently placed in enjambment, has no complement. Many take it to have the sense of "enter into a sphere of activity", but in the context created by the use of the words *uia* and *cursus*, there must surely be a hint of "begin your own course or way". *Ingredior* is often used with *uia* and one of the most basic and common senses of the verb is to mean "take the first steps on a path or journey" (see *OLD,* s.v. 2)[37]. Page is again helpful, commenting that the word means "advance" or "enter on thy task", "*i.e.* of aiding husbandmen"[38]. But it is Erren who best catches the connections, translating "Geh voran!" and adding "in den Circus und zur Pompa und den Sacra", pointing out the close connection with the "Fahrtmetaphor" of line 40[39]. Caesar is in some sense therefore being invited to set out on a path or journey of his own; if this is the case, his "way" must parallel that of the poet (nota bene *mecum*), and their activities are thus inextricably linked from the very beginning. As we shall see, this is an idea which develops throughout the poem. For the moment, it is important to note that lines 40-42 bring the prologue to a close by presenting the poem which is about to begin in terms of the image of a way, journey or path. Subsequently, the metaphorical pattern thus established becomes prominent in the closing sequence of the book, thereby assuring thematic unity and establishing its importance for the poem as a whole[40].

At *Georgics,* 1.424, in his account of signs which may help the farmer to predict the weather, Vergil turns to the indications provided by the sun and the moon:

> *Si uero* ***solem*** *ad rapidum* ***lunasque*** *sequentis*
> *ordine respicies, numquam te crastina fallet*
> *hora, neque insidiis noctis capiere serenae.*

Various weather signs follow, first those provided by the moon, a topic already introduced at 1.351-353 (***ipse pater*** *statuit quid menstrua* ***luna*** *moneret*, words which themselves pick up 121f, ***pater ipse*** *colendi/ haud facilem esse uiam uoluit*), and then by the sun (1.438-440):

> ***sol*** *quoque et exoriens et cum se condet in undas*
> *signa dabit;* ***solem*** *certissima signa sequentur,*
> *et quae mane refert et quae surgentibus astris.*

Much of the actual detail in this section is borrowed from Aratus[41]. But imitation of Aratus breaks down in striking fashion. At 1.461-463, Vergil writes:

> *denique, quid Vesper serus uehat, unde serenas*
> *uentus agat nubes, quid cogitet umidus Auster,*
> ***sol*** *tibi* ***signa dabit*** *.*

36. On Caesar, the poet and patterns of knowledge and instruction in the poem see Schiesaro 1997, *passim*, and esp. 80 on this passage.

37. Gale 2000, 25 n. 15, 26 n. 24, compares Lucr. 1.80-82:
Illud in his rebus uereor, ne forte rearis
impia te rationis inire elementa ***uiam*** *que*
indugredi *sceleris.*
This image of the reader setting out on a journey here is related to the image of bursting free present in the description of Epicurus in lines 70-77, where the idea of the start of a chariot race seems to be present, as discussed below. See also Gale 2000, 26 on the whole of *DRN* as a journey; that Lucretius thinks of its course specifically as a chariot race becomes explicit at 6.92-95, on which, again, see below.

38. Page 1898, *ad loc.*

39. Erren 2003, *ad loc.*; *ingredere* must also of course mark an invitation to put an end to the indecisions and hesitations surrounding Augustus' choice of divinity, as set out in lines 24-39.

40. On the importance of the connections between the opening and close of book 1 for Vergil's conception of knowledge, teaching and the role of the didactic poet see Schiesaro 1997, 75-80.

41. In general see Farrell 1991, 81-83, 157-162.

Following *denique*, the repetition of the words *sol* and *signa dabit* from lines 424 and 438f creates a ring structure which suggests that the section of weather signs to be had by observation of the sun is at a close[42]. Then, abrubtly in mid-line, Vergil continues (1.463-468):

> ***solem*** *quis dicere falsum*
> *audeat?* ***ille*** *etiam caecos instare tumultus*
> *saepe monet fraudemque et operta tumescere bella;*
> ***ille*** *etiam exstincto miseratus Caesare Romam,*
> *cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit*
> *impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.*

This question and these lines set in motion the whole closing sequence of book 1. At the death of Julius Caesar the sun gaves signs not of good or bad weather but of war. And so, inevitably (*ergo*, 489), war ensued, in the form of a terrible civil war (1.489-492):

> *ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis*
> *Romanas acies iterum uidere Philippi;*
> *nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro*
> *Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.*

The ghastly image of Emathia and Haemus being fertilised by Roman blood represents a terrible inversion of the farming practices Vergil has been describing and promoting throughout the first book[43]. The point will be made more explicit at 1.506-508, culminating in the famous image of pruning hooks being hammered to form swords (508), but first the terrible image of the perversion of normal georgic activity appears in the vision of the ploughman in some future time turning the land only to hit upon spears, helmets and bones in upturned graves (1.493-497):

> *scilicet et tempus ueniet, cum finibus illis*
> *agricola incuruo terram molitus aratro*
> *exesa inueniet scabra robigine pila,*
> *aut grauibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanis*
> *grandiaque effossis mirabitur ossa sepulcris.*

At this point the poet launches into a prayer, in which he asks the gods to allow Caesar to save a world in ruins (1.498-508). But his impassioned plea ends with a grim picture of a world at war and an image of apparently imminent disaster (1.509-514):

> *hinc mouet Euphrates, illinc Germania bellum;*
> *uicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes*
> *arma ferunt; saeuit toto Mars impius orbe,*
> *ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,*
> *addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens*
> *fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas.*

These are the closing lines of book 1 and so they occupy a prominent position[44]. The vocabulary, with the *carceres*, the *quadrigae*, the *spatia* and the *auriga*, brings the reader from the world of war to that of chariot racing and the circus[45]. The impression given by the simile is one of speed (*effudere*, *addunt in spatia*) and of a chariot running out of control (*frustra, fertur*, *neque audit*)[46]. Implicit is probably the idea that this speeding chariot will be unable to take the turning point safely, the rounding of the *meta* being the most dangerous moment in a chariot race and the main source of accidents. But how exactly does this comparison relate to the narrative it is intended to illustrate? On a structural level, the image of the

42. Lyne 1974, 51 = Lyne 1999, 165.
43. See Putnam 1979, 70-72.
44. See Schindler 2000, 205 on similes at book-ends.
45. On the fabric of the Circus and on the technical aspects involving starting-boxes, lap-counters, judges etc. and on the highly complex organisation required to stage the races see, in general, Humphrey 1986, Nelis-Clément 2002.
46. In general on this simile see Schindler 2000, 204-211. On the links with the boat simile at 1.201-203, another image of imminent destruction, see Schindler 2000, 205-207, Hardie 2005, 26. On the chariot imagery involved in the picture of rampaging Tisiphone during the plague at the end of book 3 see Hardie 2005, 26.

upcoming *meta*, if it is implicit, fits well with the position of the simile at the close of the book[47]. The speeding chariot must represent what seems like a world-wide frenzy of war (not only Roman civil war, but also external threats from Germany and the East, and wars between cities which had previously been allies (509f)). On one level, therefore, the *auriga* in his dashing chariot corresponds to Mars raging throughout the world (*saeuit toto…orbe*, 1.511). This link is helped by the fact that the image of Mars riding in a chariot will have been familiar to Vergil's readers. Compare, for example, Homer, *Iliad*, 15.119, *Homeric Hymn to Hermes,* 1, but more immediately, *Georgics,* 3.89-91:

> *talis Amyclaei* ***domitus*** *Pollucis* ***habenis***
> *Cyllarus et, quorum Grai meminere poetae,*
> ***Martis equi biiuges*** *et magni* ***currus*** *Achilli.*

The use of *currus* here refers to the team of horses and corresponds exactly to its use in 1.514, in the same metrical position. Furthermore, the mention of Mars at 3.91 is followed almost immediately by a detailed description of a chariot race, already quoted above. So, on one level it is an obvious step for the reader to see the *auriga* of the simile as corresponding to Mars in the narrative. The god rages (*saeuit*), just as the *auriga* is carried along out of control (*fertur*). It has been difficult, however, for many readers not to see the charioteer as in some sense representing Caesar. Servius' note on the passage makes the connection between the two, and he has been followed by many modern interpreters[48]. On this reading the simile picks up both the immediately preceding image of war, but also the earlier prayer for salvation, and so it offers a hope that Octavian may save Rome from civil war. The chariot becomes the state, the *res publica*, careering towards disaster and with only one hope of safety, the *iuuenis* and *Caesar* of lines 500 and 503[49].

There is no doubt that the desire to relate the simile and its immediate narrative context to the whole of the closing section of book 1 is facilitated by a significant of verbal repetitions which tend to form the whole passage into a unified thematic whole: *bellum* (509) picks up *bella* of 505 and 465; *toto…orbe* (511) picks up *tot bella per orbem* (505); *Mars impius* (511) picks up *impia saecula* (468); the mention of the plough (*aratro*, 506) recalls, or more accurately prefigures, the bizarre ploughing at Philippi (cf. *aratro* at 494 and 506); *Euphrates* (509) picks up *Tiberim* (499); *Germania* (509) picks up *Germania* (474); *ruptis legibus* (510) picks up *ruptis fornacibus* (472); *arma* (511) picks up *armorum* (474). And so when Vergil writes *ut cum* at line 512 it is easy to see the comparison as summing up the whole closing section from line 463 and the introduction of the theme of war to the end of the book. But despite the attractions of this approach, it is necessary, before relating the simile to the wider context, to tease out fully the way it operates in its immediate context, *i.e.* the comparison of war to Mars or, more precisely, the way in which the apparent initial parallel between war and Mars gradually breaks down. Doing so will help to elucidate the complexities of Vergil's technique here, and it will also help reveal more fully the ways in which the simile is related to both the whole closing section of book 1 and to the book as a whole.

At first sight, as I have argued, it looks as though the simile intends a comparison between Mars and the charioteer. But the reader who has constructed the parallel between them must eventually note that whereas the deity is in a frenzy (*saeuit*), the *auriga*, even though he is described as being carried away (*fertur*), is also described in the act of attempting to control his team (*retinacula tendens*). Mars is raging out of control, but the charioteer is at least trying, even if ineffectually, to bring his chariot under control. So there is a point at which the initial correlation between the Mars and the charioteer in the simile breaks down. It is precisely at this point that the reader is confronted with the question: who is this *auriga* who

47. At the end of book 2 the parallel between the laps of a race and the books of the poem will indeed become explicit; see below on book 2.

48. See for example Lyne 1974, 64f, Dewar 1988 and 1990, Nappa 2005, 66f. For Augustus depicted as a charioteer see Weinstock 1971, 56f, Giard 1988, 250 s.v. Quadrige, Zanker 1988, 96f, and for his interest in the games see note 20 above. On Julius Caesar as charioteer and the triumphal associations of chariots see Weinstock 1971, 40-79. Cameron 1973, 249-252, emphasises the link between imperial victory and circus games; he is dealing with a later period, but there can be little doubt that this ideology goes back to the Augustan age; on the importance of the theme of victory for Augustus see Roddaz 2006. On triumphal honours, Augustus and the *quadriga* in the Forum Augustum see Rich 1988, 119-128. The Forum of course is formally dedicated only much later in 2 BC, but it had long been planned; on the question of the relationship between it and Vergil's parade of heroes in *Aeneid* 6, a passage which has close connections with the prologue to *Georgics* 3 (Nelis 2004, 91f, Harrison 2006, 168f) see now Harrison 2006, 178-183; on the archaeology of the Forum see now Gros 2006. In any case, Weinstock 1971, 54-59, 273f is an important discussion of the chariot and its political and triumphal associations, and it is clear that Julius Caesar's manipulation of the image is important for Octavian/Augustus, on whom see Weinstock 1971, 56f, with plentiful evidence for his representation of himself as a charioteer on coins and statues, particularly in association with the victory at Actium. Critiques of Nero's passion for chariot racing must be interpreted against this ideological background; see Champlin 2003, 54-83, 109-125. See also Miller 2000 on Nero, Augustus, the triumph and the Circus.

49. See especially Lyne 1974, 63-66.

is desperately trying to control the chariot? An obvious answer, given the context, is "Caesar".[50] But the full implications of this response require spelling out.

As is well known, Vergil's depiction of the civil war of Philippi and its aftermath represents a complete perversion of normal agricultural life as presented earlier in book 1[51]. The world of the *Georgics* seems to be in danger of annihilation. When the continuing disturbances of war which follow are likened to a chariot in a race the link to agriculture does not disappear. When Vergil describes the speeding chariot, the careful reader will remember the earlier use of the word *currus* at 1.174, where it was applied, rather oddly, to the plough[52]. So there is a contrast to be made between this closing image of the racing *currus*, charging out of control, and the *currus* for ploughing earlier in the book[53]. There is also a paradox here, since the plough was one of the farmers *arma* (1.160), and one of the activities the simile illustrates is the gathering of weapons, *arma ferunt* (1.511). The farmer must engage in a battle with the land, in a kind of war, the essential idea being that the *agricola* and the *miles* are the same man: *squalent abductis arua colonis* (1.506). Vergil is not here simply contrasting peace and war; he is thinking of the world in which certain forms of violence must be channelled in the right direction and put to the proper use. But this activity should never have degenerated into *ciuil* war. Earlier in the book he imagines a world in which the farmer must work incessantly in order to control nature (*dominantur*, 154, *premes*, 157; cf. 220), in which man must respect the gods and religion (*fas et iuras*, *religio*, 269). But now of course, man finds himself in a world where *fas uersum atque nefas* (505), a world of *impia saecula* (468) dominated by *Mars impius* (511). In this way, by seeing the wider context within which the chariot of Mars is illustrated by the chariot of the simile, it is possible to gain some insight into the way in which the closing lines relate to some of the key themes of the first book: work, morality, tradition, religion, violence. And Vergil uses the image of a racing chariot in order to provide a vividly dramatic impression of the violent menace facing the georgic world depicted throughout the poem's first book.

There is a further relationship to be teased out between the simile, its immediate context and the book as a whole. As we have seen, the simile offers a way of imagining the onslaught of war, and we have both *tot* ***bella per orbem*** and *saeuit* ***toto Mars*** *impius* ***orbe*** to remind us that we are in fact dealing with world war. Ever since the very beginning of the poem the *orbis* has been of central importance to the poet. In the opening address to Caesar, one possibility is that the earth (*orbis*) will receive him (*accipiat*) as *auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem* (26f). Whatever the ultimate choice of divine sphere, Caesar's possible *terrarum cura* (26) would lead to his reception as a perfect georgic deity with power over crops and the weather, a god perfectly suited to the concerns of book 1. But at the end of the book we read (503-504):

> *iam pridem nobis caeli te regia,* ***Caesar****,*
> *inuidet atque hominum queritur* ***curare triumphos.***

The possibility that a newly deified Caesar will care for the crops becomes instead concern for triumphs, an interest which the gods complain of.[54] This connection between the Caesar of the prologue and the book's close is of key importance, and once again close study of the closing chariot simile is necessary in order to contextualise it and bring out its full relevance and meaning.

The image of the charioteer rushing out of control has led some scholars to see a possible allusion to the myth of Phaethon[55]. There are indeed suggestive possibilities. As we have seen, the whole closing section of the book begins with the declaration that the sun can provide accurate weather-signs, *sol tibi signa dabit. solem quis dicere falsum/ audeat* (1.463f). The poet then describes the sun's reaction to the death of Julius Caesar, 1.466-468. This extraordinary solar event raises Caesar to a level close to that of the sun god: his death brings on fears of eternal night, as though Caesar himself were the sun and his death its extinction. Oliver Lyne has written: "This Sun and Caesar are so to speak of the same stature – a feeling which emerges from the balance and phrasing of 466. There, while the Sun displays human emotion (*miseratus*), Caesar's dying (*exstincto*), given the context, manifestly magnifies in significance to suggest the extinction of

50. Note that just as the reader could easily imagine Mars in a chariot, the same goes for Caesar, as he would have been in a chariot as a *triumphator*; see *triumphos* at 504. For the association between Octavian and chariots see n. 48 and especially Weinstock 1971, 56f.

51. Cf. *terram uertere*, 1f; *uerso aratro*, 98; *uertere terram*, 148; *euerso saeclo*, 500 and Putnam 1979, 75f.

52. See Mynors 1990, *ad loc.*

53. See Wilhelm 1982. Further links between the two passages are to be found in *non ullus* ***aratro*** *dignus honos* and in the link between this line and *si te* ***digna*** *manet diuini gloria ruris.*

54. For good discussion of these lines see Putnam 1979, 74-77, Kaster 2002.

55. See for example Lyne 1987, 140 n. 63, Gale 2000, 35, Schindler 2000, 208f. See Lovatt 2005, 32-39 for the afterlife of the image in Lucan and Statius. On the image of the statesman as the sun in a Roman context see Zetzel 1995, on 6.17.2-6, 19.2, and for the idea in Vergil see Hardie 1986, 355-358. More generally see L'Orange 1953.

a cosmic body"[56]. Philip Hardie relates the image to Caesar's exploitation of solar imagery in Hellenistic royal panegyric, and it is of course important that Caesar had particular associations with the cult of Sol[57]. It has also been noted that the sun's sign of mourning, *caput texit*, parallels Suetonius' description of Caesar's reaction to his assassins' approach, *toga caput obuoluit* (*Jul.*, 82)[58]. In such a context, it is important to point out the close connections between the Roman Circus and the cult of Sol. Helios or Sol is of course traditionally in mythology presented as a divine chariot, but more specifically, the location of the Circus Maximus "was the site of cults to deities in whose honour the earliest races were presumably staged, chief amongst them Murcia, Consus, Sol…and a temple to the Sun (and the moon) was also built into the fabric of the monumental circus"[59]. From the beginning, therefore, the sun and the Circus are inextricably connected. Our most explicit sources for a complex and complete interpretation of the Circus in cosmic terms are late. Tertullian, for example says, *circus Soli principaliter consecratur, cuius aedes in medio spatio*[60]. But there can be no better illustration of the relevance of such ideas in the Augustan period than Augustus' installation of an obelisk in the *spina* of the Circus Maximus, dedicated to the sun and celebrating specifically the conquest of Egypt, but also fitting in with other aspects of the use of monuments on a vast scale to promote a narrative of world-wide conquest[61]. In this context, the rebuilding of the Circus and reorganisation of the *ludi circenses* in the late 30s and early 20s must be seen as important elements of Augustan political and social policy and communication[62]. The cosmic significance of the Circus obviously facilitates the attempt to see in the closing simile a connection between the sun, Caesar and Phaethon. If one allows this idea, further thematic patterns emerge running through book 1.

When we read that the sun pitied Rome at Caesar's death (466), the use of *miseratus* should probably recall an earlier use of the same word, at 1.41-42, where the poet asked Caesar (Octavian rather than Julius) to join him in pitying the farmers[63]:

> *ignarosque uiae mecum* ***miseratus*** *agrestis*
> *ingredere …*

There may be an added connection between the use of *ingredere* for one Caesar and of *extincto* for another. Caesar is asked to pity the *agrestes*, and the sun pities Rome; but whereas Caesar was supposed initially to help show the way, the sun hides everything in apparently eternal night. There is an inversion at work here, and it is picked up in the closing simile. If there is some connection between Caesar, the sun and the charioteer, it becomes difficult not to see the closing simile as marking the failure of the poet's opening prayer: *da facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis*. This opening of the poem was imagined as the opening of a race, following the *pompa*-like invocation of the divine powers, culminating in Caesar's imagined apotheosis. But instead of an easy passage for the chariot ride of this particular poem, we end with divine complaint about Caesar and a chariot out of control. The Roman world finds itself at a moment of major crisis amidst the chaos of civil strife, and indeed of world-wide conflict, and as it does so Vergil's poem also seems to be out of control, since the agricultural world which the whole book has been trying to describe and help foster is being destroyed.[64] Everything this poem has set out to teach is under threat, as it loses its way and is unable to follow the proper *cursus*, that hoped for in line 40. And this ring structure connecting the opening of the book to its close helps reveal the existence of another over-arching link unifying the book. After the initial four lines summarising the content of the work as a whole, Vergil begins the poem with a prayer addressed to the sun and moon, *clarissima mundi lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum* (5f). It is very important that Vergil draws special attention at this initial moment of the poem to their role as the guardians of the unfolding of the year. Subsequently, the seasons will be continually at the forefront of our attention throughout the book (*quo sidere* (1), *uere nouo* (43), *umida solstitia* (100), *frigidus imber* (259), *tempestates autumni* (311), etc.). A key moment in this thematic pattern occurs in the passage at 1.231-258. Here, having encouraged

56. Lyne 1974, 51 = 1999, 166. He appositely compares Cic., *ND,* 2.14: *P. Africanus, Sol alter, extinctus est*; see Weinstock 1971, 67-73 for Sol, Scipio and Caesar. Cf. also Putnam 1979, 68: "Julius Caesar was the Roman sun, the equivalent in historical time of the grand symbol of celestial order and continuity".

57. Hardie 2004, 90 n. 20, Weinstock 1971, 381-383.

58. Gale 2000, 35f , Hardie 2004, 89f.

59. Coleman 2000, 210f; see also Weinstock 1971, 72, Humphrey 1986, 91-95, Barchiesi forthcoming and Barchiesi in this volume.

60. Tert., *Spect*., 8.1; cf. Cassiod., *Var.,* 3.51.8 and Bergmann in this volume.

61. On the obelisk see Humphrey 1986, 269-272. For discussion of the sun and the Circus see Weinstock 1971, 72, Quinn-Schofield 1969, Lyle 1984, Feldherr 1995, 247-250, Zanker 1988, 67-71, Galinsky 1996, 219f, Lovatt 2005, 32-39; on the link between imperial palace and circus and the Palatine/Circus Maximus complex as a model for building across the empire see Cameron 1976, 180f, Humphrey 1986, 579-638, with the discussion of Heucke 1994, 314-399, Fishwick 2004, 3f. On the Palatine, Apollo and Sol see Galinsky 1996, 219f, Royo 1999, 50, and on Nero, Sol and chariot racing see Miller 2000, 414-420, Champlin 2003, 117-121, Lovatt 2005, 38f. See also Barchiesi in this volume.

62. For the wider picture see Beacham 2005, Sumi 2005.

63. Cf. Putnam 1979, 67, Schiesaro 1997, 80, Hardie 2004, 90.

64. Cf. Schiesaro 1997, 80.

the farmer to watch the stars for signs of possible storms, the poet explains that it was a god who ordered the sky in such a way as to provide help for the farmer (1.231f):

> ***idcirco*** *certis dimensum partibus* ***orbem***
> *per duodena* ***regit*** *mundi* ***sol*** *aureus astra.*

The *idcirco* is crucial. It is *in order* to provide signs that the universe is structured in a particular way. Vergil is of course closely indebted to Aratus here, but there are internal associations as well. For Vergil the sun is imagined as a chariot, as is immediately clear at 1.249f in the description of dawn, *Aurora…ubi primus equis Oriens adflauit anhelis.* He is thus to be imagined as a rider or driver guiding or steering his circular course along a fixed path[65]. It is important to pick up the presence of circus imagery, because there is a strong contrast between the sun, who here steers his way in an ordered manner and structures the year, and the chariot out of control at the end of the book, who can also be seen as related to the sun, as we have seen. At the end of the book even the cosmic cycle of the seasons is thrown into chaos (e.g. *aeternam timuerunt…noctem* (468), *non alias caelo ceciderunt plura sereno/ fulgura*, (487f)) as the whole world described throughout book 1 is in danger of imminent and total destruction.

One final aspect of the chariot simile remaims to be discussed, and that is the question of Vergil's possible models. Compare *Georgics*, 1.512-514:

> ***ut cum carceribus*** *sese* ***effudere*** *quadrigae,*
> *addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens*
> *fertur* ***equis auriga*** *neque audit* ***currus*** *habenas*

with Horace, *Satires,* 1.1.114-116

> ***ut cum carceribus missos*** *rapit ungula* ***currus****,*
> *instat* ***equis auriga*** *suos uincentibus, illum*
> *praeteritum temnens extremos inter euntem.*

There is no particular reason why Vergil should here be imitating Horace's *Satires*, and both poets are in fact probably referring to the same passage of Ennius[66]. Ennius 463-464 Skutsch (probably from book 7), lines cited by the Bern scholia on *Georgics,* 1.512 and comparing the start of a chariot race to a ship race, as we have already seen, read:

> ***quom*** *a* ***carcere fusi***
> ***currus*** *cum sonitu magno pe* ***mittere*** *certant*

This Ennian passage must then also be the model for *Georgics,* 3.104 = *Aeneid,* 5.145:

> *ruuntque* ***effusi carcere currus***

and no doubt also for Varro, *Men.* 288-289 Cèbe[67]:

> *nemini Fortuna* ***currum a carcere*** *intimo* ***missum***
> *labi inoffensum per aequor candidum ad calcem siuit*

We also have another fragment of Ennius, 79-81 Skutsch:

> *expectant ueluti consul* ***quom mittere*** *signum*
> *uolt, omnes auidi spectant ad* ***carceris*** *oras*
> *quam mox* ***emittat*** *pictos e faucibus* ***currus****.*

65. For *orbis* in relation to the curving race track in the circus see *TLL,* s.v. 909.43-7 (Manilius 2.138, Stat., *Silu.*, 1.6.35, of a section of the seating), and so of a lap in a chariot race see Sid., *Carm.,* 23.380. Contrast 1.511, *saeuit toto Mars impius* ***orbe****,/ ut cum carceribus…*, where the reference to the *carceres* of the Circus may activate this meaning.

66. Fraenkel 1931, 125 n. 1. For the metapoetic aspects of the comparisons and their presentation of literary careers and poetic traditions as chariot races see Freudenburg 2001, 42, 78f, Lovatt forthcoming. Horace is using the image of the chariot race to illustrate human competitivity, evidence for the richness of the metaphorical possibilities; see Pöschl 1964, 579f, Möseneder 1985, Gale 2000, 188.

67. For *missus* as a technical term for the start of a race see *TLL,* s.v. *missus* 1142.47-69, s.v. *mittere* 1174.40-54.

This is a complete simile illustrating the feelings of excited anticipation at the taking of the auspices by Romulus and Remus concerning the foundation of the city. Strikingly, Ennius likens the beginning of Roman history to the beginning of a chariot race, thereby giving extra force to Vergil's comparison between civil war and an apparently imminent accident. It is fascinating to speculate that there may also have been a later Ennian mention of a chariot race in the *Annales*, in the context of the account of the victorious Fulvius Nobilior, whose triumph of 186 B.C. brought the epic to its close, since *ludi* were part of the celebrations associated with the celebration of a triumph[68]. If there were anything to such speculation, having begun with a comparison to a chariot race, Ennius' narrative could also have closed with one, in some form or other[69]. Whatever the truth of the matter, it is clear that there is a complex intertextual background to Vergil's simile that we are no longer able to appreciate fully. Certainly, the possible influence of an Ennian model from the *Annales* would lend strong support to the suggestion that the closing chariot simile should be read in generic terms as an example of an epic "flight" in a didactic work[70]. Subsequently, the importance of the generic framework at the close of book 2 and the opening of book 3, lines which rework the closing section of book 1, and to which we must now turn our attention, will illustrate the value of this generic interpretation. That said, in terms of book 1, the internal complexities linking the simile to the themes of the book as a whole are obvious enough. At the close of the first book, the course of the poem and the course of Roman history seem to be out of control[71]. Only the Caesar whose apotheosis seemed imminent at the beginning seems to offer any hope of salvation. It is all the more striking, therefore, that when we come to chariot imagery in book 2 of the poem, we seem to be in a different world.

BOOK 2

As he brings book 2 and the first half of the poem to a close, Vergil writes in the two final lines (2.541-542):

> *Sed nos immensum spatiis confecimus aequor*
> *et iam tempus equum fumantia soluere colla.*

Here, the poem is made up of *spatia*, and its course is that of a horse-drawn chariot. It is not explicit that we have here a chariot *race*, since it could be simply a journey by a chariot of any kind[72]. Nevertheless, the use of *spatiis* and *equum* in the final two lines of the book must recall *spatia* and *equis* in the final two lines of book 1[73]. The second book had also begun with allusion to the same pattern if imagery, in the address to Maecenas, *tuque ades inceptumque una decurre laborem* (2.39), where the use of *decurre*, as we have seen, suggests the Circus and so evokes the *cursum* of 1.40[74]. Furthermore, the use of *una* and *inceptum* at 2.39 recalls *mecum* and *coeptis* (1.40f)[75]. The opening of book 2 in the context of the address to Maecenas, is thus very much presented as the resumption of the course begun with prayer to Ceasar at 1.40-42. It is all the more striking, therefore, that Vergil resumes this metaphorical pattern at the very end of book 2, where we are right in the middle of the four-book poem, and so at a kind of *meta*. Such a structural assimilation of the trajectory of the poem to that of a race with its laps must be suggested by the use of the word *spatiis* here, as it was at the end of book 1, where the idea of the danger of the turning point is probably implicit, as we have already seen.

The connection between a lap in a race and book of a poem is in fact easily paralleled. For the image in a didactic work of the chariot of song and a book as a lap Vergil had a close Latin predecessor and direct model in Lucretius. At *De Rerum Natura,* 6.47 and 92-95 we read:

> *quandoquidem semel insignem conscendere currum*

68. For the lavish games celebrated by Fulvius Nobilior in 186 see Liv. 39.5.6-10 and 39.22.1-2

69. It is worth noting in passing that some editors place *Annales* 522f Skutsch, a comparison of the poet to a victorious but aged race-horse, at the close of book 15, the original end of the poem, or book 18, its ultimate conclusion; for discussion see Skutsch 1985, 673f. Ennius may well have exploited the image of the race to illustrate Roman history, the course of his epic narrative and his life or career in some kind of complex thematic pattern with prominent features at key structural points in the poem, books 1, 7 and 15 or 18.

70. Hardie 2004, 90. Similarly, the allusive presence of Phaethon easily lends itself to metapoetic readings concerning generic boundaries.

71. See Hardie 2005, 24-28 on chariot imagery and the course of time and Roman history in *Georgics* 1.

72. See Mynors 1990, *ad loc.*, Hardie 2005, 27 n. 25. As already noted, it is important to distinguish chariot races from simple transport by chariot.

73. For further links between the close of book 2 and that of book 1 cf the swords (*ensem* and *ensis*, both at line-end) of 1.508 and 2.540; see Thomas 1988, on 2.539-540. Also, the allusion to future war (*necdum…necdum…*) in 2.539f cannot but evoke the all-too-present war frenzy of the closing lines of book 1. Hardie 2004, 94 notes also the echo of ***neque audit*** *currus habenas* (1.514) *in* ***necdum audierant*** (2.539). For further evidence that at the end of book 2 Vergil has in mind a chariot race, cf. 3.202f for a horse sweating after running the laps of a race.

74. See Thomas 1988, *ad loc.*: *"laborem* is an internal accusative, analogous to *cursum* (*currere*)."

75. See Erren 2003, 305f.

…
tu mihi supremae praescripta ad candida calcis
currenti ***spatium*** *praemonstra, callida musa*
Calliope, requies hominum diuomque uoluptas,
te duce ut insigni capiam cum laude coronam.

Lucretius here explicitly presents his text as a chariot race entering its final lap[76]. In mounting his *currus*, he is following the path towards the *summum bonum* set out by his master Epicurus (6.24-29; note also *uolaret* and *quibus e portis* at 30-32, where the image of the flying chariot and the start of a race is also present):

ueridicis igitur purgauit pectora dictis
et finem statuit cuppedinis atque timoris
exposuitque summum bonum quo tendimus omnes
quid foret, atque ***uiam*** *monstrauit,* ***tramite*** *paruo*
qua possemus ad id recto contendere ***cursu***

This passage recalls that at 1.66-75, where we read:

primum Graius homo mortalis tollere contra
est oculos ausus primusque obsistere contra;
quem neque fama deum nec fulmina nec minitanti
murmure compressit caelum, sed eo magis acrem
inritat animi uirtutem, ***effringere*** *ut arta*
naturae primus ***portarum claustra*** *cupiret.*
ergo uiuida uis animi peruicit et extra
processit *longe flammantia moenia mundi*
atque omne immensum peragrauit mente animoque
unde refert nobis uictor quid possit oriri
…

Here too, the vocabulary, especially *effringere* and *portarum claustra*, helps cast Epicurus' journey as the flight of a chariot[77]. As well as inspiring Vergil, Lucretius had an obvious influence on Manilius, who was of course equally influenced by Vergil. Compare *Astronomica,* 5.10, *cum semel aetherios ausus conscendere currus*, a very close imitation of *De Rerum Natura,* 6.47. In the prologue to the final book of his poem, Manilius is in fact referring to a recurrent metaphorical pattern linking his poetic course to a celestial chariot ride[78]. The obvious point is that the didactic poet, in order to explain the workings of nature, imagines himself as boarding a cosmic chariot of the Muses which enables him to see and understand the heavens, and then to transmit to his readers the knowledge he thereby acquires. The *cursus* followed by the poet aligns itself with the *cursus* followed by the heavenly bodies, and in order to acquire the knowledge of the heavenly *cursus* the poet himself must be imagined as embarking on a heavenly chariot ride, one which to some extent the act of reading must recreate.

76. See Henderson 1970, Hardie 2005, 27. As already noted above, Lucr. 1.70-82 presents Epicurus'achievements in terms of a triumphal chariot flight and the reading of the poem as akin to the beginning of a journey (*uia*). See also Gale 2000, 26 on the whole of *De Rerum Natura* as a journey, and on chariot imagery and the heavenly journey of the didactic poet see Volk 2002, 225-234. Ultimately, the tradition of a didactic "flight of the mind" providing the poet with direct insight into the workings of nature can be traced back to the chariot ride of Parmenides fr. 1, on which see Rosenfeld-Löffler 2006, 53-57. There is much important material on this aspect of the didactic tradition gathered in Jones 1926, Buchheit 1971, Gale 1994, 191-207, Knox 1999 and Hardie forthcoming. Note also Schiesaro 1997, 88, linking *DRN* 1.62-80 and *Georgics,* 1.40-42 as expressive, in different ways, of the essential didactic dynamic of each poem: essential to both passages is the metaphor of the start of a chariot race.

77. See Hor., *Ep.,* 1.14.9, *…spatiis obstantia rumpere claustra*, with Mayer 1994, *ad loc.* Horace is imitating *DRN* 1.70f (see Hardie forthcoming), which shows that he understood Lucretius to have in mind the start of a chariot race. Cf. Manilius 5.76, Stat., *Theb.,* 6.399, Sid., *Carm.,* 23.331 for the word *claustra* used to refer to the *carceres*, the starting boxes in the Circus. Cf. also *DRN,* 1.415-417 for *claustra* and *missa* (for *mittere* as a technical term for the start of a race see n. 67; cf. also *DRN,* 6.300-302 for the combination of *missa*, *spatio*, *cursu*) evoking the image of the start of a chariot race; Lucretius liked the picture and uses it explicitly at 2.263f and 4.984-990; see the notes of Rouse & Smith 1992, 116f, Fowler 2002, on 264, 268. With Lucretius' didactic chariot of song compare of course Parmenides fr.1 Diels, Kranz and Empedocles fr. 3.5 Diels, Kranz = 2.5 Wright = 9.5 Inwood for his chariot of song.

78. Cf. Man.1.13-15, 2.58f: *soloque uolamus/ in caelum curru*; 2.137ff: *uacuo ueluti uectatus in orbe/ liber agam currus…*; 3.35: *iungere.* At 5.20, from his poetic *currus* he sees the constellation Auriga, *Heniochusque memor currus.* On the description of the racing chariot at 5.71-84 which follows, see Thuillier in this volume, and in general on Manilius' poetic chariot flight see Landolfi 1999, 164, Volk 2002, 225-234, Volk 2003 and Lovatt forthcoming.

Other Augustan poets relate their books and poems to the image of the turning point in a chariot race, suggesting that Vergil's readers would have been alive to the metaphorical possibilities. Compare another didactic text, Ovid, *Ars,* 2.425-426 (cf. 1.40)[79]:

> *docta, quid ad magicas, Erato, deuerteris artes?*
> *interior curru meta terenda meo est.*

The end of the *Amores* is described thus (*Am.*, 3.15.2; cf. 3.2.12):

> *raditur hic elegis ultima meta meis*

Propertius too presents the opening of his fourth book as a turning-point (4.1.69f)[80]:

> *sacra deosque canam et cognomina prisca locorum:*
> *has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.*

The use of the term *meta/metae* means that the Greek poetic inheritance involving the image of the chariot of the Muses is being given a specifically Roman aspect, as the Latin poets employ the Greek imagery of the chariot of poetry for the eyes of those who have seen Roman chariot races.

The huge distance covered (*immensum…aequor*) refers on one level to the subject matter, books 1 and 2 together imagined as a long journey that began with the words *da facilem cursum* (1.40), but it must also embrace the vast temporal perspectives within which Vergil has situated his account of agricultural activity, during which he goes back to cover cosmological topics (2.475-482) and the origins of human life on earth (1.61-63), the course of the poem thus reflecting the course of human and, more specifically, Roman history (esp. 1.466-514 and 2.532-540)[81]. This connection between the course of history and the course of this poem was a vital element in the simile which closed book 1, and it reappears here, if in a very different manner. The impression of control and composure is in striking contrast to the end of the previous book. At the end of book 2 the emphasis is on an idealised vision of the farmer's life, presented in lines 512-531 as one of peace, piety, familial harmony and the settled annual cyle of the farmer's work, a life associated in lines 532-538 with a time **before** war (539f):

> ***necdum*** *etiam audierant inflari classica,* ***necdum***
> *impositos duris crepitare incudibus ensis.*

As book 2 closes, the poet is a charioteer in total control of his course and his text offers a glimpse of an idyllic vision of georgic harmony. The violence of the contemporary Roman world is distanced for a moment, and this instant of poetic control, so different from the frenzied course at the close of book 1, may be seen not only as a turning point in the poem, but as a turning point in Roman history. Vergil has already introduced the idea of a new poetic way, one which, like Parmenides and Lucretius before him and Manilius in his wake, will take him to the stars (*caelique* ***uias*** *et sidera*, 2.477). When, at the beginning of book 3 the poet imagines in more detail a new way (*temptanda* ***uia*** *est*, 3.8), victory and triumph are the dominant themes. The resultant elevation and sublimity are once again imagined in terms of charioteering and circus games with both Caesar and the poet presented as charioteers celebrating military victory and poetic triumphalism. The course of the *Georgics*, and the act of reading and thus following its path, especially at the crucial turning point between the end of book 2 and the start of book 3, runs from war to victory, from catastrophic civil strife to triumph and the elaboration of a hopeful vision of peace and concord.

79. See Janka 1997, *ad loc*., Gibson 2003, on 467-468; see also Kennedy 1993, 50.

80. See Fedeli 1965, *ad loc.* For *meta* used of poetry books see *TLL,* s.v. 865.53-61 and for discussion of these Ovidian and Propertian passages see Lovatt forthcoming.

81. See Hardie 2005, 27.

BOOK 3

In the celebrated prologue to book 3, Vergil stops for a moment from his current agricultural concerns and looks forward to a future poetic project, which he presents in the elaborate allegory of a temple and the rites and festivities which will accompany its foundation:

Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande canemus
pastor ab Amphryso, uos, siluae amnesque Lycaei.
cetera, quae uacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,
omnia iam uulgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum
aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras?
cui non dictus Hylas puer et Latonia Delos
Hippodameque umeroque Pelops insignis eburno,
acer equis? temptanda uia est, qua me quoque possim
tollere humo uictorque uirum uolitare per ora.
primus ego in patriam mecum, modo uita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam uertice Musas;
primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas,
et uiridi in campo templum de marmore ponam
propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas.
in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit:
illi uictor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro
centum quadriiugos agitabo ad flumina currus.
cuncta mihi Alpheum linquens lucosque Molorchi
cursibus et crudo decernet Graecia caestu.
ipse caput tonsae foliis ornatus oliuae
dona feram. iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas
ad delubra iuuat caesosque uidere iuuencos,
uel scaena ut uersis discedat frontibus utque
purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.

Some aspects of these famous lines have already been discussed at the beginning of this paper. One of the themes which is hackneyed is a chariot race, a mythological one involving Pelops and Hippodame, famously described by Pindar in his first Olympian, to which Vergil alludes directly[82]. In contrast, he aspires to a loftier path, one which will raise him up and enable him to fly victoriously in the view of all (*uirum…per ora*). This image must be understood as a chariot ride, and it must also be interpreted in relation to the idea of the "flight of the mind", as discussed above. Vergil creates multiple associations. He has in mind Ennius' epitaph (*Ep.* 17-18 Vahlen):

Nemo me lacrimis decoret nec funera fletu
faxit. cur? uolito uiuos per ora uirum

It has proven difficult to see exactly what image is being suggested here[83]. It seems natural to take *per ora uirum* to mean "on the lips of men", but it is possible that Ennius has in mind a chariot flight "before the eyes of men". Vergil certainly seems to have taken it that way. When he pictures a racing chariot soon after at *Georgics,* 3.103-109, already quoted above, he writes:

nonne uides, cum praecipiti certamine campum
corripuere, ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
cum spes adrectae iuuenum, exsultantiaque haurit
corda pauor pulsans? illi instant uerbere torto

82. Cf. Verg., *G.,* 3.7 and Pd., *O.,* 1.27.

83. For discussion see Lündstrom 1976, 185-91, Courtney 1993, 43, Lennartz 1999, Nappa 2005, 258 n.8. Henry 1899, on 12.234f states the essentials. On the idea of flight see Bergmann in this volume.

et proni dant lora, ***uolat*** *ui feruidus axis;*
iamque humiles ***iamque elati sublime uidentur***
aera per uacuum ferri atque adsurgere in auras.

The similarities with 3.8f, *temptanda uia est, qua me quoque possim/ tollere humo uictorque uirum uolitare per ora*, strongly support reading this image as a chariot flight[84]. The use of the term *uictor* in such a context must also evoke a Roman triumph, and so it is noteworthy that almost immediately Vergil imagines himself once again as a *uictor*, involved in chariot races including one hundred *quadrigae* (17f):

illi uictor ego et Tyrio conspectus in ostro
centum quadriiugos agitabo ad flumina currus.

In turn, these remarkable lines construct a dense series of allusions both to circus races and to related matters. Most obviously, Vergil has in mind the typical Roman practice of the foundation of a temple and celebration of games following a military victory[85]. But more specifically, he has in mind the recent spectacular festival of games, including chariot races, which in 29 BC followed the dedication of the temple of Divus Iulius[86]. There were also *ludi circenses* in celebration of the victory at Actium (D.C. 53.1.4), and there can be little doubt that the marble temple with Caesar in its middle at the opening of *Georgics* 3 reflects the Palatine temple and that this whole passage is replete with allusion to the contemporary political scene of the years immediately after Actium[87]. The poet simultaneously imagines himself in lines 8-12 as undertaking a chariot flight towards poetic sublimity and as a triumphator organising chariot races in honour of a triumphant Caesar. In the passage as a whole then, a Greek mythological chariot race (Pelops and Hippodame, 7) will (the future is important as we are dealing with a projected effort, *deducam* 11, etc.) give way to games which will replace the Greek games at Olympia (the Alpheus, 3.19) and Nemea (Molorchus, 3.19). On one level we have here an attempt to articulate an ambitious programme of cultural translation from Greece to Rome, which must also be seen in poetic and indeed primarily generic terms, but which also has massive contemporary political relevance. As Caesar has been victorious at Actium and in the East so Vergil is going to engage in the composition of an triumphal epic poem in which Roman history in general and Caesar's victories in particular will pay a key role[88]. In the historical context of post-Actian Rome, no Roman reader could have failed to connect Vergil's expression of his poetic projects with Octavian's victory celebrations, including triple triumph, celebratory games and the foundation of the temple of Palatine Apollo.

The inevitability of such a connection makes it all the more unusual for Vergil to have located his temple and games not in Rome but in northern Italy, by the Mincius (14f):

propter aquam, tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius et tenera praetexit harundine ripas.

Despite this location, it is hard to believe that in the early twenties any reader familiar with the contemporary cityscape could fail to see an allusion in the temple and games at the opening of *Georgics* 3 to the Palatine and the Circus Maximus[89]. Vergil's actual mention of the races is of course obliquely swift, but certain aspects merit comment. When he imagines himself decked out in Tyrian purple (17), we must remember that "the magistrates conducting games wore the scarlet and gold garment of the triumphator"[90]. As for the verb Vergil uses to describe his own role, it is *agitabo* (18). Conington interprets this word to mean "will cause to be driven", *i.e.* "by instituting games", in which case we are to imagine

84. Cf. also 3.77f of a young horse, *primus et ire* ***uiam*** *et fluuios* ***temptare*** *minacis/ audet*, and see Lundström 1976, 179, Hardie 2005, 28 n.27, Hardie forthcoming; Fleischer 1960, 294 well notes the similarity to Choerilus of Samos (*Supplementum Hellenisticum,* 317), quoted above. Note too that in both another model and an imitation, Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* and Propertius 3.1, there are chariot rides of differing kinds; see Nelis 2005, 238-240. Cf. also *Georgics,* 2.181, *currus agitare uolantis*, which seems to recall both *uolitare* (3.9) and *agitabo…currus* (3.18); the reminsicence of the prologue is strengthened by the repetition of the mention of the *Alpheus*, 3.19 and 180.

85. Mynors 1990, *ad loc.*

86. D.C. 51.22.4-9.

87. See Drew 1921 = Hardie 1999, 211-222, Miles 1980, 170-174, Nappa 2005, 119-121, Hekster & Rich 2006.

88. On Octavian, Actium and triumphal chariots see Weinstock 1971, 56f and n. 49. More generally on Octavian/Augustus and Actium see Gurval 1995 and specifically in relation to the *Georgics*, Nappa 2005.

89. See Fishwick 2004, 1-4. On the link between imperial palace and circus and the way in which the Palatine-Circus Maximus complex became a model for sites elsewhere see above. See also Barchiesi forthcoming and in this volume. On local ritual and games modelled on activities in Rome see Rüpke 2006. Is it possible that the Mincius relates in some way to the *ludi in Minicia*, *ludi scaenici* in honour of Hercules at the temple of Hercules Custos at the Porticus Minucia? See Hannah 2005, 145.

90. Mynors 1990, *ad loc.;* Lovatt 2005, 308. See above for the Pindaric background. On connections between the triumph and *ludi* see Versnel 1970, 101-131.

Vergil as an *editor*, the technical term for the person responsible for the organisation of races.[91] This is indeed the case, but Conington offers this interpretation in part because he is embarassed by the image of Vergil actually driving a chariot, which is surely the most obvious meaning of *agitare* (*OLD*, s.v. 2: "to drive or ride horses or chariots"). Vergil was well aware of the technical sense of *agitator* as a professional charioteer, as Jean-Paul Thuillier has recently shown in his discussion of the exact sense of the oxymoron *agitator aselli* at *Georgics,* 2.273, which he translates as "le cocher superstar aux guides d'un lent bourriquet". But the striking image of Vergil as charioteer, in races by the Mincius but which are easily transposed onto the topography of Rome in the readers mind and so onto the Circus Maximus, no doubt has a poetic meaning: we are to imagine Vergil driving a chariot as an allegory for a poem[92], a poetic reading of the image of charioteering which we have already seen to be the active at the start of book 1 and the end of book 2. As Mynors has seen in his note on 3.18, "behind this again is a Pindaric image, the poet yoking a triumphal chariot or riding in the Muses' car". Vergil is once again transforming Greek poetic imagery in a Roman context, and once again he is carefully intermingling the metaphor of the chariot of the Muses with reference to Roman chariot racing.

Further details underline the coherence of Vergil's thematic patterns. The use of the term *pompas* in line 22 is usually read in terms of triumphal or sacrificial imagery, and it seems most natural, therefore, to interpret the *pompae* as taking place after the games of lines 17-20. But in fact much depends on the interpretation of *iam nunc* in the same line. This double adverbial temporal marker draws attention to the shift from the future tenses which dominate lines 1-22 (*canemus*, *deducam*, *referam*, *ponam* etc.). Suddenly, Vergil depicts himself actually involved in carrying out the activities which he has been anticipating up to this point[93]. It may be possible, therefore, that we are to take the *iam nunc* as marking a shift in time right back to the beginning of the celebrations described in lines 17-20, which is where the *pompa circensis* would of course naturally belong. Taken thus, Vergil may well be thinking of the *pompa circensis* in addition to or even instead of the triumphal/sacrificial element. However, another approach to these lines may be to agree that this is probably a false dichotomy, since the *pompa* of the circus was closely connected to the triumph and it concluded with sacrifices[94]. The celebrations Vergil was looking forward to (right up to *feram*, 22) are now suddenly imagined as actually beginning and taking place before the fascinated (*iuuat*, 23) eyes of the poet and no doubt also of all onlookers (and readers), and they conjure up different aspects of the *pompa circensis*, a triumphal procession and the sacrifieces which went with each of these spectacles. If this is the case, the *pompa* and races at the opening of book 3 must recall the beginning of book 1, where, as we have seen, the prologue can be read as a *pompa* culminating in the beginning of a chariot race. If we are willing to make this connection, it becomes necessary to try to establish how the opening of book 3 fits into the thematic nexus created in books 1 and 2[95].

At the opening of the poem both poet and Caesar set out on a *cursus*, but by the end of the first book we see a charioteer struggling vainly to restrain a team rushing out of control. As an image of civil war, this simile reflects a moment of crisis in both poetic and historical terms. Disaster seems inevitable for both the georgic world of the farmer labouring on his land and for the ability of the poet to describe and help preserve it. By the end of Book 2, as the poet expresses his ambition to tackle higher poetic themes, the poem seems to have found its way again at its approach to the *meta*, even if images of civil war continue to haunt a more positive image of the farmer's world. By the beginning of Book 3, however, the *meta* has been successfully turned by both poet and Caesar. The latter celebrates post-Actian triumphs while the former, in striking and impressive synergy, imagines poetic celebration in epic form of Caesar and his victories, in what may be seen as the triumph of Roman epinician poetry over its Greek cultural precursors[96]. To put it crudely, the endings of books 1 and 2 evoke a pre-Actium context. But at the start of book 3, we have moved on in time; Caesar is now a victor (3.26-33) and we are evidently in a post-Actium world. Now this shift of temporal point of view is important. Once the three passages are seen to be linked through both the imagery of the Circus and chronological progression, the image of the poet triumphantly driving his chariot to the Mincius and celebrating chariot races there provides a direct response to the image of the chariot careering out of control at the end of book 1 (*quadriiugos* and *currus* recall *quadrigae* and *currus*; *agitabo* contrasts with *fertur*). We have here one answer to the apparent despair of the end of book 1 and to the longing for peace which closed book 2, and a direct answer also to the prayer of 1.500f: *hunc saltem euerso iuuenem succurrere saeclo/ ne*

91. See Lovatt 2005, 308.

92. The temple / poem allegory has been much discussed, but the poetic allegory operative also in the description of the *ludi*, both *circenses* and *scaenici*, and sacrifices in lines 17-25 has received less attention.

93. See Thomas 1988, *ad loc.*

94. On links between triumph and the *pompa circensis* see Wissowa 1912, 452, Künzl 1988, 105. See also Beard *et al*. 1998, 40f, 66f. On the sacrifices here see Dyson 1996, Morgan 1999, ch. 3.

95. Cf. Lundström 1976, 182, Nappa 2005, 117-23. Erren 2003, 565 notes the connection between the *uia* of 3.8 the "Fahrtmetaphor" of 1.40 and 2.41, 541, but does not comment.

96. See Lovatt 2005, 308 and Lovatt forthcoming, Nappa 2005, 119f, and for the wider picture of Augustan epinician, games and the *Aeneid*, Cairns 1989, ch. 9.

prohibete[97]; Caesar has indeed proved to be a saviour. Futhermore, the didactic material devoted to the training of race horses which occupies a considerable portion of the rest of book 3, as we saw at the start of this essay, can now be seen in a new light. Once the link between charioteering and Caesarian triumph is established, and given the consistent treatment by Vergil of the animal world in terms of anthropomorphism[98], subsequent discussion of the care and training of horses, whether for racing or for battle, may be seen in political terms as encoding advice for both the contemporary situation and the future course of Roman politics and society[99]. The recurrent association between the horses and their violent passions, be it in war, the desire for victory in a race or in the grip of sexual furor, and the necessity of curbing and controlling the dangerous potential for excess thus created, must have a retroactive influence on interpretation of the close of book 1 and the opening of book 3[100]. The desire for victory and triumph, while necessary and desirable to a certain extent should ideally be tempered by careful education and training and subjected to close and harmonious control. It is difficult not to interpret Vergil's highly anthropomorphized horses of book 3 as encoding a lesson with immediate relavance to the course of Roman history in Vergil's lifetime and particularly to the crucial turning point of the year's immediately before and after Octavian's victories at Actium and in Egypt. It is of course easy to see the period 32-29 as a *meta* with the safe benefit of hindsight; it was Vergil's merit at the time to have appreciated and evoked the great dangers, timid signs of hope and limited range of possible solutions and to have subjected them to such searching, realistic and clear-sighted analysis[101].

The prologue to book 3 must also be read in poetic as well as political terms: alongside Caesar's victories and triumphs we also have the poetic triumph of the poet who both celebrates them and parallels them with his own victory over Greek literature, especially Pindaric and Callimachean epinician, but also the epic *Annales* of Ennius and Homeric epic as well (*cuncta…Graecia*, 19f), all of which will be used and transformed and surpassed in the *Aeneid*. Also in poetic terms a further progession can be seen; the poem that was out of control at the end of book 1 in a flight of epic elevation which soared over and above its didactic roots in a hesiodic poem was, at the end of book 2, brought back on the right track under the firm control of the georgic poet. Now at the start of book 3, an epic flight becomes desirable in order to praise Caesar's victories, and so we have the chariot ascending into the sky in lines 8-9, followed by the celebratory triumphal chariot races of 17f. The *cursus* begun at 1.41 here looks beyond itself to a more elevated path, one which will take us to the *Aeneid*, but also, within the scope of the *Georgics*, to Olympus and to immortality[102].

BOOK 4

The end of these narratives of games and war, victory, triumph and poetics occurs at the poem's end (4.559-566):[103]

Haec super aruorum cultu pecorumque canebam
et super arboribus, ***Caesar*** *dum magnus ad altum*
fulminat Euphraten bello ***uictorque*** *uolentes*
per populos dat iura ***uiamque adfectat Olympo****.*
illo ***Vergilium me*** *tempore dulcis alebat*
Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuuenta,
Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.

97. Contrast also 1.509, the Euphrates and Germania menacing war, with the victories over the Nile and in east and west at 3.26-33.
98. See Gale 1991 = Hardie 1999, 41-57, Gale 2000, 88-112.
99. On the *Georgics* as an exercise in political education see Hardie 2004. Important also is Schiesaro 1997.
100. See Gale 2000, 98-100.
101. Cf. Hardie 2002, 205f. It is worth noting in passing the title of chapter 3 of Zanker 1988; the chapter begins with the words "After the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.) and the capture of Alexandria in the following year…" and it is entitled "The Great Turning Point: Intimations of a New Imperial Style".
102. For the ways in which the prologue to the third book relates both to the *Georgics* and to the *Aeneid* see Nelis 2004, 82-85.
103. For the link back to the opening of book 1 see Thomas 1988, on 562; for the link back to the *palmae* and victories at 3.12 and 17 and to races at 3.18 see Gale 2000, 99, 194, 244, 252, Lovatt 2005, 308. For the link back to the charioteer out of control at the end of book 1 see Gale 2000, 194, 269. The careful placing of *Euphrates* at 1.509 and 4.561 (for an allusion to the "Assyrian River" of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* see Scodel and Thomas 1984 = Thomas 1999, 320 = Hardie 1999, 83) reinforces the link between the close of book 4 and that of book 1 and suggests the prominent influence of Callimachus (see next note). See also Balot 1998, 92f on connections between the sphragis and earlier references to charioteering.

In this famous sphragis, Vergil identifies himself as the author of the *Georgics* and *Bucolics*, by quoting almost word for word the opening line of that collection. Where before in the opening of book 1 we had close collaboration between poet and Caesar (*mecum*, 41), and in the prologue to book 3 an exact parallelism, each a triumphant victor (9, 17, 27), here we have a series of obvious contrasts:

Caesar	*Vergil*
magnus	*ignobilis*
fulminat	*lusi*
Euphraten	*Parthenope*
uictor	*studiis florentem oti*
populos	*pastorum*
Olympo	*tegmine fagi*

But there is one key idea here which must be brought out. Caesar's apotheosis as expressed in the words ***uiam*** *adfectat Olympo* must be imagined as a chariot flight, one which is closely related to the poet's imagined triumphal flight (*temptanda* ***uia*** *est*, 3.8) in the prologue to book 3[104]. The *uia* which it was the poem's task, with Caesar's divine help, to demonstrate here becomes Caesar's way to godhead. Seen thus, despite the apparent gulf between poet and *princeps*, this poem and Caesar's apotheosis remain inextricably related. The poem charts his course from *iuuenis* embroiled in civil war to Actian victor. The *cursus* of the poem reflects this historical process, as we have seen, since the poem itself moves in time from civil war (end of 1 and 2) to triumph and victory (start of 3), and the chariot course of the poem's trajectory ends in the chariot ride of Caesar to immortality. The poem as a whole is a celebration of Caesarian triumph, and of course this is exactly what the Circus itself was, a massive Caesarian spectacle, "a massive engine of representation"[105], a huge image of victory resulting in cosmic harmony and peace and stability, a statement of Augustan achievement and a symbol of the power and extent of Roman imperium.

But even as Vergil celebrates, he also draws distinctions, and at the poem's end the poet's place is not in Caesar's triumphal chariot. He withdraws to humble *otium* in Naples, a place associated with Epicureanism, and the poetry he closes with is pastoral, the very antithesis in some ways of both the world of georgic labor and military force, the poetry of shepherds rather than of ploughmen and soldiers. As Caesar thunders and flies off to Olympus and the reader, recalling the prologue to book 3, can look forward to the announced epic celebration of his achievements, Vergil returns to a bucolic setting. His poetry may be identified as the ultimate expression of Augustan *imperium*, but he also claims for himself an image of poetic and philosophical detachment. The poet's voice may praise the great and powerful of this world, but it also states its independence. And of course when we place ourselves with Tityrus under the shade of his beech tree, we could hardly be any further from the *clamor* and *furor* of central Rome and the chariot races of the Circus Maximus (*Buc.*, 1.19-21):

> *Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboee, putaui*
> *stultus ego huic nostrae similem, quo saepe solemus*
> *pastores ouium teneros depellere fetus.*

104. Most importantly, on Julius Caesar's deification and ascension by chariot see Weinstock 1971, 356-63. Within the *Georgics*, a number of associative patterns support the idea of Augustus' movement as a chariot flight. The occurrence of *uictor* here must recall *uictor* at both 3.9 and 17, where in each case a chariot is involved. The picture here also must evoke the triumphal chariot, again picking up *uictor… triumphatas* from 3.27-33. For a split second, could the collocation *uictor uolentis* conjure up an echo of *uictor… uolitare* at 3.9? For other flying chariots see 3.108, 181, 194, 201. On broader structural, thematic and imitative patterns which enforce the connections between the sphragis and the proem to book 3, especially the Callimachean background and praise of Berenice in the *Victoria* and *Coma*, see Thomas 1983 = 1999, ch. 2, Nadeau 1989. The care lavished on allusion to the *Coma* in the *Aeneid* (on which see Wills 1998) both establishes its central importance for Vergil's elaboration of Augustan panegyric and suggests overlap between the concerns of the sphragis and the *Aeneid*; Vergil succeeds in both prefiguring the triumphal aspects of his planned epic just as he glances back to the opening of his *Eclogues*, a poem which investigates the traumatic aftermath resulting from military *discordia* (*Buc.*, 1.71).

105. Henderson 2002, 45.

Works cited

Acosta-Hughes, B., E. Kosmetatou and M. Baumbach, ed. (2003): *Labored in Papyrus Leaves. Perspectives on an Epigram Collection Attributed to Posidippus (P. Mil. Vogl. VIII 309)*, Washington D.C.

Ahl, F (1984): "The Rider and the Horse", *ANRW,* II.32.1, 40-124.

Ando, C. and J. Rüpke, ed. (2006): *Religion and Law in Classical and Christian Rome*, Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftlich/ Beiträge 15, Stuttgart.

Asper, M. (1997): *Onomata allotria. Zur Genese, Struktur und Funktion poetologischer Metaphern bei Kallimachos*, Stuttgart.

Balot, R. (1998): "Pindar, Virgil, and the Proem to *Georgic* 3", *Phoenix,* 52, 83-94.

Barbantani, S. (forthcoming): "Hellenistic Epinician".

Barchiesi, A. (forthcoming): "Phaethon and the monsters", in: Hardie forthcoming.

Beacham, R. (2005): "The Emperor as Impresario: Producing the Pageantry of Power", in: Galinsky 2005, 151-174.

Beard, M. (2007) : *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge MA-London.

Beard, M., J. North and S. Price (1998): *Religions of Rome*, I-II, Cambridge.

Becker, O. (1937): *Das Bild des Weges und verwandte Vorstellungen im frühgriechischen Denken*, Berlin.

Belfiore, E. (2006): "Dancing with the Gods: The Myth of the Chariot in Plato's *Phaedrus*", *AJP,* 127, 185-217.

Berlan-Bajard, A. (2006): *Les spectacles aquatiques romains*, Rom.

Bibauw, J., ed. (1969): *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, 3 vols., Brussels.

Buchheit, V. (1971): "Epikurs Triumph des Geistes, (Lucr. 1.62-79)", *Hermes,* 99, 303-323.

— (1972): *Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgica*, Darmstadt.

Bungert, H., ed. (1985): *Das antike Rom in Europa. Die Kaiserzeit und ihre Nachwirkung*, Regensburg.

Cairns, F. (1989): *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, Cambridge.

Cameron, A. (1973): *Porphyrius the Charioteer*, Oxford.

— (1976): *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, Oxford.

Champlin, E. (2003): *Nero*, Cambridge MA.

Ciancio Rossetto, P. (1993): "Circus Maximus", 272-6, in: Steinby 1993, 272-276. *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. M. Steinby, (Rome 1993).

Clarke, M. J., B. G. F. Currie and R. O. A .M. Lyne, ed. (2006): *Epic Interactions, Perspectives on Homer, Virgil and the Epic Tradition*, Oxford.

Coleman, K. (1993): "Launching into History: Aquatic Displays in the Early Empire", *JRS*, 83, 48-74.

— (2000): "Entertaining Rome", in: Coulston & Dodge 2000, 210-258.

Coulston, J. and H. Dodge, ed. (2000): *Ancient Rome. The Archaeology of the Eternal City*, Oxford.

D'Alessio, G. B. (1996): *Callimaco*, I-II, Milan.

De La Cerda, J. L. (1647): *P. Virgilii Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, Cologne.

Courtney, E. (1980): *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal*, London.

— (1993): *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, Oxford.

Davis, C. G. (1996): *The Voyage, the Chariot-Race and the Hunt: Three Motifs in Vergil's Aeneid*, Diss. Chapel Hill.

Decker, W. and J.-P. Thuillier (2004): *Le sport dans l'antiquité*, Paris.

Dewar, M. (1988): "Octavian and Orestes in the Finale of the First *Georgic", CQ,* 38, 563-565.

— (1990): "Octavian and Orestes again", *CQ,* 40, 580-582.

Drew, D. (1921) : "Virgil's Marble Temple: *Georgics* 3.10-39", *CQ,* 18, 195-202 = Hardie 1999, 211-222.

Dumser, E. A. (2002): "Circus Maximus", in: Haselberger 2002, 87-89.

Durante, M. 1968): "Epea ptereonta. Die Rede als 'Weg' in griechischen und vedischen Bildern", in: Schmitt 1968, 242-260.

Dyson, J. (1996): "*Caesi iuuenci* and *pietas impia* in Virgil", *CJ*, 91, 277-286.

Erren, M. (2003): P. *Vergilius Maro, Georgica*, Heidelberg.

Fantham, E. (1998): *Ovid, Fasti Book 4*, Cambridge.

Fantuzzi, M. (2003): "The Structure of the *Hippika* in P.Mil.Vogl.VIII 309", in: Acosta-Hughes *et al*. 2003, 212-224 .

— (2005): "Posidippus at Court: the Contribution of the Hippika of P.Mil.Vogl.VIII 309 to the Ideology of Ptolemaic Kingship", in: Gutzwiller 2005, 249-268.

Fantuzzi, M. and R. Hunter (2004): *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*, Cambridge.

Farrell, J. (1991): *Virgil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic*, Oxford.

Fedeli, P. (1965): *Properzio, Elegie, Libro 4*, Bari.

Feeney, D. (1998): *Literature and Religion at Rome*, Cambridge.

Feldherr, A. (1995): "Ships of State: *Aeneid* 5 and Augustan Circus Spectacle", *CA,* 14, 245-265.

Fishwick, D. (2004): *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West. Studies in the Ruler Cult of the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire*, vol. 3.3, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World, 147, Leiden.

Fleischer, U. (1960): "Musentempel und Octavianehrung des Vergil im Proömium zum dritten Buch der *Georgica*", *Hermes,* 88, 280-331.

Fowler, D. (2002): *Lucretius on Atomic Motion: A Commentary on DRN 2. 1-332*, Oxford.

Fraenkel, E. (1931): "Das Reifen der horazischen Satire", in: Fraenkel *et al*. 1931, 119-136.

Fraenkel, E. *et al*., ed. (1931): *Festschrift Richard Reitzenstein*, Leipzig-Berlin.

Freudenburg, K. (2001): *Satires of Rome. Threatening poses from Lucilius to Juvenal*, Cambridge.

Fuhrer, Th. (1992): *Die Auseinandersetzung mit den Chorlyrikern in den Epinikien des Kallimachos*, Basel.

— (1993): "Callimachus" epinician poems", in: Harder *et al*. 1993, 79-97.

Gale, M. (2000): *Virgil on the Nature of Things. The Georgics, Lucretius and the Didactic Tradition*, Cambridge.

—, ed. (2004): *Latin Epic and Didactic Poetry*, Swansea.

Galinsky, K. (1996): *Augustan Culture*, Princeton.

—, ed. (2005): *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge.

Gardeisen, A., ed. (2005): *Les équidés dans le monde méditerranéen antique*.

Giard, J.-B. (1988²): *Catalogue des monnaies de l'Empire romain*, 1. Auguste, Paris.

Gibson, R. (2003): *Ovid, Ars Amatoria Book 3*, Cambridge.

Goh, M. (2004): *The Poetics of Chariot Driving and Rites of Passage in Ancient Greece*, Diss. Harvard; summary at *HSCP*, 102, 2004, 462-463.

Golden, M. (1988): *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece*, Cambridge.

Goldhill, S. (1991): *The Poet's Voice*, Cambridge.

Griffith, M. (2006): "Horsepower and Donkeywork: Equids in the ancient Greek Imagination", in two parts: Part one *CP,* 101.3, 185-246, Part Two *CP*, 101.4, 307-358.

Gros, P. (2006): "Le 'modèle' du forum d'Auguste et ses applications italiques ou provinciales. État de la question après les dernières découvertes", in: Navarro Caballero & Roddaz 2006, 115-127.

Gurval, R. (1995): *Actium and Augustus. The Politics and Emotions of Civil War*, Ann Arbor.

Gutzwiller, K., ed. (2005): *The New Posidippus. A Hellenistic Poetry Book,* Oxford.

Habinek, T. and A. Schiesaro, ed. (1997): *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge.

Hannah, R. (2005): *Greek and Roman Calendars. Constructions of Time in the Classical World*, London.

Harder, M. A. *et al.,* ed. (1993): *Callimachus*, Hellenistica Groningana 1, Groningen.

Hardie, A. (2002): "The *Georgics*, the Mysteries and the Muses at Rome", *BICS,* 48, 175-206.

Hardie, Ph. R. (1986): *Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford.

— (1988): *Virgil*, Oxford.

— (2004): "Political Education in Virgil's *Georgics*", *SIFC* Quarta Serie, 2, 83-111.

— (2005): "Time in Lucretius and the Augustan Poets: Freedom and Innovation", in: Schwindt 2005, 19-42.

— (2007): "Horace's Sublime Yearnings: Lucretian Ironies", *PLLS*, 13, 119-172.

—, ed. (1999): *Virgil. Critical Assessments of Classical Authors*, vol. 2, London.

— (forthcoming): *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Poetry and Culture*, Oxford.

Harrison, S. J. (2006): "The Epic and the Monuments: Interactions between Virgil's *Aeneid* and the Augustan Building Programme", in: Clarke *et al.* 2006, 159-183.

Haselberger , ed. (2002): *Mapping Augustan Rome*, JRA Suppl. 50, Portsmouth RI.

Hekster, O. and J. Rich (2006): "Octavian and the Thunderbolt: the temple of Apollo Palatinus and Roman Traditions of temple building", *CQ*, 56, 149-168.

Henderson, A. A. R. (1970): "*Insignem conscendere currum* (Lucretius 6.47)", *Latomus,* 29, 739-743.

Henderson, J. (2002): "A Doo-Dah-Doo-Dah-Dey at the Races: Ovid *Amores* 3.2 and the Personal Politics of the Circus Maximus", *CA*, 21, 41-65.

Henry, J. (1899): *Aeneidea*, 4, Dublin.

Heucke, Cl. (1994): *Circus und Hippodrom als politischer Raum*, Hildesheim.

Horsfall, N. M. (1995): *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, Leiden.

Humphrey, J. H. (1986): *Roman Circuses. Arenas for Chariot Racing*, Berkeley-Los Angeles.

Janka, M. (1997): *Ovid, Ars Amatoria Buch 2*, Heidelberg.

Kaster, R. (2002): "Invidia and the end of *Georgics* 1", *Phoenix,* 56, 275-295.

Kennedy, D. (2003): *The arts of love. Five studies in the discourse of Roman love elegy*, Cambridge.

Koenig, J. (2005): *Athletics and Literature in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge.

Kolde, A., A. Lukinovich and A.-L. Rey, ed. (2005): κορυφαίῳ ἀνδρί. *Mélanges offerts à André Hurst*, Genève.

Kosmetatou, E. (2003): "Constructing Legitimacy: The Ptolemaic *Familiengruppe* as a Means for Self-Definition in Posidippus' *Hippika*", in: Acosta-Hughes 2003, 225-246.

Künzl, E. (1988): *Der römische Triumph. Siegesfeiern im antiken Rom*, Munich.

Kyle, D. (2007): *Sport and Spectacle in the Ancient World*, Malden MA.

Landolfi, L. (1999): "ΟΥΠΑΝΟΒΑΤΕΙΝ: Manilio, il volo e la poesia. Alcune precisizioni", *Prometheus,* 25, 151-165.

L'Orange, H. P. (1953): *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship*, Oslo.

Lennartz, K. (1999): "Fliegen oder flattern? Zum Epitaph des Ennius (Frg. Var. 17f Vahlen)", *Philologus*, 143, 181-182.

Lloyd-Jones, L. and P. Parsons (1983): *Supplementum Hellenisticum*, Berlin-New York.

Lovatt, H. (2005): *Statius and Epic Games. Sport, Politics and Poetics in the Thebaid*, Cambridge.

— (2007) : "Statius on Parade : Performing Argive Identity in Thebaid 6.268-295", *Cambridge Classical Journal*, 53, 72-95.

— (forthcoming): "Careering: chariots of song and poetic life-courses in Latin poetry".

Lündstrom, S. (1976): "Der Eingang des Proömiums zum dritten Buch der Georgica", *Hermes,* 104, 163-191.

Lyle, E. B. (1984): "The Circus as Cosmos", *Latomus*, 43, 827-841.

Lyne, R. O. A. M. (1974): "*Scilicet et tempus ueniet*… Virgil, *Georgics* 1.463-514", in: Woodman & West 1974, 47-66 = Lyne 1999.

— (1987): *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford.

— (1999): "*Scilicet et tempus ueniet*… Virgil, *Georgics* 1.463-514", in: Hardie 1999, 162-183.

McKeown, J. (forthcoming): *Ovid, Amores 3*, ARCA, Cambridge.

Massimilla, G. (1996): *Callimaco, Aitia. Libri primo e secundo*, Pisa.

Millar, F., ed. (1991): *Roman Culture and Society*: Collected Papers by E. Rawson, Oxford.

Miller, J. (2000): "Triumphus in Palatio", *AJP*, 121, 409-422.

Möseneder, K. (1985): "Der römische circus als Bild der Welt und des Lebens", in: Bungert 1985, 207-266.

Morgan, L. (1999): *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil's Georgics*, Cambridge.

Mynors, R. (1990): *Virgil, Georgics*, Oxford.

Nadeau, Y. (1989): "Aristaeus: Augustus: Berenice: Aeneas", *Mnemosyne,* 42, 97-101.

Nappa, C. (2005): *Reading after Actium. Vergil's Georgics, Octavian and Rome*, Ann Arbor.

Navarro Caballero, M. and J.-M. Roddaz, ed. (2006): *La transmission de l'idéologie impériale dans l'occident romain*, Bordeaux.

Nelis, D. (2004): "From didactic to epic: *Georgics* 2.458-3.48", in: Gale 2004, 73-107.

— (2005): "The Roman Callimachus: Structure and Coherence in the Propertian Corpus", in: Kolde *et al.* 2005, 235-248.

Nelis-Clément, J. (2002): "Les métiers du cirque, de Rome à Byzance : entre texte et image", *Cahiers du Centre Glotz,* 13, 265-309.

Nicholson, N. J. (2005): *Aristocracy and Athletics in Archaic and Classical Greece*, Cambridge.

Nünlist, R. (1998): *Poetologische Bildersprache in der frühgriechischen Dichtung*, Stuttgart.

Page, T. E. (1898): *P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, London.

Parsons, P. (1977): "Callimachus: Victoria Berenices", *ZPE,* 25, 1-50.

Pöschl, V. (1964): *Bibliographie zur antiken Bildersprache*, Heidelberg.

Putnam, M. C. J. (1979): *Virgil's Poem of the Earth. Studies in the Georgics*, Princeton.

Quinn-Schofield, W. (1969): "Sol in the Circus Maximus", in: Bibauw 1969, vol. 2, 639-649.

Race, W. R., ed. (1997): *Pindar: Nemean Odes, Isthmian Odes, Fragments,* with an English translation, Cambridge MA-London.

Rawson, E. (1981): "Chariot-Racing in the Roman Republic", *PBSR,* 49, 1-16 (= Millar 1991, 389-407).

Roddaz, J.-M. (2006): "La diffusion du thème de la victoire dans l'occident romain", in: Navarro Caballero & Roddaz 2006, 35-47.

Rosenfeld-Löffler, A. (2006): *La poétique d'Empédocle. Cosmologie et métaphore*, Bern.

Rouse, W. H. D. and M. F. Smith (1992): *Lucretius, De Rerum Natura*, Cambridge MA.

Royo, M. (1999): *Domus imperatoriae: topographie, formation et imaginaire des palais impériaux du Palatin (IIe siècle av. J.-C. - Ier siècle ap. J.-C.)*, Rom.

Rüpke, J. (2001): *Die Religion der Römer*, Munich.

— (2006): "Religion in *lex Ursonensis*", in: Ando & Rüpke 2006, 34-46.

Schiesaro, A. (1997): "The Boundaries of Knowledge in Virgil's *Georgics*", in: Habinek & Schiesaro 1997, 63-89.

Schindler, C. (2000): *Untersuchungen zu den Gleichnissen im römischen Lehrgedicht: Lucrez, Vergil, Manilius*, Göttingen.

Schmitt, R., ed. (1968): *Indogermanische Dichtersprache*, Wege der Forschung 165, Darmstadt.

Schwindt, J. P., ed. (2005): *La représentation du temps dans la poésie augustéenne*, Heidelberg.

Scodel, R. S. and R.F. Thomas (1984): "Virgil and the Euphrates", *AJP*, 105, 339.

Segal, C. (1986): *Pindar's Mythmaking. The Fourth Pythian Ode*, Princeton.

Seiler, M. A. (1997): ΠΟΙΗΣΙΣ ΠΟΙΗΣΕΩΣ. *Alexandrinische Dichtung kata lepton in strukturaler und humanethologischer Deutung*, Stuttgart-Leipzig.

Shechter, S. (1975): "The *Aition* in Virgil"s *Georgics", TAPA,* 105, 347-391.

Sherwin-White, A. N. (1966): *The Letters of Pliny. A Historical and Social Commentary*, Oxford.

Simpson, M. (1969): "The Chariot and the Bow as Metaphors for Poetry in Pindar's *Odes*", *TAPA,* 100, 437-473.

Skutsch, O. (1985): *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford.

Steinby, M., ed. (1993): *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, I, Rom.

Sumi, G. S. (2005): *Ceremony and Power. Performing Politics in Rome between Republic and Empire*, Ann Arbor.

Thomas, R. F. (1983) : "Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices* and Roman Poetry", *CQ,* 33, 92-113.

— (1998): *"Virgil, Georgics"*, I-II, Cambridge.

— (1999): *Reading Virgil and his Texts. Studies in Intertextuality*, Ann Arbor

Thompson, D. (2005): "Posidippus, Poet of the Ptolemies", in: Gutzwiller 2005, 269-283.

Thuillier, J.-P. (2004): "Du cocher à l'âne", *RPh*, 78, 311-314.

Versnel, H. (1970): *Triumphus. An Inquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph*, Leiden.

Veyne, P. (1976): *Le pain et le cirque. Sociologie historique d"un pluralisme politique*, Paris.

Volk, K. (2002): *The Poetics of Latin Didactic. Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid, Manilius*, Oxford.

Volk, K. (2003): "Manilius' Solitary Chariot-ride", *CQ,* 53, 628-633.

Von Albrecht, M. (2006): *Vergil. Eine Einführung*, Heidelberg.

Weinstock, S. (1971): *Diuus Iulius*, Oxford.

Wilhelm, R. M. (1982): "The Plough-Chariot: Symbol of Order in the *Georgics*", *CJ,* 77, 213-230.

Wilkinson, L. P. (1969): *The Georgics of Virgil*, Cambridge.

Wills, J. (1998): "Divided Allusion: Virgil and the *Coma Berenices*"", *HSCP,* 98, 277-305.

Wimmell, W. (1960): *Kallimachos in Rom: Die Nachfolge seines Apologetischen Dichtens in der Augusteerzeit*, Wiesbaden.

Wissowa, G. (1912²): *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich.

Woodman, T. and D. West, ed. (1974): *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*, Cambridge.

Zanker, P. (1988): *The Power of Images in Augustan Rome*, Ann Arbor.

Zetzel, J. E. G. (1998): *Cicero, De Re Publica: Selections*, Cambridge.