

natural philosophy. The syntax might also be taken as a strong affirmation that his choice has now been made, since we have moved from conditionals to exclamations. Not only was Virgil's initial longing for the poetry of scientific natural philosophy expressed solely in potential terms, but the turn toward pastoral and georgic themes is accomplished not so much through rational contemplation as through an emotional reverie. Virgil's subject-matter has strong affinities with that of Lucretius and other earlier writers, but his relationship to it differs sharply: the beauty and tranquillity inherent in his 'humbler' second choice lead him to a passion for it that he lacked for natural philosophy.¹² Not only do we have an example of Virgilian wordplay here, but also of what Thomas has classified as a reference that corrects the model to which it refers.¹³ For the originally negative idea that cold blood around the heart denotes a lack of intellectual capacity has been reinterpreted: the cold blood around this poet's heart is no intellectual sluggishness, but the same coolness that makes the countryside such a suitable setting for poetry.

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¹² See S. Nelson, *God and the Land: The Metaphysics of Farming in Hesiod and Vergil* (Oxford, 1998), 92–4: Virgil wants to be connected with the land, but as a poet, not a farmer. As Putnam suggests, the specific Greek locales mentioned by Virgil at 2.486–9 represent the sources of his poetry; see M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Poem of the Earth: Studies in the Georgics* (Princeton, 1979), 149. The idea that they all evoke a connection with Bacchus is intriguing and certainly helps to tie this 'digression' more closely to viticulture, the dominant topic of Book 2; see G. B. Miles, *Virgil's Georgics: A New Interpretation* (Berkeley, 1980), 153–4. M. O. Lee, *Virgil as Orpheus: A Study of the Georgics* (Albany, 1996), 73 notes that these locales all possess an Orphic colouring, while P. Scazzoso, 'Riflessi misterici nelle "Georgiche" di Virgilio', *Paideia* 11 (1945), 5–28, at 19–20 suggests that they all have links with mystery religions (including those associated with Orpheus and Dionysus). On *inglorius* in particular see F. Muecke, 'Poetic self-consciousness in *Georgics* II', *Ramus* 8 (1979), 87–107, at 99–100.

¹³ See R. F. Thomas, 'Virgil's *Georgics* and the art of reference', *HSCP* 90 (1986), 171–98, at 185–9 (reprinted in R. F. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and his Texts: Studies in Intertextuality* [Ann Arbor, 1999], 114–41, at 127–32).

A NOTE ON VERGIL, *AENEID* 12.941–3*

infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balteus, et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri.

Heyne once observed: 'Praeclarum hoc inventum suppeditatum forte erat Maroni a tragicis' (ad loc.). Heyne's note still provides valuable insights into the possible precedents of the 'fatal weapon',¹ but it has not as yet been explained why, after naming

* I wish to thank Sergio Casali, Kirk Freudenburg, and Alison Sharrock for their valuable suggestions.

¹ Cf. chiefly Soph. *Aj.* 1029–33 (Hector tied to Achilles' chariot with the strap given him by Ajax; Ajax kills himself with the sword given to him by Hector); in addition Leont. Schol. (?) *AP* 7.151; 152 (esp. 7–8 οὕτως ἐξ ἐχθρῶν αὐτοκτόνα πέμπετο δῶρα, ἢ ἐν χάριτος προφάσει μοῖραν ἔχοντα μόρου). On the decisive role of 'Pallas' belt (and for extensive bibliography), see G. B. Conte, in *Enc. Virg.* 1.454b–455a, s.v. 'balteo' (1984); A. Barchiesi, *La traccia del modello* (Pisa, 1984), esp. 30–43; A. Traina, in *Enc. Virg.* 5.1, esp. 330–6, s.v. 'Turno' (1990).

the belt, Virgil insists on the detail of the *bullae*.² Some difficulties were already noted by La Cerda: ‘Annon pleonasmus ridiculus? Nam si balteus est militare cingulum, quid oportuit utramque vocem dari?’ (783, n. 5; but cf. also n. 6)—what is the point of naming the *balteus* together with its periphrasis, the *cingula* and the *bullae*? And why are the *bullae* the point of detail through which memory and recognition are activated (*notae*)?

Commentators routinely refer to the scene from Book 10 (the removal of the belt from the dying Pallas), but the help it provides is slight. For while it is true that, already in Book 10, Virgil calls attention to a specific detail of the belt, there the focus is on the *impressum nefas* of the Danaids, which Clonus, the son of Eurytus, had embossed on it in gold (*Aen.* 10.495–500), and the *bullae* receive no mention whatsoever. On the contrary, since the term *bullae* in its precise sense designates a circular boss of rather small dimensions, a sort of ornamental bauble or pendant (most likely of gold on the epic hero’s *balteus*; cf. 9.359–60 *aurea bullis/cingula*), it would seem that the *bullae* should be kept distinct from the *impressum nefas* which, instead, suggests a representation wrought directly onto the belt (*imprimere*; cf. also 10.499 *multo caelaverat auro*). One should not be too quick, therefore, to assume that the passage in Book 12 simply mirrors the image it recalls from Book 10.³

In order to resolve this difficulty a definite emotive suggestion should be taken into account. In their common usage, *bullae* (sometimes of gold) were in fact those distinctive markers, both for identification and good luck, that were worn around the neck to symbolize the wearer’s youth: worn continuously from birth, they were set aside at about the age of sixteen to symbolize the coming of age; cf. Paul. Fest. 36 *bullae aureae insigne erat puerorum praetextatorum, quae dependebat eis a pectore, ut significaretur eam aetatem alterius regendam consilio (dicta est autem bulla a Graeco sermone βουλή quod consilium dicitur Latine) vel quia partem corporis bulla contingat, id est pectus, in quo naturale manet consilium; Gramm. suppl. 239; Plut. quaest. Rom. 101; and so on (TLL 2.2241.81–2242.37).*⁴ It is with this same term that the small baubles on the warrior’s belt (some are attested in iconographic sources) are designated: in either case the term refers to minuscule objects, amulets, or various firgurines

² See Heyne’s paraphrase: ‘tum vero *notis fulserunt cingula bullis* poetica forma dictum, pro: et bullae, ornamenta nota, fulserunt in cingulo’.

³ For the more common view, see e.g. K. Quinn, ‘La morte di Turno’, *Maia* 16 (1964), 341–9, at 347: ‘Sulle borchie (*bullae*), che avevano fatto riconoscere ad Enea il balteo, era cesellata una storia di sangue e di delitto (X 497 *impressum nefas*) etc.’; also id., *Virgil’s Aeneid. A Critical Description* (London, 1968), 271–6, esp. 275. But cf. already C. Ruæus (Paris, 1726 = Napoli, 1814), 638, ad loc.: ‘Agnoscit eum Aeneas ex pictura Danaidum quarum facinus in eo expressum erat’; and in addition, R. D. Williams (London, 1973), 508, ad loc. Other commentators, in contrast, seem to presuppose a distinction between the images, e.g. J. Henry (New York, 1892 = 1972), 4.77 (cf. *infra* n. 3); and T. E. Page (London, 1929), 473: ‘cf. 10.495, where it [the baldric] is described as of “vast weight”, with the story of the Danaids chased on its heavy gold plates’. Others refrain from drawing connections between the two images, e.g. A. Forbiger (Lipsiae, 1875⁴), 625; J. Conington and H. Nettleship (London, 1883³), 484.

⁴ Cf. *RE* 3.1, 1048–51, s.v. *bullae* (esp. 1050: on the *bullae* there might also appear the name of the boy to complete his identification); *Reall. Ant. u. Christ.* 2, 800–1; *Enc. Art. Ant.* 2, 222b–223a; L. M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore, 1938), 131–2; J.-P. Néraudau, *Être enfant à Rome* (Paris, 1984), 145–8; S. Russo, *I gioielli nei papiri di età greco-romana* (Firenze, 1999), 230; in addition, Iuv. 5.164, with the comments of J. E. B. Mayor (London, 1877), 270–1, and of E. Courtney (Bristol, 1980), 250; Pers. 5.31, with the comments of J. R. Jenkinson (Warminster, 1980), 86; and of W. Kissel at verses 30–1 (Heidelberg, 1990), 604–5. The *bullae* is not absent from art of the Augustan age; see esp. P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder* (München, 1987), 221, pl. 171; 232 (= [Ann Arbor, 1988], 219, pl. 171; 231).

that, in resembling *crepundia*, evoke infancy and early youth (*a crepundiis* is equivalent to *a pueritia*).⁵

There is specific reason for the role given the *bullae* in the recognition of Pallas, who is here (and only here) accordingly designated as a *puer: notis . . . cingula bullis/Pallantis pueri*. For *pater* Aeneas, the infantile *bullae* inevitably bring with them the memory of the violated *puer (notis!)*—a recognition underlined by the sound-effects of verses 942–3, *BALteus . . . BULLis/PALLantis PUeri*.⁶ If at the death of Pallas the reader has seen the *impressum nefas* of bridegrooms cut down in their prime, here, through the eyes of Aeneas, we catch a glimpse of that same belt's glistening *bullae*, which are objects evoking the *felicitas* and good fortune of a *puer*.⁷

As Heyne has already concluded, 'verendum non erat, ne otiosus esset versus': the adding of *cingula* and *notae bullae* is no mere 'pleonasm'.⁸

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⁵ Cf. Daremberg-Saglio, 1.2.1561a–b, s.v. *crepundia* (fig. 2065); cf. also 1.1, esp. 666, s.v. *balteus*; 754–5, s.v. *bullia*. In his note, Henry, 77, *ad Aen.* 10.496, makes reference to modern usage (emperor Maximilian): 'The "bullae," as appears from these statues, were either hollow balls, inside of which a smaller ball rattled at every motion of the bearer [. . .] or actual bells with tongues. They were attached by rings which passed through holes, at short distances from each other, along the lower edge of the "balteus," in its whole length.'

⁶ The father/son theme is of decisive importance in the last books of the *Aeneid* where it is reflected also at the divine level. I refer to the scene in Book 10 where Jupiter, the father, seeks to console his son, Hercules, when he is saddened by the imminent death of Pallas; one observes here a reduplication of the filial connection featured in the scene's Homeric model, in which it is his wife, Hera, who dissuades Zeus, in words far more harsh, from attempting to save his son, Sarpedon (*Il.* 16.431–61); cf. *Aen.* 10.466 *tum genitor natum dictis adfatur amicis*. Moreover, already in the Theocritean model of Heracles saddened by the loss of a boy (Hylas), the hero's sadness is cast not only as a lover's emotion, but a father's: *καὶ νῦν πάντ' ἐδίδασκε πατήρ ὡσεὶ φίλον νῆα* (*Id.* 13.8). Near the end of the *Aeneid*, young heroes are figured consistently as virgins 'ravished' in their deaths (*ἄωροι* and *ἄγαμοί*); cf. D. P. Fowler, 'Vergil on killing virgins', in *Homo viator. Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Bristol, 1987), 185–98; Ph. Hardie, *Virgil. Aeneid Book IX* (Cambridge, 1994), 14–18.

⁷ The *bullia* of Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.152 (the case of the young son of Publius Junius) plays a comparable emotive role: *neque te tam commovebat quod ille cum toga praetexta quam quod sine bulla venerat [. . .] quod ornamentum pueritiae pater dederat, indicium atque insigne fortunae, hoc ab isto praedone ereptum esse graviter tum et acerbè homines ferebant*; the father/son relationship is referred to already at Plaut. *Rud.* 1171 *bullia aurea est, pater quam dedit mi natali die*; cf. in addition Plin. *HN* 33.10.

⁸ In contrast, Page, loc. cit.: 'The second clause *et . . . bullis* merely amplifies the first.'

THE RAPE ATTEMPTS ON LOTIS AND VESTA

The similarities between the lines on Priapus' attempted rapes of Lotis and Vesta at Ovid, *Fasti* 1.393ff. and 6.321ff. are obvious and numerous,¹ but the explanation of the extensive correspondence is problematical and controversial. Generally scholars have felt that one of the two accounts would have been omitted in a final revised version of the poem, and most have written off the passage on Vesta (for example, as

¹ See e.g. E. Fantham, 'Sexual comedy in Ovid's *Fasti*: sources and motivations', *HSPH* 87 (1983), 203; A. Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Greece and Rome* (Oxford and New York, 1992), 171; and C. E. Newlands *Playing with Time* (Ithaca, 1996), 127–8.