From the holdings of the Department of Special Collections , Princeton University Library, Princeton, NJ

These documents are either in the public domain, or can only be used for educational and research purposes (Fair use) as per U.S. Copyright law (text below). By accessing this file, all users agree that their use falls in the public domain or within fair use as defined by the copyrightlaw. We do not charge any permission or usage fees for the publication of images of material inour collections, including those provided by Princeton University Library, via our website, catalog, or directly from staff.For more information regarding copyright, credit, and citation please review the information onthe Copyright, Credit and Citation Guidelines page of our website.
https://library.princeton.edu/special-collections/policies/copyright-credit-and-citation-guidelines. If you have any questions, including how to order higher-quality images from the collection, contact Special Collections Public Services via our Ask Us! Form. https://library.princeton.edu/special-collections/ask-us

---

Doctoral Dissertations, 2011-2026 Classics

2019

The Environmental Poetry of Augustan Rome

Fredericksen, Erik

Princeton, NJ : Princeton University

---

http://arks.princeton.edu/ark:/88435/dsp018336h4833

U.S. Copyright law: The copyright law of the United States (Title 17, §108, United States Code) governs the making of photocopies or other reproductions of copyrighted material. Under certain conditions specified in the law, libraries and archives are authorized to furnish a photocopy or other reproduction. One of these specified conditions is that the photocopy or reproduction is not to be used for any purpose other than private study, scholarship, or research. If a user makes a request for, or later uses, a photocopy or reproduction for purposes in excess of fair use that user may be liable for copyright infringement. This institution reserves the right to refuse to accept a copying order if, in its judgment, fulfillment of the order would involve a violation of copyright law. https://www.copyright.gov/title17/title17.pdf

THE ENVIRONMENTAL POETRY OF AUGUSTAN ROME

Erik Pugh Fredericksen

A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY

OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE

OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

RECOMMENDED FOR ACCEPTANCE BY

THE DEPARTMENT OF

CLASSICS

Adviser: Denis Feeney

September 2019

© Copyright by Erik Pugh Fredericksen, 2019. All rights reserved.

Abstract

This dissertation argues that central texts of Augustan poetry—Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, and Horace's *Odes*—should be understood as environmental poetry. In contrast to readings that assume forms of nature poetry are mere Romantic projections, that suggest Roman authors did not care about the environment, or that relegate place and environment to the status of background and setting, I use close, contextualized readings of poems to show how Horace and Vergil make issues of place, environment, and ecology crucial to their poetry. At the same time, I demonstrate how engaging with ancient texts can complicate and enrich environmental literary criticism, by historically deepening and broadening understandings of environmental literature.

In my introduction, I call for a sensitive and mutually enriching dialogue between ancient texts and environmental literary criticism, contextualizing my readings in relation to ecocriticism and classical scholarship. I then devote two chapters each to the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes*, showing how each work probes and imagines the relationship between humans, local environments, and the nonhuman world. Moreover, I argue that the environment is not simply an object of representation and thematic interest in these poems: each work creates a distinctive environmental poetics, in which the formation and specific character of its poetry is tied to the nonhuman world and to particular local environments. In my conclusion, I briefly consider Ovid's exile poetry from an environmental perspective. The example of Ovid shows how my readings of Vergil and Horace can form the basis for further environmental readings in Roman poetry and helps clarify that the environmental poetics I find in Augustan authors are based not on realistic description or extra-textual reference, but on the poetic imagination.

Table of Contents

Abstract iii

Acknowledgments v

Editions of Main Texts vi

Introduction 1

Chapter 1
Local Dwelling and Pastoral Place in Vergil's *Eclogues* 27
PART ONE: LOCAL PLACE IN THE *ECLOGUES* 32
PART TWO: PLACING PASTORAL 55

Chapter 2
The Local Environments and More-than-human Music of the *Eclogues* 83
PART ONE: THE MORE-THAN-HUMAN WORLD OF THE *ECLOGUES* 86
PART TWO: BUCOLIC SOUNDSCAPES AND VERGIL'S ACOUSTIC ECOPOETICS 109

Chapter 3
Vergil's Ecological Poem 134
PART ONE: FARMING AND ECOLOGY IN THE *GEORGICS* 137
PART TWO: THE PLACE OF THE HUMAN AND THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE POEM 165

Chapter 4
Poetry of Place and Planet: Fractal Locality in Vergil's *Georgics* 197
PART ONE: THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL 200
PART TWO: FRACTAL LOCALITY AND VERGIL'S POETICS OF SCALE 218

Chapter 5
Natures and the Nonhuman in Horace's *Odes* 243
PART ONE: HORATIAN NATURE POETRY 246
PART TWO: THE POET, THE DIVINE, AND THE NONHUMAN 281

Chapter 6
Translocal Lyric: Horace's *Odes* and the Poetry of Place 307
PART ONE: PLACE IN HORACE'S *ODES* 309
PART TWO: THE *ODES* AS PLACE-BASED POETRY 329

Conclusion
Ovid in Exile and Augustan Environmental Poetry 349

Bibliography 382

Acknowledgments

It was a pleasure to write this dissertation with the help and guidance of my committee, and it is a pleasure to thank them here. From the weekly discussions of my reading course to feedback on the final chapter, Denis Feeney has helped gently shepherd this project along, for which I owe him many thanks. Andrew Feldherr, Brooke Holmes, and Yelena Baraz have all helped me in different ways, and I count myself fortunate to have had each of their unique perspectives on my work. I am grateful to all my teachers over the years, but would especially like to thank Laurie Covington, *sine qua non.*

I am also grateful to the wider Princeton classics community, including especially Stephanie Lewandowski and Jill Arbeiter, and to my friends and fellow graduate students. Caroline Mann, Brahm Kleinman, Carolyn Tobin, Brandon Green, Daniel Healey, Maggie Kurkoski, Alicia Ejsmond-Frey, Amanda Klause, and others have made Princeton the best place I could imagine being a graduate student, from beginning to end. And thanks go to Caroline for fielding all sorts of questions and for proofreading help at the very end.

One semester into the Ph.D. program, I had the good luck to meet Kevin Muehleman. He might be surprised to know he's made this dissertation better, by making everything else better. He has my love and thanks, every day.

Finally, I cannot thank my parents enough for all their support and encouragement in this and in all things.

Editions of Main Texts

I use the following editions for the texts of Vergil, Horace, and Ovid. All translations are my own.

Mynors, R.A.B., ed. 1969. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford.

Shackleton Bailey, D.R., ed. 1985. *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*. Stuttgart.

Owen, S.G., ed. 1915. *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri Quinque, Ibis, Ex Ponto, Libri Quattuor, Halieutica, Fragmenta*. Oxford.

Introduction

One of Horace's best known and most beloved poems is a sixteen-line ode to a spring he names as the *fons Bandusiae*. He describes its glittering waters, the cool refreshment it provides to the animals who drink from it, the young goat bristling with life whose blood will be offered to it, and the voices (including now his own) that echo among its waters:

O fons Bandusiae splendidior vitro
dulci digne mero non sine floribus
    cras donaberis haedo,
        cui frons turgida cornibus

primis et venerem et proelia destinat;
frustra: nam gelidos inficiet tibi
    rubro sanguine rivos
        lascivi suboles gregis.

te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae
nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile
    fessis vomere tauris
        praebes et pecori vago.

fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
    saxis, unde loquaces
        lymphae desiliunt tuae.

Fountain of Bandusia, more shining than glass,
worthy of wine not without flowers,
    tomorrow you'll be given
        a young goat whose brow aching

with new horns is ready for love and for war
in vain. For he will dye your icy
    streams with red blood,
        this offspring of the playful flock.

You the harsh season of the burning Dog Star
cannot touch, you who offer beloved cold
    to bulls tired from the plow
        and to the wandering herd.

You will become one of the renowned fountains

as I sing of the ilex tree hanging over
the hollow rocks from where
your waters leap with voices. (*Carm.* 3.13)

The commentators Nisbet and Rudd, amid their careful treatment of the poem, succinctly claim, "most critics see that the ode is more than a pretty nature-poem."[1] For its brevity, this comment contains within it a great number of literary-historical problems and assumptions worth unpacking. What exactly is a nature poem, and did Horace or other Roman poets write nature poetry? Why is this interpretation something that "most critics" ought to be able to read beyond? Is the aim of such poetry to be "pretty"? And if this ode is not interested in the *fons Bandusiae* for its beauty does that mean it is not a nature poem? For that matter, in what ways or for what reasons *is* Horace interested in this spring and its surroundings?

The remark of Nisbet and Rudd is now fifteen years old, but could have been written much more recently. While a number of classicists have engaged sensitively with issues of place, environment, and the nonhuman, as we will see throughout this dissertation it is still common to overlook ancient poets' fascination with the nonhuman environment on one's way to other, apparently more complex themes and interests. This dissertation stays with the nonhuman world, arguing that major works of Vergil and Horace—including the ode to the *fons Bandusiae*—take place, environment, and the human's relationship to the nonhuman as central concerns.[2] As we will see, both poets do far more than write "pretty nature-poem[s]," not because they do not care about nature

[1] Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 175. In singling out Nisbet and Rudd I merely mean to point to one example of a widespread way of reading. As is clear from chapters five and six, I have benefited immensely from their work on Horace's *Odes*, including on *Carm.* 3.13.
[2] For my reading of *Carm.* 3.13, see chapter six, and see chapter five for my understanding of Horatian nature poetry.

(though that term will require significant interrogation), but because such a label fails to describe the various and complex forms of environmental poetry Vergil and Horace create.

In the six chapters that follow, I advance readings of Vergil's *Eclogues,* Vergil's *Georgics*, and Horace's *Odes* as environmental poetry, seeking to deepen our understanding of these particular texts and at the same time to activate these works for a larger critical conversation about literature and the environment, which has not fully dealt with ancient literatures. This is a broad aim, and what exactly I mean by reading these works environmentally is best grasped in the particular claims I make about each work in the chapters to come, which I summarize at the end of this introduction. In brief, though, this involves two crucial commitments in reading. First, reading environmentally seeks to decenter the human. This does not mean that the human disappears from my readings entirely, or that no forms of anthropocentrism remain in the texts I examine. Rather, I simply do not assume the human to be the unique focus of Vergil's and Horace's poems, the sole possessor of agency and significance, or the ultimate telos of the texts' imaginations. Second, I seek to treat the environment as more than a background, setting, or symbol—as a site of interest in its own right.[3] At times this may come to resemble a kind of literalism, or perhaps a form of surface reading, arguing that Vergil's trees are trees and Horace's ode to a spring is really about a spring.[4] However, my aim is not to deny the various cultural, ideological, and literary associations that places and

[3] Buell (1995) 85 positions ecocritical reading against seeing the environment as setting, a term that "deprecates what it denotes, implying that the physical environment serves for artistic purposes merely as backdrop, ancillary to the main event."
[4] On surface reading as a strategic practice reacting to the dominance of symptomatic reading and a hermeneutics of suspicion, see Best and Marcus (2009).

environments accrue. Rather, I acknowledge and explore another set of meanings and concerns that readings focusing on these figurative associations have tended to ignore or downplay. I examine, for instance, how the *fons Bandusiae* is not *only* a figure for literary and metapoetic concerns, but also matters to Horace's poem as a spring that sustains a local environment.

Focusing on place and environment does not constitute a turning away from issues of politics, ideology, or literary genre and tradition. All of these are encompassed within my inquiry into the environment, and remain important throughout this dissertation. However, the environment is not simply a stand-in for these concerns. Additionally, my model of environmental reading relies neither on biographical interpretation—for example, of the historical Vergil's experience of Mantua—nor on the assumption that Vergil and Horace are always referring to real extra-textual places and environmental features in their poems. Questions of realism and referentiality have continually dogged ecocriticism, as I survey in my conclusion, but the environmental poetics I trace in Vergil and Horace do not rest on realism or a referential link between text and world. Rather, they involve rich fictive imaginations of place. Throughout this dissertation, I continually show that Vergil and Horace take care to construct texts that imagine complex environments and particular places. To ignore the environments and ecologies these texts create—or to reduce them to screens for the projection of other concerns—is to miss a major facet of these works.

Reading in this way discloses the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes* as works that not only take the human's relation to the nonhuman as a major theme but also connect their own origins, aims, and particular character to the nonhuman world and to particular local

environments. In the chapters that follow, I elaborate distinct models of environmental poetics in these works, showing how each deals with the interlinked concepts of place, environment, and ecology. All texts can to some degree be read environmentally, but my claim in calling these works environmental poetry is that these are particularly rich and influential texts for matters of place and environment, texts that especially repay the practice of environmental reading this dissertation undertakes.[5]

My focus is on three individual works of poetry. Macro-narratives of ancient attitudes toward nature such as those offered by Schiller and Ruskin have proven durable and influential,[6] and more recent critics have often taken up the mantle of these large-scale readings, attempting to trace the representation of nature throughout Greek and Roman literary periods.[7] This can be done with sensitivity, and there is a place for such projects, but if we are to avoid falling into longstanding scholarly narratives as assumed truths and refrain from questionable generalizations about "the Greeks" or "the Romans," it is especially helpful to begin from close attention to particular texts.[8] Nonetheless, this

[5] Buell (1995) 7-8 offers a list of qualities that define environmental texts, which Buell (2005) 25 later disavows, in favor of seeing "environmentality as a property of any text." See also Morton (2007) 5: "the time should come when we ask of any text, 'What does this say about the environment?'"

[6] See Schiller ([1795-6] 1985) and Ruskin ([1856] 1904) 221-47. On Schiller in the context of pastoral, see Halperin (1983) 43-9 and Alpers (1996) 28-37. Payne (2014) largely accepts but nuances Schiller's account in surveying "the natural world" in Greek literature. I deal with Schiller's concept of sentimental poetry in chapter five, in the context of elaborating a Horatian form of nature poetry.

[7] See, e.g., Parry (1957), Segal (1963), Fitter (1995) 25-52, Jenkyns (1998) 21-50, Purcell (2010) 125-32, and Payne (2014).

[8] As examples of such generalizations, which close examination of particular texts would easily deflate, see Jenkyns (1982) 3 ("the ancients never dreamed of taking nature for a guide or a mistress; she has no charms except as the servant of man,") and Edmunds (1992) 25 ("The Romans [quoting Hyde (1915) 78] 'seem to have continued throughout their history insensible to the attractions of mountain scenery.' . . . The Romans did not have the L.L. Bean catalog from which to order winter clothing.")

dissertation examines key, influential works of Latin literature, which taken together suggest a Latin literary tradition alert to environmental matters. More broadly, then, my goal in this dissertation is also to open the way for environmental and ecocritical readings of ancient texts, through readings of some of the central works of Latin poetry. Such readings of ancient texts have the promise to create a mutually enriching dialogue between classics and environmental literary criticism, two fields that have not—until recently—deeply engaged with each other.

Ecocriticism and Classics

From an emerging field focusing mostly on Romanticism, American nature writing, and contemporary environmentalist writers, ecocriticism has matured into a productively unruly field. It is, as Lawrence Buell defines it, "the commonest omnibus term for an increasingly heterogeneous movement."[9] While some early ecocritics sought to contextualize their work as a reaction against what they saw as the excesses of poststructuralist theory and its obsession with textuality,[10] contemporary ecocritics (who may avoid that term precisely because of its association with a reactionary rejection of "theory") engage heartily with a variety of disciplines, as well as bodies of literary and cultural theory. Contemporary work on literature and the environment has contacts with

[9] Buell (2005) 1. The key foundational works of ecocriticism are Bate (1991), Buell (1995), and Glotflety and Fromm (1996), though Meeker (1974) and Rueckert ([1978] 1996) are both worth noting as early explorations. There are now a number of handbooks to choose from for introductions to and overviews of work on literature and the environment, including Clark (2011), Garrard (2012), Westling (2013), Garrard (2014), and Zapf (2016).

[10] Scigaj (1999) is a prominent example. See also Love (1990) 212-3, Kroeber (1994) 1, Buell (1995) 84, Howarth (1996) 76-82, Voros (1997) 5, and Dunckel (2002) 214. For overviews of this tendency of early ecocriticism, see Knickerbocker (2012) 2-3 and Goodbody (2014) 62.

animal studies, science studies, and anthropology, as much as with feminist theory, post-colonialism, and deconstruction, among others.[11] In addition, ecocriticism or environmental literary criticism has also become merely one facet of a wider field dubbed the environmental humanities.[12]

One of the promising developments in this flourishing of environmental literary criticism has been a willingness to engage with history and trace environmental issues back beyond 20th-century environmentalism, beyond the industrial revolution, and beyond Romanticism.[13] And yet, the field has yet to deal with Greek and Roman antiquity in a deep and meaningful manner, though it often acknowledges literary traditions and affiliations stretching back to Greek and Roman texts.[14] As we will see in the first two chapters, ecocriticism has often been organized around ideas of pastoral, in particular, but has tended to rely on simplistic readings of the ancient texts at the foundation of that genre.

At the same time, literary studies within classics, while fully embracing the spatial turn,[15] is only just now engaging with ecocriticism and the environmental humanities.[16]

---

[11] Buell (2005) 1-28 makes sense of the field by speaking of two waves of ecocriticism, while Soper (1995) 4-9 has drawn a distinction between nature endorsing and nature skeptical approaches. Garrard (2014) 9 organizes ecocriticism by distinguishing between centripetal and centrifugal ecocriticism, the former emphasizing dwelling and place and the latter interested in "hybrid spaces, cosmopolitan identities and naturecultural ironies."
[12] See e.g. Heise, Christensen, and Niemann (2017) and Nye and Emmett (2017).
[13] The *Cambridge Companion to Literature and the Environment* (Westling [2013]) and the *Oxford Handbook of Ecocriticism* (Garrard [2014]) both stretch back to—but not beyond— the medieval period. Raber (2007) surveys ecocritical work on English Renaissance literature.
[14] Schliephake (2016a) 2-3 notes the absence of the "premodern and ancient world," in ecocriticism.
[15] See Rimell (2015) 7-8 on the spatial turn as "a diverse body of work spanning cultural and literary studies, sociology, philosophy, geography and architecture, which rather than treating space as a common-sense external background to human and social action, has

Promising and exciting work is being done at the intersection of classics, the environmental humanities, and posthumanism, newly interested in the vibrancy and agency of the nonhuman.[17] Nonetheless, much work on Greek and Latin literature focuses on place only as socially constructed or as a screen for ideological projection, viewing, for example, "landscape as a text through which a culture conveys its ideologies."[18] In response to this situation, this dissertation aims both to introduce the complexities of ancient texts to ecocriticism in order to enrich that critical project and to use ecocriticism in order to open up new readings of Vergil and Horace, defamiliarizing ourselves from assumptions about place, the environment, and the nonhuman.

Far from simply applying a new body of modern theory to familiar texts, this involves allowing ancient texts to speak back to and complicate ecocriticism. Engaging

---

analysed how interrelations bring space into being." For further overview of the spatial turn, see Winkler, Seifert, and Detering (2012) and Schlögel (2016) 39-48. Fundamental works include Bachelard (1957), Tuan ([1974] 1990), Lefebvre (1974), and Soja (1989). Examples of work in classics influenced by the spatial turn include Leach (1988), Edwards (1996), Jaeger (1997), Sluiter and Rosen (2006), Purves (2010), Spencer (2010), De Jong (2012), Gilhuly and Worman (2014), Nelis and Royo (2014), Rimell (2015), McInerney and Sluiter (2016), Gargola (2017) and Fitzgerald and Spentzou (2018).

[16] This does not mean that classics ignored the nonhuman world in ancient literature before the rise of environmental criticism. On the important but constraining legacy of structuralism in this regard, see Bianchi, Brill, and Holmes (2019) 13-14. And see below on studies of nature in ancient literature.

[17] Payne (2010) engages various ancient texts from an animal studies perspective, while Schliephake (2016b) puts classics in conversation with ecocriticism, and Korhonen and Ruonakoski (2017) surveys human-animal relations in Greek literature broadly. Bianchi, Brill, and Holmes (2019) more expansively reimagines the place of Greek and Roman philosophy and literature in the discourse of posthumanism. Hunt and Marlow (2019) examines the intersections of ecology and theology in ancient religion. The field of environmental history has also seen profitable engagement between classics and environmental humanities: see e.g. Horden and Purcell (2000), Thommen (2012), Harper (2017), and Scheidel (2018). Saunders (2008) presents itself as offering an ecocritical reading of the *Eclogues* but takes ecocriticism in a narrow sense, and often treats the nonhuman world as a variety of figures for literary history and genre.

[18] Dang (2010) 105. This approach is dominant in Spencer (2010), Gilhuly and Worman (2014), McInerney and Sluiter (2016), and Fitzgerald and Spentzou (2018).

with Greco-Roman antiquity has the potential to offer environmental criticism what Brooke Holmes has called "an untimely ecology," a way of apprehending and approaching the nonhuman whose generative potential for contemporary thinking lies in its being "neither radically other nor overly familiar."[19] Bringing ancient Greek and Roman texts together with environmental literary criticism allows us to find foreign models of environmental poetics, rendering what we assume to be universal forms and concerns contingent and particular to our time. At the same time, it also allows us to revise and deepen our historical understanding of more familiar environmental literary traditions, engaging and complicating key concepts like the nature poem, the pastoral, and the georgic. This dissertation seeks to participate in this work—partly genealogical and partly comparative—through contextualized readings that strive to be alert to important historical difference, but also to lines of continuity and moments of resonance. To classicists this project offers new readings of key Latin texts, as well as a way of attending to the vibrancy and importance of the environment in the ancient imagination. And to environmental literary critics, this project offers to complicate assumed narratives about nature in western literature and the shortcomings of classical forms like the pastoral; to demonstrate that poetry concerned with the environment is no recent phenomenon; and to show that ancient texts offer more possibilities for environmental poetry than an ecopoetics founded either on Romanticism or the rejection thereof.

[19] Holmes (2016) xii. See also Hunt and Marlow (2019) 7-8.

Natures, Ancient and Modern

Literary studies within classics has not entirely ignored the nonhuman environment, but has traditionally tended to do such work under the heading of nature.[20] While there is much of value in this work, taking nature as a master term or unexamined framework constrains interpretation and keeps us from seeing the otherness of ancient ontologies—in part because of problems attending nature as a modern term and in part because of problems in applying that fraught concept to the ancient world. Raymond Williams famously calls nature "perhaps the most complex word in the [English] language,"[21] and the term carries with it an astonishing amount of cultural, historical, political, and philosophical baggage.[22] In fact, recent environmental critics have sought to move beyond concepts of nature, which they see as limiting and counterproductive.[23] Most forcefully, Timothy Morton has argued that incoherent fantasies of Nature actually prevent reckoning with our environment and get in the way of genuinely ecological thought.[24] Other theorists such as Donna Haraway and Bruno Latour have critiqued and sought to move beyond the rigid binary between nature and culture, whose ossification

---

[20] Such works often pair nature with the concept of landscape, which I address below, and tend to be broad surveys rather than in-depth examinations of particular texts. See, e.g., Parry (1957), Segal (1963), Bonnafé (1984), Bonnafé (1987), Mauduit and Luccioni (1998), Uglione (1998), and Cusset (1999).

[21] Williams (1983) 219. And see further Williams (1980) 67-85 on some complications and problems of modern concepts of nature.

[22] See Soper (1995) esp. 15-36 on the various contemporary meanings of nature.

[23] Cronon (1996) is an early critique of the concept of wilderness—not nature itself, but linked to an (artificial) idea of unspoiled nature. Morton (2007) more broadly critiques the concept of nature in environmental criticism. Nolan (2017) seeks to build on Morton in theorizing an "unnatural ecopoetics." See Buell (2005) 22 and Garrard (2014) 9 on this development in environmental criticism.

[24] Morton (2007). See esp. Morton (2007) 1 and 13.

Philippe Descola has traced to the late 19th century amid the disciplinary formation of anthropology.[25]

Attempting to apply the framework of nature to ancient texts only creates more problems. In ancient texts, *natura* and *physis* can mean many different things in different contexts, but rarely match exactly what we might understand by "nature." *Natura* can be Lucretius' universal principle, the divine reason of the Stoics, the particular nature of a specific organism, or the totality of the cosmos—but tends not to refer just to the waterfalls, mountains, birds, trees, and streams the word "nature" conjures up for us.[26] To take just one example, Vergil's *Eclogues* never once use the word *natura*, while it can be found all over Horace's citified first book of *Satires*.[27] Of course, this kind of word-search philology can only take one so far. The *Eclogues* are deeply interested in much of what falls under the capacious label of our "nature." But the fact that the poems never use a term like this should caution one against any easy retrojection not just of terminology, but of concepts.

Recognizing how culturally specific, historically contingent, and potentially limiting contemporary ideas of nature are, I use the term carefully and deliberately, not as a catchall for the nonhuman world. While it is true that this dissertation focuses on rural environments, rather than urban ones, this is not because the countryside is where "nature"

---

[25] See Haraway (2003) and Haraway (2008); Latour (2004) 9-52; Descola (2013). Similarly, Holmes (2015) 33 n. 10 notes with regard to scholarship on the *Iliad*, "the stability and separability of the categories 'nature' and 'culture' . . . rely on a nineteenth-century anthropological framework."

[26] Cic., *Nat. D.* 2.81-2 surveys some of the range of definitions of *natura* different ancient thinkers use, showing that it is already at his time a loaded and contested term. See also Lovejoy and Boas (1935) 447-56, who offer an abundant list of meanings of *physis* in ancient Greek texts.

[27] *Sat.* 1.1.49, 1.1.74, 1.1.88, 1.2.73, 1.2.111, 1.2.123, 1.3.34, 1.3.113, 1.5.100, 1.6.65, 1.6.93, 1.10.56.

is. Chapter two, in particular, contests the idea that Vergilian pastoral presents the countryside as a realm of nature. As we will see, in the rural places of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes,* what we might be tempted to identify as elements of nature and culture are in fact thoroughly entangled.[28] The rural environments of these works do not show nature untouched by human culture, but proliferating relationships and connections between humans and nonhumans.

Nevertheless, concepts of nature and *natura* remain important for my project—not because they straightforwardly map the conceptual terrain of the nonhuman environment, but because different and sometimes conflicting concepts of nature intersect with and thread through environmental and ecological issues. When I deal with these concepts in this dissertation, I am explicit and deliberate about what sense of nature I am invoking and how ideas of nature are being deployed in a particular text.[29] Thus, in chapters three and five, I examine how Vergil's *Georgics* and Horace's *Odes* deal with their own concepts of *natura*, while seeking to avoid pressing extraneous concepts of nature onto these works.

Ironically, similar historicist qualms often stifle inquiry into the nonhuman in ancient literature. Readings of the environment in ancient texts are often hampered by historicist anxieties about projecting post-Romantic ideas of nature or nature poetry onto the ancient world. Indeed, this is partly what is behind the remark of Nisbet and Rudd on *Odes* 3.13 seen earlier. In discussing Sappho, for example, Richard Jenykns writes, "we

---

[28] For this reason, I occasionally use the term natural-cultural (taken from Haraway), not because a nature-culture binary is operative in the texts I examine, but because what such a binary would term natural and cultural are both inextricably entangled.

[29] Cf. Connolly (2007) 78: "What does the word 'natural' mean in the Roman context? The only possible answer lies in the particularities of the term's strategic deployment in a given text."

must not suppose that Theocritus' or Sappho's 'feeling' for nature is anything like ours . . . This sense of oneness with nature is generally associated with the name of Wordsworth, and it is widely realized that the feeling hardly existed at all before the later eighteenth century."[30] Much could be said about this verdict (including the confidence that such an assertion needs no citation or evidence), but for one thing Jenkyns here gives Romanticism far too much credit. Ideas of nature do indeed require careful historical handling, but the Romantics did not invent caring about the nonhuman world and the human's place within it. Critics who assume that any such reading of an ancient poem is a post-Romantic projection risk overlooking the various (non-Romantic) ways in which ancient texts think and care about the nonhuman world within their own particular contexts.

In other words, framing readings in terms of nature is not only constraining and problematic, but also sets readers up for a dead-end. If our only model of environmental poetry is poetry concerned with nature in a post-Romantic sense, then we have guaranteed in advance that we will not find much of it in ancient texts. Our choice becomes either to Romanticize ancient authors or to deflate such readings as naïve projections and stop there. What we need, instead, in order to describe and interpret the "untimely ecologies" of ancient texts is a sensitive inquiry into the nonhuman environment and the human's relationship with it from a new vantage point—and this is what ecocriticism and the environmental humanities enable and encourage us to do.

Approaching ancient literature by way of ecocriticism does not mean enlisting ancient authors as proto-environmentalists, conservationists, or "Green" authors in a

[30] Jenkyns (1982) 38

narrow contemporary sense. Rather, this dissertation uses environmental theory and criticism in order to see how Vergil and Horace are thinking about environmental matters in their own ways, within their own various contexts. There are good reasons to think that ancient authors were interested in the human's place in the cosmos, humans' enmeshment in more-than-human ecologies, and the relationships between humans and their environments. For one thing, ancient societies reliant on agrarian economies were necessarily conscious of how human life depends on ecologies, on human-animal relationships, and on the whims of weather and soil.[31] Consequently, behind ancient authors are longstanding Greek and Roman traditions about nurturing and reciprocal relationships between individuals and familiar local rivers, soils, and environments: as we will see in Vergil and Horace, what look like expressions of local patriotism often have as much to do with relation to a local environment as with participation in a human community.

Religious belief and practice also offer an important context for approaching and thinking about the nonhuman in the ancient world. As Alisa Hunt has explored, the unruly agency of sacred trees and the arboricultural relationships and practices demanded by them were crucial ways in which Romans approached theological thinking about the nature and presence of the divine.[32] More broadly, thinking about and relating to the gods often involved reckoning with the nonhuman environment, and its various forms of life

[31] Compare Hunt and Marlow (2019) 2: "inhabitants of the ancient world . . . were also acutely aware that they existed as part of an ecological system. . . . they were in many ways closer to the natural world than our own heavily industrialized and technological era, and more aware of both the benefits and the dangers of nature. They understood, in a way that we have forgotten, where their food came from and recognized the importance of the agrarian cycles of planting and harvesting. They also lived more precariously than we do, at least in the West, and were at the mercy of drought and floods."
[32] See Hunt (2016), esp. 16, 28, 91-2, 174, and 293-4.

and agency, such that "ecology and theology are deeply intertwined in the ancient world."[33] In addition to religion (and sometimes in tension with it) the major philosophical traditions of Stoicism and Epicureanism that so influenced Roman authors were both deeply invested in theorizing the place of the human in the cosmos and the workings of *Natura* and the more-than-human world writ large. As we will see, it is often through Epicurean (especially Lucretian) and Stoic influences that Vergil and Horace approach environmental themes. And beyond Epicureanism and Stoicism, there was a broad range of philosophical, intellectual, and literary precedents for taking place and environment as serious concerns and objects of reflection. In the chapters that follow, I point out when and how the environmental poetry of Vergil and Horace builds on influences from ethnography, Hippocratic texts, Aristotelian biology and Theophrastan botany, Roman agricultural treatises by Cato the Elder and Varro, and Greek literary models such as Hesiod, Sappho, and Theocritus. Letting go of nature as a master term and organizing framework, while remaining attentive to particular concepts of nature as they arise in specific contexts, helps us better see this rich, multifaceted world of ancient environmental thought and literature.

Place, Environment, and Ecology

Instead of nature, as has become clear, the key organizing terms of my inquiry are place, environment, and ecology. While no terminology is entirely unproblematic, thinking place, environment, and ecology together creates a useful framework for approaching the conceptual field imperfectly defined by nature or by landscape, another term whose

[33] Hunt and Marlow (2019) 3, speaking of a "conceptual triangle between nature, humans, and God/ the gods," in the ancient world.

shortcomings I address below. In response to work on place that stresses its cultural construction, I maintain the importance of the nonhuman and of ecological interaction in place making. And in response to environmental critics who seek to move past the paradigms of place and locality, I suggest that place remains an important concept for environmental literature and thought. I trace how issues of place, environment, and ecology operate together in these texts—how Vergil and Horace approach the nonhuman world as part of an exploration of local place, and how local place is the prism through which these texts refract larger questions about the environment and humans' ecological enmeshment within it.

In conjunction with the spatial turn, place, "one of the most complex yet seemingly simple ideas in the humanities,"[34] has garnered considerable attention, including philosophical and phenomenological studies.[35] By comparison to the more abstract idea of space, place is defined by "haecceity, or thisness, and ubiety, or whereness."[36] It is "space to which meaning has been ascribed,"[37] and the related concepts of place making and place attachment capture the ways in which individuals create a meaningful sense of place.[38] This focus on the processes by which place is invested with meaning and significance, however, can lead to an assumption that place is

[34] Nye and Emmett (2017) 23.
[35] See, e.g., Tuan ([1974] 1990), Hiss (1990), Casey (1997), Malpas (1999), and Convery, Corsane, and Davis (2012). Cresswell (2004) provides an excellent introduction to the concept and overview of various debates surrounding it.
[36] Cocola (2016) 2.
[37] Carter, Donald, and Squires (1993) xii.
[38] On space versus place see Cresswell (2004) 8-10. See Bryson (2005) 12-16, Cocola (2016) 4, and Hubbell (2017) 30-4 on place making, and on place attachment Altman and Low (1992) and Lewicka (2011).

entirely a human or cultural construct.[39] In fact, the poetry of Vergil and Horace repeatedly shows the more-than-human nature of place. Place is not simply a construct of human making, but is defined by specific assemblages of human and nonhuman beings and activities.

It is here, through my texts' understanding of local place, that I suggest we can see an ancient concept of environment. While there is no Latin word for environment, a modern and etic term,[40] I argue that Vergil and Horace conceive of local place environmentally, as a totality of human and nonhuman presences and interactions within local bounds. When I speak of local environments in this dissertation, then, I mean to refer to the entire assemblage or network of human and nonhuman beings that make up a place. I sometimes refer to the nonhuman environment in order to emphasize the nonhuman components of such a place, though I often also use the term more-than-human to capture the human's participation in these environments, which embrace but exceed humans and human communities.[41] Finally, when emphasizing the complex interrelations and connections between the various human and nonhuman beings that constitute an environment, I use the term ecology. In chapter three, I examine the concept of ecology in greater depth, arguing that while the term is modern, forms of ecological

[39] See e.eg. Cocola (2016) 4 and Buell (1995) 253, who defines place as "space humanized."
[40] The environment is literally that which surrounds us, coming from the French *environer* to translate the German terms *Umgebung* and *Umwelt*. See Thommen (2012) 4-5 and Hunt and Marlow (2019) 5.
[41] Abram (1996) introduces the helpful term "more-than-human world," though in using this phrase I am not taking on board Abram's arguments or assumptions about orality and written language.

thought can be found in the ancient world.[42] Throughout the dissertation, though, I use the term to gesture toward the networks of interrelation between discrete beings who together constitute a more-than-human environment.

Just as environment and ecology are more useful terms than nature for my texts, I have found the concept of place, in its breadth, to be a more productive way of approaching Horace's and Vergil's texts than a focus on landscape.[43] Landscape assumes the nonhuman environment as a passive backdrop, and tends to reduce the multiform relationships between persons and place to one of visual mastery.[44] In chapters one and six, especially, I work to differentiate my focus on local place from the limiting framework of landscape or the *locus amoenus*.[45] By examining Horace and Vergil as poets of place, I seek to attend more expansively to the complex and reciprocal relationships between individuals and particular places—relationships having to do with personal and familial memory, cultural and political identity, emotional and affective ties, practices of nurture and care, religious activities and experience, economic livelihood, and intimate bonds with nonhuman beings.

---

[42] For similar claims see Schliephake (2016a) 9, Bearzot (2017) 51, and Hunt and Marlow (2019) 2, and see further chapter three.

[43] Many works on place and environment in ancient texts proceed with the framework of landscape. See, e.g., Parry (1957), Troxler-Keller (1964), Elliger (1975), Leach (1988), Witek (2006), Spencer (2010), Baldo and Cazzuffi (2013), and McInerney and Sluiter (2016).

[44] On the concept and problems of landscape, see Barrell (1972) 2 and 11-12, Williams (1973) 120-6, and Costello (2003) 8-10. On place versus landscape see Cresswell (2004) 10-11.

[45] Curtius ([1953] 1983) 183-202 is the classic account of the *locus amoenus*, tracing it through medieval literature. See Schönbeck (1962) further on the *locus amoenus* in ancient literature.

Roman Place Attachment and Augustan Locality

Place has long been a key term for ecocriticism, linked to the concept of locality.[46] Much early ecocriticism celebrated the local unquestioningly, and Ursula Heise has observed the remarkable resilience of the concept of local place in a wide variety of environmental writings: even those who critique the forms of exclusion that can come with ideas of locality have tended to reinstate some concept of local place as highly desirable.[47] However, Heise also points out the ambiguous politics of place, as it can encourage, for example, a concept of authentic belonging as opposed to outsiders.[48] For these and related reasons, locality is no longer an unquestioned *desideratum* in environmental thinking. In fact, some environmental critics emphatically seek to jettison concepts of locality, place, and dwelling, along with the "sedentarist metaphysics" they imply.[49] Recent ecocritics (including Heise) stress the necessity of a variable scale in thinking about the environment, and champion a more fluid imagination of place without firm boundaries or definitive size.[50]

While recognizing these critiques of a fixation on local place, I suggest that this does not necessitate a move away from the local, but rather demands a deeper, more complex concept of locality. My focus on local place in my texts does not mean to celebrate it unreflectively or to define it simply against the global or the imperial. Rather,

---

[46] See e.g. Buell (2005) 62-96.
[47] Heise (2008) 24-48.
[48] Heise (2008) 47.
[49] "Sedentarist metaphysics" comes from Malkki (1992), a critique of anthropological assumptions about place, identity, and rootedness. For Morton (2010) 26, "fixation on place impedes a truly ecological view." See Clark (2015) for recent criticisms of phenomenological accounts of dwelling, along with a response defending the concept's utility.
[50] See Buell (2005) 76-96, Heise (2008), Morton (2010) 20-58**,** and Clark (2013) 71-91.

I view the local as an unstable and shifting frame, conceptualized in tandem with larger perspectives on the world, and raising open questions about boundaries, mobility, and scale.[51] I find local place to be already a complex, nuanced, shifting concept in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes*, thereby suggesting that locality remains an important concept for environmental thought, and a problem worth staying with in environmental literature.

The Augustan period is a particularly rich one in which to examine the concept of locality. Italy, more than fifty years after the Social War that pitted Rome against Italians, was now the *tota Italia* that Augustus would eventually boast backed him in war against Antony (*RG* 25). And yet, it was still full of ambiguities and tensions regarding Roman and local Italian identity. One of the best sources for these tensions in the late Republic, as a number of scholars have recognized, is Cicero, himself a *novus homo* from Arpinum. At the start of the second book of Cicero's *De Legibus*, Atticus and Cicero walk to a part of his Arpinum estate by the Fibrenus River, of which Cicero is especially fond (2.1-6). The two offer a number of explanations for why this piece of land might be dear to Cicero's heart, but both agree on the suggestive powers of the place arising from a combination of its physical environment and personal and familial memory.[52] Atticus, too, mentions that he especially likes this location. Cicero, however, tells Atticus that this particular place means something to him that it cannot mean to Atticus, because it is his

[51] Similarly, Buell (2005) 62 finds place to be a valuable concept precisely because of the questions and problems it opens up.
[52] See further Jenkyns (1998) 93-96, Gasser (1999) 32-49, and Witek (2006) 64 and Carlà-Uhink (2017) 259.

homeland, his *patria*. There is a relationship to this specific place that only this specific person can have, a form of attachment Cicero describes as a certain *nescio quid* (2.3).[53]

Cicero elsewhere explicates the important bond between a Roman and his *patria* through the language of familial nurturing: at *De Oratore* 1.196 and *In Catilinam* 1.17, the *patria* is not just the land of one's parents, but is itself the common parent (*communis parens*) of all Romans. Cicero has a close affective bond with his *patria* of Arpinum, which has nurtured him and with which he has a reciprocal relationship.[54] Atticus, however, is puzzled as to how both Arpinum and Rome can be Cicero's *patria* (born in Rome, he does not instinctively understand Cicero's dual allegiance), and so Cicero goes on to specify that Romans from Italian towns have two *patriae*—the *patria naturae*, one's place of birth, and the *patria civitatis,* Rome (2.5).[55]

Cicero gives voice to a strong sense of attachment to one's *patria*, and this is important background for the place attachments that I examine in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes*.[56] In chapter one, especially, I survey the different ways in which person and place are linked in the *Eclogues*. In addition, the multiple allegiances that Cicero describes and the complex senses of belonging available to Italian-born Romans are important for the tensions between local, Italian, and Roman community in the *Georgics*,

---

[53] Bonjour (1975) studies, at length and with great breadth, local patriotism and attachment to one's native land in Roman authors. See also Gasser (1999), which attempts to recover Roman authors' feelings for and attitudes toward their birthplaces, from Cicero to Pliny the Younger.

[54] This language taps into long-standing archaic ideas about one's nurturing local homeland. See Bonjour (1975) 316-27 on the idea of a native land as nurturing and maternal in Roman authors, and in a Greek context see Cole (2004) 27.

[55] For more on this passage and the concept of the two *patriae*, see Bonjour (1975) 78-85; Feldherr (1997), esp. 139-40; Gasser (1999) 14-31; Dyck (2004) 255-8; Witek (2006) 64-5; Connolly (2007) 89-90; Dench (2013) 126-7; Fletcher (2014) 6-7; and Carlà-Uhink (2017), esp. 259-66.

[56] For more on the concept of *patria* see Bonjour (1975) 41-50.

as well as Horace's mobility between different personal locales in the *Odes*, examined in chapters four and six respectively.

Augustan poets inherit the complex relationship between Rome and Italy adumbrated in Cicero, and the concept of locality becomes only more complicated amid the birth of the Principate. At the tail end of decades of civil strife, Italy is a world of shifting and unstable boundaries in the *Eclogues*, as we will see in chapter one. It is also a world of tremendous mobility, forced and voluntary—including the movements and resettlements of veterans. Additionally, as chapter four will explore, the Augustan period is characterized by imperial consolidation and the solidification of an ideology of world empire. The global perspectives that Roman imperialism enables and demands transform already complicated ideas of locality in the Italy of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes*.

This rich context pushes Vergil and Horace to reformulate, complicate, and deepen the concept of local place. In chapters one, four, and five, I explore how the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes* all explore locality in their own ways, based on their particular interests and the texts and traditions each engages with. Importantly, these complex explorations of place are not merely about belonging to a human community. The issue of locality is not reducible to local identity and a "politics of cultural mapping,"[57] though it certainly involves such a politics. Place attachments in these texts embrace relationships to specific more-than-human environments—the relationship, for example, between Vergil's poetry and the local ecologies near Mantua, or between Horace and specific nonhuman beings in Apulia, on his Sabine estate, and around Tibur.

[57] Goldhill (2010) 46.

Finally, in setting the contextual stage for my authors' treatments of locality, it is worth emphasizing that, in different ways, Rome is the absent center implicit in all three of these texts' imaginings of local place. At the same time, I aim to push beyond town-and-country readings: the countryside is more than the anti-city, a space of retreat, or a projection of the urban elite. While the opposition of city and country is certainly important to Roman authors, working only within this binary collapses distinct rural places into instantiations of *the* countryside. In the *Eclogues, Georgics,* and *Odes*, Vergil and Horace are not merely interested in rusticity or rural life in general. They are, as I will show, concerned with specific localities within the countryside, particular environments defined by their array of human and nonhuman beings in relation with each other.

Outline of the Dissertation

This dissertation has six chapters, as well as a conclusion. Vergil's *Eclogues*, Vergil's *Georgics*, and Horace's *Odes* receive two chapters each—one that primarily focuses on place and one that primarily focuses on the nonhuman environment. Place and environment are necessarily linked, and so there is some artificiality in separating these pairs of chapters, but these divisions reflect relative emphases. In chapters one, four, and six, I trace how each text approaches local dwelling, local place, and place attachment. And in chapters two, three, and five I argue for a distinct model of environmental poetics in each text, arguing that each work not only represents environments, but also ties the formation of its own poetics to the nonhuman world and to particular local environments.

In the first chapter, I read the *Eclogues* as a poetry collection that valorizes contingent local dwelling amid the turmoil of land confiscations. After surveying the variety of ways in which local place is crucial to the lives of Vergil's herdsmen, I argue that the drama of *Eclogues* 1 and 9 is not the sudden intrusion of the city into the country, but the reorganization of already existing power relations, such that the contingent boundaries of local lands are redrawn. Finally, I examine the setting of the *Eclogues*, arguing that Vergil's pastoral lands are fictionalized but not placeless and stressing the importance of local particularity even if the collection's places cannot be identified with any single location. My second chapter builds on the first chapter's exploration of local place, arguing for an ecological concept place in the *Eclogues*. I show place to be more than a construct of personal memory or social practice, and to consist of a particular more-than-human community. I then trace how Vergil represents these environments as participating in and contributing to the creation of bucolic music. Reframing Vergilian bucolic as the representation not of singing herdsmen but of entire resonant soundscapes, I argue that Vergil represents his own poetry as the product and carrier of both human and nonhuman sound.

In chapter three, I elucidate the very different environmental poetics of Vergil's *Georgics*, which I read as a form of ecological poetry: the poem explores how human life is enmeshed in webs of relation to various nonhuman beings. Vergil represents agriculture as a practice of managing and maintaining local ecologies, and uses the topic of farming in order to reveal human life as inextricably entwined with the nonhuman. In addition to teaching readers of their enmeshment in more-than-human ecologies, I also argue that the poem actually purports to connect readers to those ecologies by relaying to

them the signs of the world. This ecological thinking brings with it problems of scale, which I trace throughout the poem in chapter four. Are we embedded in local environments, in climatic regions like book two's Saturnian land of Italy, in a Roman world, in a cosmos, or somehow in all of these? I suggest that the local perspective of the farmer in the *Georgics* is in tension with cosmic philosophical perspectives and with a sense of global Roman *imperium*, which alters and reorganizes the world. Ultimately, I see a concept of fractal locality in the *Georgics*, such that the local becomes a flexible, shifting concept that takes shape at a variety of scales intertwined with regional, global, and cosmic views of the world.

With chapter five, I turn to the importance of the nonhuman world in Horace's *Odes*, arguing for a particular form of Horatian nature poetry, while querying post-Romantic assumptions about that label. Emphasizing Horace's fusion of poetic and philosophical influences, I examine how Horace distills representations of the nonhuman world in order to provide insights into a quasi-Stoic concept of *Natura* that humans are to measure their lives by. I also explore how the nonhuman world is connected to Horace's self-representation as a *vates*: his privileged relationship with his nonhuman surroundings elevates him to the vatic status from which he can speak authoritatively about others' lives and the place of the human in the world. In chapter six, I consider Horace as a lyric poet of place. Instead of reading Horace narrowly as a poet of landscape, I show how Horace represents his complex and reciprocal relationships with particular locations, in the process making those places into real-and-textual sites of Horatian poetry. In addition, Horace also represents specific local environments as participating in the creation of his poetry and in his own formation as a poet. I end the chapter by considering Horace's

mobility in his collection, and his emphasis on the acts of translation and translocation by which he creates his lyric oeuvre. I argue for a translocal poetics in the *Odes*, in which locality is not opposed to mobility, transport, and the wider world, but is continually made and remade through acts of translation and engagement with the non-local.

Finally, in my conclusion, I offer a brief environmental and place-based reading of Ovid's exile poetry in order to show how my readings of Vergil and Horace can form the basis for future environmental readings of Latin texts. I view Ovid's treatment of place and environment as building on and complicating the tropes and strategies of Vergil and Horace, while forging his own kind of Augustan environmental poetry. In addition, Ovid's exile poetry helps pose questions of fictionality and textuality that arise throughout the preceding chapters. As it has developed, ecocriticism has had continual difficulty articulating the relationship between environmental texts and the real world it claims they are concerned with. While much ecocriticism has valorized realism and referentiality, I use Ovid to elaborate an environmental poetics that embraces fictionality and is centered on the poetic imagination. As Ovid's provocative play with fiction and intertextuality helps elucidate, the power of the environmental poetry of Vergil and Horace lies not with their faithful transcription of actual environments, but with their rich imagination of particular place and more-than-human ecology.

Chapter 1

Local Dwelling and Pastoral Place in Vergil's *Eclogues*

Introduction

Vergil's *Eclogues*—the ambitious poetry book that condensed Theocritean bucolic into a distinct genre and would become the fountainhead of future versions of pastoral—is filled with sheep, goats, and cattle; with singing birds and buzzing bees; with flowing streams and riverbanks fringed with reeds; and with echoing woods and cool, shady groves.[58] Its characters lead lives in localized rural environments distinguished by their familiar haunts. This would seem to be a collection of poems intensely interested in the nonhuman world and in a sense of place in which the nonhuman plays a major role. And yet, one of the most prominent critics of pastoral has suggested that seeing the genre as primarily about such features is simply to read the poetry through the distorting prism of Romanticism.[59] And one recent treatment of the collection refers to its "bucolic scaffolding," as though the countryside and its constituent features were merely convenient instruments by which Vergil could address other topics.[60] Still more readers have been eager to see in the *Eclogues* poems that are in some sense about poetry itself—about literary genre and influence, and about the possibility of holding a sphere of poetry apart from the dictates of politics.[61] Readings such as these tend to suggest that the

---

[58] Saunders (2008) emphasizes the sheer variety of the environmental features of the *Eclogues*. Jones (2011) 29-42 surveys the flora and fauna that fill the pages of the collection. I do not observe a distinction in this dissertation between the terms bucolic and pastoral, though in certain other contexts such a distinction may be useful and important.

[59] Alpers (1996) 22-32. Similarly, Schmidt (1972) 141-2.

[60] Davis (2012) 11.

[61] Three very different examples are Schmidt (1972), Hubbard (1998) 45-139, and Roman (2014) 113-21.

numerous nonhuman presences in these poems are to varying degrees negligible, and treat the environment as simply a background, a setting, or a set of symbols for other concerns.

By contrast, this chapter and the next will put the more-than-human environment at the center of these poems. In these chapters I explore how place and environment matter to the collection's dramatic and thematic concerns, as well as to the very constitution of Vergil's poetry. This chapter examines the dynamics of local place in the *Eclogues*, while the next focuses on the nonhuman presences of the poems, and the ways in which the poetry's understanding of place is fundamentally ecological. To be sure, a large body of scholarship has addressed ostensibly similar issues in these poems. However, such work often tends to collapse the environments of the *Eclogues* into a general and limiting concept of nature or landscape, to underestimate the significance of the nonhuman in conceptions of place, or to describe the environmental features of the poems in the service of other interpretive issues (especially genre) without allowing the environment to be a concern of the poems in its own right.[62]

Another prevalent interpretive strategy is to read the poetry's interest in rural place as part of a larger Augustan contrast between city and country. While this contrast is present in the *Eclogues*, it is far from Vergil's only interest in rural place. Moreover, treating this opposition too rigidly can distort and obscure aspects of the poems. The lives of Vergil's herdsmen are lived out in the districts and spaces of a Roman world, with

[62] Prior works focusing on space, landscape, and environment in the *Eclogues* include Leach (1974); Jenkyns (1998) 131-208; Witek (2006) 41-4, 64-82, and 91-176; Saunders (2008); and Jones (2011).

networks of transport and exchange connecting rural spaces to towns and even to Rome.[63] There are often significant tensions between town and country in the *Eclogues*, but the opposition of urbanity and rusticity plays out amid their mutual interdependence.[64] As my reading of contingent locality in *Eclogues* 1 and 9 will make clear, the drama of these poems does not consist of the city suddenly intruding onto the country, but of a change in the already existing relations between town and country, such that patterns of local dwelling are disturbed. Finally, conflating all rural environments under the label of the countryside effaces important differences between particular places and their specific environments. This particularity of place, I will argue, matters deeply to the lives of Vergil's herdsmen and to Vergil's own poetry. The *Eclogues* are often less concerned with the difference between city and country than with the difference between here and there.

My primary aim in these two chapters is to examine and explicate the multifaceted engagement of the *Eclogues* with issues of place and environment, in order to offer a reading of this particular poetry book. However, the stakes of such a reading are greater than simply opening up a new interpretation of these poems alone. Pastoral is one of the literary genres and modes in which place and environment are most obviously important, and for that reason ideas of pastoral have been central to the development of

[63] In *Eclogue* 1, for example, Tityrus recalls bringing sheep into town and also selling cheese there (1.20-1, 1.34). Witek (2006) 112 notes that while Rome is distanced from the herdsmen's home in *Eclogue* 1, it is not antithetical to it. As he puts it, "Die Reise nach Rom ist keine schmerzliche Trennung von der Heimat."

[64] Skoie (2006) emphasizes the interdependence of city and country in the *Eclogues*. Apostol (2015) attempts to deconstruct the opposition between town and country in *Eclogue* 2, but goes too far in denying Corydon's rusticity, and overlooking the ideological importance of an opposition between urbanity and rusticity even amid their interdependence.

environmental literary criticism.[65] Early ecocritics aimed to redeem pastoral from the critical orthodoxy that—following the work of Raymond Williams and William Empson—saw it as an aristocratic parlor game of a genre, obfuscating real social relations between city elite and rural laborers.[66] Some environmental critics have agreed with such critiques, and suggest that pastoral must be jettisoned for other models of environmental literature.[67] Many, though, have sought to reread and reinvigorate pastoral, in one way or another building a concept of environmental literature on a reinvented version of pastoral.[68]

In such cases, pastoral is often used to refer to any text having to do with rural land or with an idea of nature.[69] Indeed, pastoral is sometimes used as a master concept for all environmental literary criticism. Lawrence Buell identifies his entire pathbreaking work *The Environmental Imagination* as "a kind of pastoral project."[70] These invocations

---

[65] As Garrard (2012) 37 puts it, "no other trope is deeply entrenched in Western culture, or so deeply problematic for environmentalism."

[66] Empson (1935) and Williams (1973) are fundamental to contemporary critical understandings of pastoral. See Halperin (1983) 53-6 on Empson and his influence. Barrell and Bull (1974) 3-7 is exemplary of the critical orthodoxy influenced by both Empson and Williams. On this line of scholarship in relation to ecocriticism, see Gifford (1999) 7-10 and Garrard (2012) 41-6 offer useful summaries.

[67] See Meeker (1974) 90-1, Phillips (2003) 16-8 and Garrard (2012) 62-5.

[68] See especially Buell (1995) esp. 31-52, who seeks to elaborate a more nuanced idea of the potential of pastoral, building on Marx (1964). Love (1990) and Love (1992) are two other early articulations of ecocriticism that premise its rise on new versions of pastoral. See also Garrard (1996) 449 on ecocriticism's "recuperative project" of seeing value in (particularly Romantic) pastoral. See Garrard (2012) 37-65 and Gifford (2016) 159-73 for surveys of the importance of pastoral to ecocriticism. This renewed attention to the genre has spawned a whole slew of what Gifford (2013) 29 has called prefix-pastorals, from urban pastoral and postmodern pastoral to gay pastoral, black pastoral, and domestic pastoral. On various new versions of pastoral, see also James and Tew (2009) and Corey and Waldrep (2012), the latter an anthology of postmodern pastoral.

[69] On this sense of pastoral, see Gifford (1999) 2, Phillips (2003) 16, and Gifford (2013) 17.

[70] Buell (1995) 31.

of pastoral can be very far from the poems of Theocritus and Vergil. At the same time, though, critics often tie their versions of pastoral back to simplified or assumed readings of these ancient authors. It is taken for granted, for example, that Vergil invents in the *Eclogues* the imaginary space of Arcadia as part of "the classical pastoral momentum of retreat into nature."[71] Critics assume, therefore, that the classical traditions of pastoral are at odds with the ecocritical goals of a poetry of particular place and a poetry that does not naively idealize nature.[72] In fact, as this chapter and the next will demonstrate, there is little warrant in Vergil for either of these assumptions.

My aim is not to police the bounds of pastoral as genre or as mode. But going back to Vergil and reexamining what relationships to place and environment are active in his poems can show different possibilities inherent in the pastoral tradition from its beginnings. Pastoral is already complex, place-sensitive, and environmentally oriented in Vergil. Classical pastoral is not something that environmental literary criticism needs to move beyond in search of post-pastoral literature, but remains a vital resource and model for thinking through environmental literature.[73] Returning to Vergil is thus important for rethinking both the possibilities of pastoral and the directions of ecocriticism more

[71] Gifford (2006) 17. Similarly Love (1990) 207 and Bate (2000) 73-4.
[72] For example: Phillips (2003) 17 and Cocola (2016) 12-15.
[73] I thus agree with Garrard (2012) 37 that "the pastoral trope must and will remain a key concern for ecocritics," but stress that ancient pastoral forms a crucial (and underappreciated) resource for that ongoing engagement. Terry Gifford has suggested a tripartite distinction between pastoral, anti-pastoral, and post-pastoral literature, and has advocated for post-pastoral texts. See Gifford (1999) 150-74, Gifford (2006) 14-24, and Gifford (2013) 17-30.

generally.[74] This chapter begins that project with an examination of local place in these poems.

I begin this chapter by exploring concepts of place making and place attachment in the *Eclogues*, accounting for the various ways in which local place matters to Vergil's characters. Following this, I examine the importance of land confiscations in the collection in relation to this thematics of local place. I show the importance of borders and boundaries to Vergil's conceptualization of place, and explore how the land confiscations create a drama of contingent locality in *Eclogues* 1 and 9. Vergil stresses the importance of local place to the lives of his herdsmen while also showing that their local dwelling is an unstable thing carved out amid the political turmoil of the late Republic. Given the importance of locality to the *Eclogues*, I turn in the final part of the chapter to ask where exactly these particular places are located. I argue that the collection is set in fictionalized Italian places that are ultimately unlocatable, but still local and particular. Rather than creating a distance from the real world, the fictionality of the collection is part of an interest in the possible cross-fertilizations of real and imagined place.

Part 1: Local Place in the *Eclogues*

The Pathos of Place

Personal attachment to local place is a clear concern of the *Eclogues*, surfacing most explicitly in the famous engagement of the first and ninth eclogues with recent land

[74] See also Schliephake (2016a) 7-8 on the importance of revisiting the ancient texts behind modern ideas of pastoral that have been influential and important in ecocriticism.

dispossessions, but underlying bucolic life in all of the collection.[75] In the ninth, the aged goatherd Moeris loses the rights to his land, while the first contrasts the fortune of Tityrus, who has received permission to retain his land from Octavian in Rome, with that of the dispossessed Meliboeus, who is forced to leave his home. As Vergil's *Eclogues* begin, then, the world they depict is already slipping away for Meliboeus, and we can get our firmest grasp on what place means to the herdsmen of the *Eclogues* by examining what is at stake in its loss. When not mined for biographical data or a historical narrative, the tragedy of land dispossession in these poems has often been read in an attempt to parse Vergil's stance toward the young Caesar who brought the land confiscations about.[76] But putting aside this question, I aim to explore how land dispossesion affects the dynamics of local place in these poems. Far from avoiding the question of politics, this directs us to a broader, more complex idea of politics beyond narrow partisanship that embraces questions of land division, dwelling and cohabitation, and the flourishing of human and nonhuman communities.

In a discussion of Vergil's rhetorical skill in stirring up emotion, Macrobius includes the predicament of *Eclogue* 1 as an example of Vergil's ability to create pathos from place (*a loco*).[77] But what kind of feeling does place stir, and how? How does place matter to Meliboeus, Tityrus, and the other inhabitants of Vergil's bucolic world? One

---

[75] The fact that these poems engage with land confiscations following the battle of Philippi is famous, but the exact details are less than clear. For attempts to extrapolate a narrative regarding Vergil and the land confiscations, see Wilkinson (1966), Winterbottom (1976), and Nauta (2006) 302-305. See Osgood (2006) 108-51 for a reading of *Eclogues* 1 and 9 integrated into a historical account of the land confiscations.
[76] Kennedy (1992) suggests the limits of such an approach. Perkell (2001) summarizes debates between optimistic and pessimistic interpretations of *Eclogue* 9, stressing that Vergil's poem elicits both readings.
[77] Macr., *Sat.* 4.9: *movit pathos misericordiae frequenter et a loco* ("he also stirred up the *pathos* of pity frequently from place.")

simple answer is an economic one: the evicted herdsmen of *Eclogues* 1 and 9 lose their rights to property and their livelihoods. The presence of legal, technical, and economic terminology in these poems certainly testifies that these are among the concerns of Vergil's characters.[78] But in *Eclogues* 1 and 9 leaving one's home means much more than simply a loss of property or profit. The significant bonds between an individual and a particular place also underlie the emotional freight of these poems.

Work in various fields including anthropology, humanistic geography, sociology, and environmental psychology has come up with a number of terms for these bonds, including place attachment, topophilia, and sense of place. While the terms differ, and individual terms are often used differently in different contexts, they all point to relationships between humans and particular place that embrace in various ways emotional, affective, cognitive, and cultural significance.[79] In addition, the related idea of place making stresses that a sense of place is continually in process, that place is not a stable or given thing.[80] In short, place is something that we continually participate in making, and that ongoing sense of place is something to which we develop strong attachments. Whereas concepts of landscape or the *locus amoenus* tend to assume a visual and aesthetic relationship to the environment—and often imply that the

---

[78] For examples, see *Ecl* 1.32, 9.2-3, and 9.4. Coleman (1977) ad 9.1-2, Karakasis (2011) 186-7, and Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 9.4 note the prevalence of legal terminology in *Eclogue* 9.

[79] See Tuan ([1974] 1990) on topophilia, Altman and Low (1992) and Lewicka (2011) on place attachment, and Steele (1981) on sense of place. See also Tuan (1977) 149-61 on "attachment to homeland." Cresswell (2004) and Convery, Corsane, and Davis (2012) offer useful introductions to different ideas of place as used across disciplines.

[80] See Bryson (2005) 12-16, Hubbell (2017) 30-4, and Cocola (2016) 4. See also Buell (1995) 260 on "place-consciousness in literature" as an ongoing project. The idea of place making can stress the role of humans in making place, but place is not entirely a human construction. As the next chapter emphasizes, the nonhuman plays a major role in defining place in the *Eclogues*.

environment is a passive background to human activity and observation—a focus on place attends to the multiform, multisensory, and processual experiences of place operative in Vergil's *Eclogues*.

In a Roman context, place attachment is related to the emotionally laden concept of the *patria*, one's nurturing homeland.[81] Meliboeus stresses his forced exile from his *patria* immediately in *Eclogue* 1:

> Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
> silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena;
> nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva.
> nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
> formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas. 5
>
> Tityrus, you lying back underneath the shade of a beech tree
> spreading open, on a thin reed you try the song of the forest.
> I go beyond the bounds of my fatherland, leave these sweet fields
> behind—I am forced from my fatherland; you, Tityrus, calm in the shadow,
> teach the woods to echo *Amaryllis is beautiful*. (*Ecl.* 1.1-5)

Patria is repeated twice in the same metrical position, and is perhaps even latent in *patulae*.[82] It is what Meliboeus must leave behind and what Tityrus continues to dwell within. Günther Jachmann recognized this bond between a Roman and his home, as well as the tragedy of its loss, as "ein ganz neues seelisches Element" in Vergil's adaptation of Theocritus.[83] This theme is not exclusively Roman, and there is a long literary history behind it (looking back all the way to the *Odyssey*), but it is within a particularly Roman context that Vergil contemplates the issue.[84] Meliboeus lives in his local homeland, but

---

[81] On the idea of parental nurturing behind the term *patria*, see the discussion of Cicero's concept of *patria* in the introduction.
[82] Putnam (1970) 23 n. 4 notes the echoing effect with *patulae, patriae*, and *patriam*.
[83] Jachmann (1922) 115, seconded by Clausen (1994) 32 n. 16.
[84] Saunders (2008) 162 n. 62 notes the *Odyssey* as a Greek literary precedent for mourning a loss of home. Duquesnay (1981) 95-6 and Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.69 see *Odyssey* allusions in *Eclogue* 1.

also belongs to a larger community centered on Rome, and is subject to the powers of that capital. And the specific status of Vergil's characters within a Roman social hierarchy determines their possibilities for local dwelling and place making throughout the *Eclogues*.[85]

One of the things Meliboeus emphasizes the most about his relationship to his *patria* is a sense of familiarity.[86] This can involve an aesthetic appreciation for specific environmental features like his land's familiar streams and crops (*Ecl.* 1.52, 1.70) but also points more generally to the important links between place and memory. Memories are linked to particular places, and those places call to mind particular memories. As the philosopher Edward Casey writes, "our memory of what we experience in place is . . . place-specific: it is bound to place as to its own basis."[87] Additionally, beyond memory alone, work in cognitive science and the philosophy of mind has suggested that surrounding environments play a significant and active role in all sorts of cognitive processes: we think with and through our environments.[88] It is not my aim to accept or endorse any particular view of cognition, but such material points us to something we can see already in Vergil's poetry: the rural environment structures and informs the way in

[85] While the specific status of individual characters is often unclear, many of them are not in control of their own rights to their land. Tityrus seems to be a former slave who has bought his freedom (*Ecl.* 1.32-3), while the status of Meliboeus is not entirely clear. Mayer (1983) offers a brief overview of debates over the possible slave status of Corydon in *Eclogue* 2, while arguing that he is a not a slave. In *Eclogue* 9 the precise legal situation underlying Moeris' eviction from his land is unclear; see Winterbottom (1976) 57, Coleman (1977) 272 and ad 9.4, and Karakasis (2011) 184 n. 1.

[86] See esp. *Ecl.* 1.47-59. Witek (2006) 64-5 and Gasser (1999) 65 stress the importance of familiarity to the representation of place in *Eclogue* 1.

[87] Casey (1987) 182. See Casey (1987) 181-215 on place memory.

[88] On the ideas of extended cognition and "active externalism," which conceptualize cognition as a process extending beyond the brain to include (to varying degrees) the participation of the body and the environment, see Clark and Chalmers (1998) and Rowlands (2010), esp. 51-84.

which his characters think. The *Eclogues* are full of rustic analogies, where human and social phenomena are compared to nonhuman objects or natural processes. In the song contest of *Eclogue* 3, for example, Damoetas sings, *triste lupus stabulis, maturis frugibus imbres.* | *arboribus venti, nobis Amaryllidis irae* ("the wolf is bad for the stables, the rains for the ripened fruits. For the trees the winds are bad, for us the anger of Amaryllis," 3.80-1), and Menalcas responds, *dulce satis umor, depulsis arbutus haedis,* | *lenta salix feto pecori, mihi solus Amyntas* ("water is sweet to the crops, the arbute for kids that are weaned. The pliant willow is sweet to the breeding flock, and to me only Amyntas," 3.82-3). In a particularly complex example, Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1 attempts to convey the scale of Rome compared to local towns through a series of comparisons:

> sic canibus catulos similis, sic matribus haedos
> noram, sic parvis componere magna solebam:
> verum haec tantum alias inter caput extulit urbes,
> quantum lenta solent inter viburna cupressi. 25
>
> Thus I knew pups to be like dogs, and kids like their mothers,
> thus I was used to comparing great things with small.
> But this city has raised her head as much among other towns
> as cypresses tend to do among the pliant osiers. (*Ecl.* 1.22-5)

This habit of speech is, on one level, appropriate verisimilitude for Vergil's depiction of rustic herdsmen.[89] As Andrea Cucchiarelli notes, it was widely emphasized in ancient criticism that character was displayed through how one spoke, and style of speech was thus a crucial aspect of characterization in Vergil's depiction of rustic herdsmen.[90] The figure of the rustic analogy also looks back to Theocritus, whose bucolic poems contain

[89] Other examples include *Ecl.* 2.65, 3.80-5, 5.32-4, 5.76-8, 5.83-4, 7.37-44, 7.65-8, 8.52, 8.85, 10.29-30, 10.38-9, 10.73-6.
[90] Cucchiarelli (2012) 19-20.

many examples of it, including at the start of *Idyll* 1.[91] But beyond the propriety of genre and characterization, these comparisons and figures suggest more fundamentally that when bucolic herdsmen set out to describe things like love, song, or the city, they avail themselves of what surrounds them. The plants, animals, streams, and other elements of the environment provide the tools by which Vergil's characters craft figurative language. Local place influences not just how Vergil's characters speak, but how they think—how they process and experience the world.[92] An entire mental world of memory and emotion, but also of cognitive habit and structure, is lost in the severing of herdsman from home.

In addition to this, Vergil stresses one more kind of relation to local place: cult and religious practice. One of the things Meliboeus admires about the life that Tityrus will continue to lead in *Eclogue* 1 is his peaceful existence amid familiar streams and sacred springs: *fortunate senex, hic, inter flumina nota | et fontis sacros, frigus captabis opacum* ("fortunate old man, here among familiar streams and sacred springs you will take the cool shade," 1.51-2). It is easy to overlook the adjective *sacros* and assimilate the springs to the familiar rivers here, but the sacred springs suggest a particular religious concept of locality. As Robert Coleman comments, "even in the real countryside piety bestowed a tutelary deity on every spring and stream; and this gave a specially intimate quality to the local religion."[93] While resisting Coleman's easy translation of an ideal of rustic piety into lived reality, we may still assert that part of what is lost for the Roman Meliboeus in his exile is an intimate relationship with the particular divinities of a local environment. Indeed, the presence of nymphs throughout the *Eclogues* suggests these

[91] On the "pastoral analogy" that begins *Idyll* 1 see Gutzwiller (1991) 13-16 and 84-5.
[92] For this understanding of metaphors as shaping experience and perception—as "metaphors we live by"—see Lakoff and Johnson (1980).
[93] Coleman (1977) ad 1.52-3. Cf. Servius ad 1.52 in Thilo (1887).

kinds of local divinities linked to particular places.[94] References to the *ambarvalia* (a ritual of lustration in which sacrificial animals were led around the borders of one's land) also encourage a conception of religiously defined localities.[95] Moreover, Tityrus' gratitude toward the young Caesar in *Eclogue* 1 involves the establishment of an annual local cult:

> o Meliboee, deus nobis haec otia fecit:
> namque erit ille mihi semper deus; illius aram
> saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus.
>
> Oh Meliboeus, a god made this leisure for us:
> for he will always be a god to me; often from our folds
> a delicate lamb will stain the altar of that one. (*Ecl.* 1.6-8; see also 1.43-4)

As Eleanor Leach puts it, "Tityrus honors his *deus* as the founder and protector of his little farmstead."[96] Concepts of local place in the *Eclogues* are crucially linked to a sense of religious locality, in which local deities and local cult activities help define and demarcate place.

Readers have long noted the deep and personal significance of the loss of land in *Eclogues* 1 and 9. As Michael Putnam writes of *Eclogue* 9, "as the land is destroyed, its values and customs die with it."[97] But a glance at Roman literary and cultural contexts, along with help from contemporary work on place, has helped us to see more specifically the sheer variety of ways in which local place matters to the herdsmen of the *Eclogues*. The example of *Eclogue* 1 shows how local place is connected with personal memory and

---

[94] See Coleman (1977) ad 2.46. See also North (2005) 151 on the local nature of Italian religion: "it is inherent in the basic structure of traditional Italian cults that they have strong links with specific places."
[95] See *Ecl.* 3.77 with Servius ad loc. in Thilo (1887), and *Ecl.* 5.74-5.
[96] Leach (1974) 126, citing Pöschl (1964) 44. See also DuQuesnay (1981) 106-7 on Tityrus' sacrifice as modeled on the worship of the *Lar familiaris*.
[97] Putnam (1970) 298.

cognition, property rights and economic livelihood, religious activity, and an emotional, affective bond to one's familiar home. Meliboeus displays a Roman attachment to his local *patria*, but this attachment is not a narrow patriotism or sense of belonging to a human community. It is a multifaceted set of bonds to an ongoing sense of place, which he participates in making and which—as the next chapter will explore—is defined by a particular ecology of human and nonhuman beings. This idea of locality is what defines the stable bucolic life valorized and idealized in the world of the *Eclogues*, and is what is jeopardized in *Eclogues* 1 and 9. Before turning to *Eclogue* 9 and its handling of locality, it is important to examine one more aspect of place in the *Eclogues*: Vergil's emphasis on boundaries and borders.

Bucolic Boundaries and Roman Space

Vergil's literary career begins with what has been called "one of the most famous surprises in ancient literature."[98] His programmatic opening calls to mind the equally programmatic beginning of Theocritus' first *Idyll*, but immediately confronts a reader with the difference between the worlds of the two poems.[99] Theocritus' shepherd Thyrsis begins his poem as follows:

> Ἀδύ τι τὸ ψιθύρισμα καὶ ἁ πίτυς αἰπολε τήνα,
> ἁ ποτὶ ταῖς παγαῖσι μελίσδεται, ἁδὺ δὲ καὶ τὺ
> συρίσδες: μετὰ Πᾶνα τὸ δεύτερον ἆθλον ἀποισῇ.
> αἴκα τῆνος ἔλῃ κεραὸν τράγον, αἶγα τὺ λαψῇ.
> αἴκα δ᾽αἶγα λάβῃ τῆνος γέρας, ἐς τὲ καταρρεῖ 5
> ἁ χίμαρος: χιμάρῳ δὲ καλὸν κρέας, ἔστέ κ᾽ἀμέλξῃς.

[98] Hunter (2006) 115.
[99] Of the many comparisons between the two openings, see especially Pöschl (1964) 9-11, Duquesnay (1981) 52-3, Schmidt (1987) 29-36, Alpers (1996) 21-6, Hubbard (1998) 48-9, and Hunter (2006) 115-6.

> Something sweet, goatherd, is the whispering the pine makes,
> the one by the streams, and sweet too the murmuring you make
> on your pipe; after Pan you'll take the second prize. If he takes
> a horned he-goat, you will get a she-goat. And if he should take
> a she-goat for his prize, a young she-goat will fall to you.
> There's good meat on such a kid, at least until you milk her. (*Id.* 1.1-6)

Vergil's Meliboeus begins *Eclogue* 1 with these words:

> Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi
> silvestrem tenui Musam meditaris avena;
> nos patriae finis et dulcia linquimus arva.
> nos patriam fugimus; tu, Tityre, lentus in umbra
> formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas. 5
>
> Tityrus, you lying back underneath the shade of a beech tree
> spreading open, on a thin reed you try the song of the forest.
> I go beyond the bounds of my fatherland, leave these sweet fields
> behind—I am forced from my fatherland; you, Tityrus, calm in the shadow,
> teach the woods to echo *Amaryllis is beautiful*. (*Ecl.* 1.1-5)

Like Theocritus, Vergil begins with one herdsman commenting upon another's singing—but the Theocritean world thus evoked is immediately qualified, and the situation of Theocritus' poem turned upside down, as the third line informs us that Meliboeus is facing a kind of exile.[100] It is not, however, just the dramatic situation of Vergil's poem or the presence of Roman politics that is new. In fact, the two passages present two very different ways of constructing and conceptualizing place.

In Theocritus, the presence of herdsmen, goats, and Pan puts readers in a generally rural environment, while specific objects marked with deixis and articles—"that pine" by "the streams"—provide anchors for a reader's imagination of a particular scene. Payne captures well the particular strategy of environmental description at work here:

[100] As Payne (2007) 159 remarks on this moment, "the fictional world of *Idyll* 1 is, in a single stroke, circumscribed by a larger world of history and politics."

> The herdsmen do not indicate how each element in the landscape is related to the others. They simply point to 'that sloping mound and the tamarisks,' and 'that shepherd's seat and the oaks,' and let the reader imagine how they are situated in relation to one another.[101]

By contrast, Vergil's opening lines place much more stress on bounded zones, borders, and a holistic view of a differentiated landscape. First, the spreading beech marks a space of shade and protection from the sun only implicit in Theocritus—indeed, the bold metaphor of *tegimen*, often used for a more solid covering like armor or a shield, concretizes the boundedness of Tityrus' sheltered repose.[102] Beyond the shade are the plowed fields (*arva*), whose specificity calls to mind the distinctions in Roman agricultural writers between different tracts of land plowed, sowed, or left fallow. The resonant woods (*silvae*) introduce another kind of space in addition to the more open fields. Finally, with a wider view, Meliboeus refers more generally to his *patria*, encompassing all the environmental features of these lines. But this expansive sense of *patria* is immediately circumscribed by reference to its borders (*finis*), which Meliboeus imagines leaving behind. The borders not only bound Meliboeus' *patria* but also imply a larger world beyond it of demarcated zones and spaces into which this particular region fits.

Vergil does not connect all the dots of environmental description for his readers, but—compared to Theocritus—he places his readers in a world defined by edges and boundaries, with interlocking but distinct zones and kinds of space, from the delineated shade of a tree to the border of a particular plow field to the perimeter of one man's

[101] Payne (2007) 27-8.
[102] On this metaphor, see Clausen (1994) ad 1.1.

homeland.[103] This whole way of looking at the land continues throughout the poem. The borders of Meliboeus' homeland return later in the poem (*patrios finis*, 67), while Tityrus' image of a topsy-turvy world includes peoples wandering beyond their boundaries (*pererratis finibus*, 61).[104] When Meliboeus compliments Tityrus on retaining his land, he tells him, *tua rura manebunt* (46), and, as Coleman comments, the plural here has a particularizing force: "these specific parts of the *rus* will remain yours."[105] Indeed, Meliboeus' ensuing description contains two references to neighbors (50, 53), implying a countryside of contiguous but demarcated portions of land, and focuses on the image of a hedge by a neighbor's property boundary—*vicino ab limite saepes* ("the hedge by the neighboring border line," 53)—using the technical term in Roman land surveying for a property line.

A similar spatial preoccupation appears in the poem's closing lines, as the fortunate Tityrus invites Meliboeus to spend one night with him before leaving for a life of exile:

> hic tamen hanc mecum poteras requiescere noctem
> fronde super viridi; sunt nobis mitia poma,
> castaneae molles et pressi copia lactis,
> et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant
> maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae.
>
> But yet here you could rest the night with me,
> on the green leaves; there are ripened apples for us,
> and soft chestnuts, and a store of cheese, and now
> in the distance the tops of the villa roofs are sending smoke
> and from the tall mountains, greater shadows are falling. (*Ecl.* 1.79-83)

[103] Theocritus is not devoid of differentiation in his landscapes, but there is nothing in the *Idylls* to match Vergil's emphasis on boundaries, borders, and demarcated zones.
[104] Tityrus' rhetorical impossibility (*adynaton*) is in a sense Meliboeus' reality, as a number of readers have emphasized. See, e.g., Conington and Nettleship ([1898] 2007) ad 1.64, Clausen (1994) ad 1.61 and Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.64-72.
[105] See Coleman (1977) ad 1.46.

These lines have often been noted for the way they harmonize the close of the poem with the close of day, leaving the poem in an uneasy suspension.[106] Vergil aligns his ending, though, not only with the onset of night, but also with a spatial zooming out. The local environment we have spent the whole poem inhabiting is suddenly contextualized in a larger view of social, economic, and spatial differentiation, a panorama of country houses and villas, each one implying its own demarcated fields and groves. And, in the distance, the mountains hint at larger geographical borders separating different regions. This is the world among whose divisions and boundaries Meliboeus will have to make a new life.

Commentators often remark on some of these details as touches of rustic Roman realism.[107] Some claim that concepts like the *limes* (boundary line), *fines* (borders), and even *patria (*homeland) are extra-bucolic intrusions in this poem. Andrea Cucchiarelli, for example, calls *patriae finis* "*parole e concetti extra-bucolici*," while Robert Coleman finds both this phrase and the concept of the *limes* to be "intrusions from the non-pastoral world."[108] It is better to specify, though, that these terms are not so much non-bucolic as simply non-Theocritean. What Vergil is doing with these details is creating a new Roman bucolic poetry, one showing the heavy influence of Roman land surveying.[109]

The practice of land surveying was in large part an exercise in boundary drawing, officially carving space into particular localities. As Oswald Dilke writes, "Mommsen was perhaps not over-simplifying when he wrote that basically there were only two

---

[106] See Segal (1981) 277-8 on the conclusion of *Eclogue* 1 as (in strongly New Critical terms) a suspension of unresolved tensions. These lines lie behind Erwin Panofsky's famous remark on Vergil, at Panofsky (1955) 300: "with only slight exaggeration one might say that he 'discovered' the evening."
[107] For example, Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.53 and 1.82; Coleman (1977) ad 1.82-3.
[108] Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.3-4; Coleman (1977) ad 1.3-4. Schmidt (1987) 129 and Jones (2011) 85 make similar claims.
[109] Putnam (1975) 82 also sees the influence of land surveying at *Eclogues* 1.46-8.

concerns of the Roman land surveyor: land allocation and boundaries."[110] It is hard to overestimate the importance to Roman conceptions of space of the surveying practices by which Rome carved up and divided the land of Italy and, eventually, its broader empire.[111] Land division and allocation were of course central to the turbulent internal politics of the late Republic, from the Gracchan land reforms to the rewarding of veterans with confiscated lands. Land commissions were a serious concern in day-to-day life, as we can glimpse in Cicero's letters and Horace's *Satires*.[112] In fact, beyond just *Eclogues* 1 and 9, most of the Roman public figures named or addressed throughout the *Eclogues* were involved with the official land commission that confiscated lands around Vergil's native Mantua, including Octavian, Octavius Musa, Alfenus Varus, and Gallus.[113]

More deeply, though, the concepts and emphases of land surveying influenced Roman articulations of space and territory. In book five of the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas founds a settlement on Sicily, he does so like a good proto-Roman, with the protocol of land surveying.[114] And the terminology of land surveying appears also in Lucretius' great poem of the cosmos. The world of the *De Rerum Natura* is defined through the set laws of Epicurean physics, which establish limits to what can and cannot happen in the world. It is these limitations on reality that Lucretius in part praises Epicurus for discovering, and he refers to them with a striking metaphor:

---

[110] Dilke (1971) 98, citing Mommsen (1892). See Dilke (1971) 98-108, Campbell (1996) 79 and 84 on the importance of *limites* and boundaries to Roman land surveyors.
[111] See also Oliensis (1998) 107-8 on the importance of land surveying to Roman ideology of imperial space. Overviews of the practice of land surveying and agrimensiorial treatises can be found in Dilke (1971), Campbell (1996), and Campbell (2000) xx-lxi.
[112] See Cic., *Fam.* 9.17 and Hor., *Sat.* 2.6.51-8.
[113] Wilkinson (1966) 320.
[114] *Aeneid* 5.755-61, on which see Campbell (1996) 94.

ergo vivida vis animi pervicit et extra
processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque,
unde refert nobis victor quid possit oriri,
quid nequeat, finita potestas denique cuique
quanam sit ratione atque alte terminus haerens.

And so the lively force of his mind prevailed and proceeded
far beyond the fiery walls of the world, and he traversed the whole
immeasurable universe with his mind and spirit; from there,
victorious, he brings back the report of what is able to arise,
and what cannot come to be—in short, by what reason each thing
has its limited capability and its own boundary stone, deeply set. (Lucr. 1.72-7)

Among the imperial and militaristic images here, the *terminus* stands out as properly the boundary stone of Roman *agrimensores*, contrasting with the immeasurable or un-surveyable (*immensum*) universe.[115] In conceptualizing the cosmos, Lucretius thinks with the apparatus of land surveying. Additionally, in his history of early mankind, Lucretius carefully notes the moments at which humans divide land amongst themselves as marking important stages in the development of human society (5.1110, 5.1441).

When Roman authors imagine the origins of their state, the development of human society, or even the universal laws of physics, they think in terms derived from land surveying and its emphasis on well-defined borders and divisions. This pervasive influence is particularly visible in the work of Vergil, whose literary oeuvre begins with Meliboeus' *fines* and ends in the *Aeneid* with Turnus' failed attempt to hurl an ancient boundary stone at Aeneas (*Aen.* 12.896-907), a scene that aptly figures the Rutulians' failure to assert Italian boundaries against the incursion of Aeneas' Trojans. All this emphasis on boundaries lies behind the construction of place throughout the *Eclogues*,

[115] See Kennedy (2013) 53-4 on the imagery of Roman conquest and surveying in this passage. Lucretius repeats the key phrase "*alte terminus haerens*" at 1.584, 5.82, and 6.58.

and is particularly important to *Eclogue* 9. Like *Eclogue* 1, this poem narrates the dissolution of local dwelling for one of its characters.

Contingent Locality and Bucolic Dwelling

While any idea of place necessarily involves a boundary that demarcates a *here* from elsewhere, determining where exactly these boundaries lie is a tricky endeavor. Environments do not simply stop at clearly designated lines, and so carving relatively amorphous and interconnected space into distinct, bounded zones is a practice that can never be neutral or natural.[116] *Eclogue* 9 illustrates this, representing a crisis in the redrawing of the boundaries of local place. The boundaries of tenancy and dwelling have been redrawn in the world of this poem, with disastrous consequences for the rustics who have made their lives in their own familiar locales.

Eclogue 9 begins with Lycidas encountering Moeris on the road into town, as Moeris has been evicted from the land he used to work.[117] This breakdown in the continuity of Moeris' dwelling is matched by a breakdown in the tradition of bucolic singing, as Moeris struggles to remember mere fragments of songs. The poem recalls but reverses Theocritus' own poem of a roadside encounter, *Idyll* 7, such that what is in Theocritus an origin story for bucolic poetry becomes in Vergil the moment of its obsolescence.[118]

---

[116] Similarly, Buell (1995) 268: "Places are by definition bounded, but human-drawn boundaries usually violate both subjectively felt reality and the biotic givens." See further Buell (1995) 269.
[117] The exact legal status of Moeris relative to his land is somewhat unclear. See Winterbottom (1976) 57, Coleman (1977) ad 9.4 and 272, and Karakasis (2011) 184 n. 1.
[118] See Berg (1974) 138-42 on *Eclogue* 9 as a "Thalysia in reverse," (142), as well as Hubbard (1998) 118-9 and Cucchiarelli (2012) 449.

At the center of this poem is a conflict between different perceptions of rightful boundaries, and differing abilities to impose such boundaries on the world. When Lycidas hears of Moeris' misfortune, he responds in disbelief,

> certe equidem audieram, qua se subducere colles
> incipiunt mollique iugum demittere clivo
> usque ad aquam et veteres, iam fracta cacumina, fagos,
> omnia carminibus vestrum servasse Menalcan. 10
>
> But surely indeed I had heard that from where the hills
> start to lead off and send their ridge down in a gentle decline
> all the way to the water and the old beeches, now broken tree-tops—
> that all this your Menalcas had saved with his songs. (*Ecl.* 9.7-10)

As Wendell Clausen notes, Lycidas offers "a landscape here defined as by a surveyor's eye," using natural features like trees and streams as boundary markers.[119] However, as Clausen also notes, while trees feature prominently as such markers in the writings of agrimensorial treatises, the beech (*fagus*) does not typically appear as one.[120] These lines demarcate a local place like a surveyor, but in a different way. Menalcas had tried to offer his own definition and demarcation of a locality, but (as Moeris soon informs Lycidas) he was powerless to contest the official divisions of land into newly organized places.

The fact that Menalcas is to some degree a poet-figure encourages one to read this conflict as a tension between the boundaries and borders that a land commission can establish and those that a poet can make.[121] Indeed, a reader may recall that a *fagus* like those Lycidas gestures toward serves as a very important boundary marker in this very

[119] Clausen (1994) 267. See similarly Putnam (1970) 300-1: "Lycidas looks at the landscape in a special way: he measures it off from the distant hills down to the plain and the beeches at the water's edge."
[120] Clausen (1994) ad 9.9.
[121] Davis (2012) 43 suggests that the tract of land Lycidas thinks Menalcas has saved "define a poetic space."

poetry collection—one is placed at the edge of the very first line of the *Eclogues*.[122] Part of Vergil's task as a poet in creating the *Eclogues* is in creating poems as bounded wholes within the limits of a metrical structure, and linking these demarcated wholes together to form a coherent poetry book. Some of the terms that describe the members of a land commission—*limitator* and *finitor*, for example—could also describe the activity of a poet, who carefully establishes line breaks, as well as the beginnings and endings of individual poems.[123] After all, the *pagina* (a bounded "page" or column of text) is etymologically related to the *pagus* (a bounded area or district).[124]

Beyond the space of the page or book roll, though, the activity of the land surveyor is also comparable to that of a poet in another way. Poets like Vergil and singers like Menalcas can create imaginative worlds and delineate places within their works. Within their imaginative or fictive creations, they can define the boundaries of their own locales.[125] This is precisely what Moeris himself does, albeit fleetingly, with a fragment of song later in the poem:

> huc ades, o Galatea; quis est nam ludus in undis?
> hic ver purpureum, varios hic flumina circum
> fundit humus flores, hic candida populus antro
> imminent et lentae texunt umbracula vites.
> huc ades; insani feriant sine litora fluctus.
>
> Come, be here, Galatea; for what fun is there among the waves?
> Here is the purple spring, here the earth pours forth its various flowers
> around the rivers, and here the fair poplar tree hangs over a grotto.

[122] See Jones (2011) 30-1 on the *fagus* as bucolic boundary marker.
[123] In a similar vein, Ellen Oliensis has productively read Horace's formal play with the borders of certain *Odes* in relation to issues of Roman imperial boundaries. See Oliensis (1998) 102-53.
[124] See Maltby (1991) 442 and Butler (2011) 7-8.
[125] Other readers have seen poet-figures in the *Eclogues* as having more literally creative powers. See Lieberg (1982) 5-45 and Derametz (1995) 308 on the poet as creator in Vergil.

Come be here; leave the mad waves to strike against the shores. (*Ecl.* 9.39-43)

Out of nothing but his fragile poetic memory, Moeris constructs a place—a specific *here* (*huc* and *hic* are repeated five times)—defined by particular environmental and geographical features.[126] He is able to construct and delimit space within song. With this in mind, we can return to Lycidas' rumor that Menalcas had saved (*servasse*) a portion of land. Perhaps Menalcas was unable to save his land from confiscation, but his and Lycidas' songs (and Vergil's poem) in some sense preserve this place. *Eclogue* 9 allows readers to participate in constructing and imagining a version of the tract of land stretching from the hills to the water and the beeches.

Of course, there is a significant difference between the imaginative environments of poetry and song, and the very real environments in which a poet or singer must live. It is this tension between poetry's imaginative power and practical futility that creates the emotional drama of *Eclogue* 9, as we can see in Moeris' reply to Lycidas' rumor:[127]

> audieras, et fama fuit; sed carmina tantum
> nostra valent, Lycida, tela inter Martia quantum
> Chaonias dicunt aquila veniente columbas.
>
> So you had heard, and that was the rumor; but our songs
> can do as much, Lycidas, amid the weapons of Mars
> as they say Chaonian doves can when an eagle comes. (*Ecl.* 9.11-13)

Ironically, Moeris' statement of the impotence of poetry culminates in a virtuoso line, as the eagle in the middle of his verse (*aquila veniente*) literally disperses the words for the Chaonian doves, which have fled to either end of the line (*Chaonias. . . columbas*).

---

[126] Gagliardi (1982) 186-7 notes that these lines evoke a typically Sicilian environment, appropriate for a song about Polyphemus and Galatea (like Theocritus' *Idyll* 11), of which these verses seem to be a fragment. It should be noted, however, that this is the setting of this fragment of song, not of *Eclogue* 9.

[127] On the powerlessness of poetry in these lines, see Schmidt (1987) 181.

Moeris again displays this kind of skill when he laments that, after the land surrounding Cremona did not suffice, land confiscations extended to neighboring Mantua: *Mantua vae miserae nimium vicina Cremonae* ("Mantua, alas, too near to miserable Cremona," 9.28). Here Moeris pitiably separates Mantua from Cremona as far as he can within a single line of verse, emphasizing all the more their proximity in reality.[128] The poet's ability to create spatial relationships among words and establish the boundaries and borders of his verse here confronts the reality of geography and the power of a Roman land commission to establish boundaries with real consequence.

Eclogue 9 thus narrates the fallout from a reorganization of local boundaries, and explores the limited consolation of poetry in constructing its own textual and imaginative borders and spaces. *Eclogues* 1 and 9 are both about conflicts that arise in a Roman bucolic world of shifting boundaries and borders, a world of bucolic dwelling amid contingent locality. Questions of who gets to establish which borders and who is allowed to live within what boundaries are at the heart of these poems in which Vergil is able to create pathos from place.

Pastoral, Politics, and Place

Eclogues 1 and 9 narrate the disruption of the local bucolic life that herdsmen in the rest of the poems tend to enjoy. However, it is important not to see this disruption of pastoral as a result of the city intruding onto a countryside distinct from it. It is worth emphasizing this, because it is a common tradition of scholarship to read these poems as showing a

[128] This is perhaps additionally undercut by the fact that Mantua at the end of the next line ends up directly below Cremona. Moeris tries to keep them apart, but again they end up too near.

pastoral world suddenly subject to the incursions of Rome, history, and politics. Michael Putnam, for example, refers to "the breaking in of history on the pastoral trance," and Anthony Boyle to "the destructive impact of the politico-military world—the world of the city, of Rome—upon the country," while Charles Segal writes that both poems "deal with the confrontation between a peaceful, undisturbed pastoral world and the hard political realities of the Roman present."[129]

Such readings only make sense if one assumes an unwarranted split between the countryside and politics. But, in fact, the pastoral world of the *Eclogues* is already political. The Italian countryside is fully interconnected—economically, socially, even physically through networks of roads—with the cities that rely on it. Power dynamics, class and status, and other social and political factors determine the possibilities of local homes, rights to land, attachments to place, and forms of dwelling in the rural world of the *Eclogues*. In other words, while it is true that political power centered elsewhere is influencing herdsmen's lives in *Eclogues* 1 and 9, this is nothing new.

More fundamentally, the world of Vergil's characters is not a timeless present into which historical change irrupts. The very fields and pastures that support and allow for their bucolic and agricultural activities are the products of historical change, including the small-scale alterations of land through grazing, planting, and other agricultural practices, as well as larger-scale patterns of deforestation. These human effects on the land will later be at the heart of the *Georgics*, but are also the background to the lives of

[129] Putnam (1970) 298 (and see also Putnam [1970] 332); Boyle (1986) 15; and Segal (1981) 292. See also Schmidt (1987) 191. Readings like this go back at least as far as Bruno Snell, even if they do not explicitly accept his view of pastoral Arcadia as a "world of pure feeling" that nonetheless "cannot escape the intrusion of contemporary events," (Snell [1953] 291).

Vergil's bucolic herdsmen, as Lucretius helps us to see. In his anthropology in book five of the *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius imagines Italy's transformation from primeval forests to arable lands, as humans gradually progressed from simple foraging to more complex forms of agriculture (Lucr. 5.1367-78).[130] With his account of deforestation, Lucretius asks his readers to see in the present countryside the result of a long process of historical change. Similarly, Vergil's *Eclogues*—with their mix of echoing woods and open fields—represent an environment at a particular juncture of human history. The beginning of *Eclogue* 1 is emblematic, with its combination of *silvae* and *arva*, of music both of the forest and field (*silvestris* and *agrestis*, 1.2 and 1.10). [131] The lives disrupted by the land confiscations of *Eclogues* 1 and 9 were already established amid the broader changes of environmental history, and carved out amid more recent organizations of boundary lines, land ownership, and political rights. The very formation of this bucolic world is a political matter, and *Eclogues* 1 and 9 narrate not the intrusion of urban politics onto the pastoral world, but a reconfiguration of already existing relations.

The countryside of the *Eclogues*, then, does not represent nature untouched by politics, but a space always already entangled in the knots of natural-cultural politics. In this context arise the contingent but powerful relationships between individuals and local place, the disputes that threaten them, and the poetry that derives from them. The importance of local place understood in this way is most explicit in *Eclogues* 1 and 9, but

---

[130] See also Livy 9.36.1. The actual scale of ancient deforestation, previously assumed to be a significant environmental problem in the ancient Mediterranean, has come under significant scrutiny. Hughes (2011) responds to the criticisms and reservations of Horden and Purcell (2000) and Grove and Rackham (2001). For a judicious overview of the issue, tentatively suggesting significant deforestation in Italy during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Harris (2013).

[131] The prominence of woods is a notable Vergilian development of Theocritean bucolic; see Clausen (1994) xxvi.

in fact underlies the whole collection. Numerous poems take care to specify their particular location, anchoring each poem in a particular place familiar to its characters, their own local habitation (*Ecl.* 2.3-5, 3.55-9, 5.1-3, 7.1-13). These localities are fundamentally bounded, but not parochially immured against the outside world. Movement between localities is an important part of the lives of Vergil's herdsmen, and the local is integrated into a larger web of economic and political relations.[132]

Additionally, while it is his *patria* that Meliboeus emphasizes in *Eclogue* 1, what is valued is not an autochthonous, natural, or authentic relation to the land, but a familiarity of dwelling that is the result of historical circumstance. Many of the characters of the *Eclogues* cherish the contingent dwelling of tenant farmers, freedmen, and slaves, who fashion their attachments to localities amid the structures and processes of human and environmental history, Roman economic and social hierarchy, and civil war and political turmoil. As we have seen, Vergil represents a number of different aspects of these attachments that embrace economic, religious, personal, and emotional connections. The *Eclogues* is a poetry collection sensitive to particularity of place, which recognizes the importance of local dwelling to its characters' lives. It also takes care to represent specific environments within which those characters dwell or from which they are expelled. As the remainder of this chapter will explore, these fictional constructed by the poems are hard to place in any actual location, but are nonetheless still local and particular.

[132] The degrees and kinds of mobility for characters in the *Eclogues* are importantly determined, though, by economic class and social status. Corydon's mobility, to take one example, is not that of his master Iollas or of the wide-ranging Gallus.

Part 2: Placing Pastoral

The *Eclogues* and their Settings

For a collection of poetry so concerned with the importance of specific place, the *Eclogues* are themselves notoriously hard to situate. As Thomas Rosenmeyer summarizes, "Virgil's landscape is a composite one; the fertile fields of the Po Valley and the barren hills of the heel of Italy rub shoulders to produce a mixture that defies exact localization."[133] How can this be true of a collection of poems that supposedly emphasizes the crucial importance of specific place and local environment, and in what sense are the places of the *Eclogues* local if they cannot be identified with any place in particular?

In answering these questions, I turn in the remainder of this chapter to the linked issues of fictionality and setting in the *Eclogues*. I begin by asking where the *Eclogues* are set, and by surveying some modern scholarly responses to this question, which have swirled around the concept of Vergil's Arcadia. Difficulties with establishing any particular setting for the poems have led readers to question whether they are, in fact, set anywhere at all. The *Eclogues* are intensely local poems that paradoxically resist location. However, as I will suggest, the poems resist being pinned to any particular setting not because they construct an imaginary world completely removed from reality, but because the collection is interested in the many points of contact between real and imagined locations, and in the recursive movements between environment and imagination out of which place is made. In the conclusion of this dissertation, I return to the question of fictionality, and contextualize it within broader theoretical debates about environmental

[133] Rosenmeyer (1969) 232.

literature, realism, and representation. For now, though, my concern is to show how the places represented by the *Eclogues* are local even if not locatable, and to offer a reading of the fictionality of the world of the *Eclogues* that does not lapse into assumptions about a placeless Arcadia.

The geography of the *Eclogues* poses difficulties to a reader attempting to determine their setting in at least three ways. First, there is variety within the collection: different poems seem to be set in different places. While not a problem per se, this does pose difficulties if one wants to read the collection as taking place within one coherent setting, and raises questions when discrete poems establish continuities between themselves. Can the Corydon of *Eclogue* 7 be the same Corydon of *Eclogue* 2 when one seems to live in Sicily (*Eclogue* 2) and the other in northern Italy (*Eclogue* 7)? More problematically, there sometimes seems to be a variety of settings within individual poems. What are Arcadian shepherds and the Mincius River of Cisalpine Gaul doing in the same poem, *Eclogue* 7?[134] Finally, and even more fundamentally, it is often unclear whether Vergil's use of place names actually sets poems in those places. When the shepherds of *Eclogue* 7 are called Arcadian, does this suggest that we are in Arcadia or are they only "Arcadian" insofar as they are proverbially skilled singers?[135] Does Corydon's reference to his thousands of sheep in Sicilian hills situate *Eclogue* 2 in Sicily, does Sicilian in this context simply mean quintessentially bucolic, or is Corydon's boast

[134] Similarly, *Eclogues* 1 and 9 seem to insert into northern Italy features alien to that area, as has long been recognized. See Conington and Nettleship ([1898] 2007) 106 and Clausen (1994) xxx.
[135] Servius ad 7.4 in Thilo (1887) suggests that Thyrsis and Corydon are called "Arcadian" simply because they are such good singers, a reading suggested also by Jones (2011) 60.

just pure fantasy?[136] This sort of problem attends not just proper names but also the specific environmental features of the poems. *Eclogue* 1 begins with a tree called a *fagus*, and this beech would seem to place us in the tree's native northern Italy.[137] However, the Latin *fagus* could also be used to calque the Greek word φηγός, which refers to an oak and does appear in Theocritus (*Id.* 12.8).[138] Does Vergil's first piece of scene setting in the *Eclogues* point to an Italian beech or a Greek oak? Can it suggest both? The iconic tree of Vergilian pastoral probes and problematizes realism.[139]

In short, it is hard to see how one can progress beyond Conington's dictum offered more than a century ago: "instances of . . . historical and geographical confusion meet us in every page of the *Eclogues*."[140] Even the most confident and methodical of attempts to untangle these confusions can end up with essentially the same admission of interpretive surrender to complexity.[141] One way of responding to these difficulties is to assert that the *Eclogues* are set, in a sense, nowhere at all, in a poetic or imaginary land not to be identified with any real place. Thus L.P. Wilkinson terms the poems "Theocritean pastorals with occasional outcrops of reality."[142]

---

[136] *Ecl.* 2.21, on which see Witek (2006) 104, who suggests this line does not place the poem in Sicily.
[137] See Clausen (1994) ad 1.1.
[138] See Duquesnay (1981) 50 and Lipka (2002).
[139] Cf. Jones (2011) 29, who calls the *fagus* "neither beech nor oak, but rather a literary-programmatic tree, a marker of Virgil's similarity to, *and* difference from, Theocritus, a poetic tree specific to Eclogue-land."
[140] Conington and Nettleship ([1898] 2007) 9. Conington goes on to give the judgment, "such a systematic confusion of time, place, and circumstance, it will be readily admitted, goes far to justify the way in which Virgil has been spoken of . . . as the great corrupter of pastoral poetry," (11). Cf. Cucchiarelli (2012) 18-9, who essentially makes the same observation but in positive terms.
[141] Jenkyns (1989) 39 concludes that Vergil's "pastoral worlds are fluctuating and elusive."
[142] Wilkinson (1966) 323.

The most influential assertion of the poems' distance from reality comes from Bruno Snell, who famously argues that in Arcadia Vergil discovered a spiritual landscape (*geistige Landschaft*), thereby inventing the imaginary land in which Renaissance pastoralists would later play the shepherd.[143] Snell's Arcadia is as much about mood as it is about setting. It is a land suffused with melancholy and nostalgia, "an escape into the realm of feeling and pathos," and "an earthly beyond, a land of the soul yearning for its distant home in the past."[144] Snell's idea of a pastoral world "far distant from the sordid realities of the present"[145] has had an enormous and lasting impact on critics and readers of the *Eclogues*. It lies behind Friedrich Klingner's treatment of Vergilian pastoral as a dream world of art, Gilbert Highet's assertion that "Vergil was the discoverer of Arcadia, the idealized land of country life," and many other similar formulations.[146] Its influence can still be felt in the more nuanced claim of Thomas Hubbard that "Arcadia is simultaneously Vergil's own construction and an object of deconstructive counterpoint."[147] And outside of classical scholarship, it continues to inform many environmental literary critics' hasty judgments of Vergil and classical pastoral.[148]

---

[143] Snell (1953). Behind Snell's reading lies the influence of Gunther Jachmann and, behind that, of Friedrich Schiller. See Schmidt (2008) 22-30 (= Schmidt [1987] 242-5) and Leclerq (1996) 107-27. Gutzwiller (1991) 197 importantly notes that Snell was also reacting against Victorian readings of Vergil, especially Conington.

[144] Snell (1953) 297, 301. Schmidt (2008) 23 (=Schmidt [1987] 242) sums up Snell's Arcadia as "the confluence of the notion of a Golden Age with a prevailing elegiac mood."

[145] Snell (1953) 282.

[146] Klingner (1967) 14; Highet (1949) 163, cited by Jenkyns (1998) 157. Jenkyns (1998) 157 n. 64 offers an illustrative sample of such statements, including Klingner and Highet. To these may be added the more recent Johnston and Papaioannou (2013) and Papaioannou (2013), which essentially accept a version of Arcadia like Snell's.

[147] Hubbard (1998) 46.

[148] For example, see Gifford (1999) 19-21 and Bate (2000) 73-4.

But Snell's Arcadia has not been without its detractors.[149] In a 1975 article, E.A. Schmidt thoroughly demonstrates that Snell's reading of Arcadia in the *Eclogues* is essentially the retrojection of a Renaissance symbol (created by Jacopo Sannazaro) onto Vergil's text.[150] He shows moreover that Arcadia is never the setting of one of Vergil's *Eclogues*.[151] Richard Jenkyns has similarly critiqued Snell's reading as confusing Sannazaro's invention of Arcadia for Vergil's.[152] Jenkyns stresses the presence of Vergil's native northern Italy in the poems, but still retains much of Snell's emphasis on an imaginative world. *Eclogue* 7, for example, is for Jenkyns "an imaginary world which for a moment becomes north Italy."[153] This is not far from the conclusion of Everard Flintoff, who suggests that in the *Eclogues*, "the spiritual landscape, Arcadia, is itself set in the real landscape, Northern Italy."[154] While Jenkyns would not use the word Arcadia here, both suggest a blending of the imaginary and the real.

Schmidt's critique of Snell goes in a different direction, suggesting that Arcadia, while not a setting within the *Eclogues*, is a powerful symbol in the collection. Schmidt

---

[149] Witek (2006) 122-68 examines the issue of Arcadia in the Eclogues, surveying scholarly positions from Bruno Snell to E.A. Schmidt, and essentially agreeing with but qualifying the view of Schmidt. In addition to Schmidt's and Jenkyns' rejections of Snell mentioned here, other (often idiosyncratic) ideas for the significance and symbolism of Arcadia in Vergil have been advanced. See Schmidt (2008) 21 (= Schmidt [1987] 241-2) and Breed (2006) 128 for summaries. Most notably, Van Sickle (1967) sees Arcadia as a symbol of Vergil's fully realized version of bucolic poetry that emerges gradually over the course of the *Eclogues*, and Kennedy (1987) suggests that Arcadia may actually have predominantly elegiac associations from the poetry of Gallus.

[150] Schmidt (1975), essentially reprinted in Schmidt (1987) 239-64 and translated into English as Schmidt (2008).

[151] Schmidt (2008) 42 (= Schmidt [1987] 251).

[152] Jenkyns (1989), largely reprinted in Jenkyns (1998) 156-69.

[153] Jenkyns (1989) 32. Jenkyns (1989) 26 asserts the value of much of Snell's claims about a spiritual landscape; his main claim is that this is landscape is not Arcadia.

[154] Flintoff (1974) 846. With a similar blending of real and ideal, Gagliardi (1982) suggests that Vergil's bucolic Arcadia is the synthesis of Sicilian and northern Italian landscapes.

reads Arcadia as a symbol of "the bucolic world of poetic self-reflection."[155] For Schmidt, the *Eclogues* have no exact correspondence to external reality, but constitute reflexive poetry about poetry (*Dichtung der Dichtung*).[156] Wolfgang Iser takes up Schmidt's view of Arcadia as "Virgil's invented world of poetry—a work of art that thematizes art itself," as part of his reading of pastoral as a paradigmatic example of literary fictionality.[157] For Iser the world of the *Eclogues* has a complex and indeterminate relationship to external reality, separating itself from the real world of politics but then inscribing that reality back into the separate poetic world created.[158] Joy Connolly perhaps best sums up this strange balance of reality and fictionality in the *Eclogues*:

> The names of living people and places, references to political events, and above all the song-echoing presence of the land itself yoke each poem to the Italian reality in which the poet lives. But they do so only in a brief, dubious and unpredictable fashion, creating an important source of the tension in the poems that so many readers have tried to account for. In the face of a representational poetics that uses references to people and places to help locate the reader in the referential reality of the text, giving him or her literal ground on which to evaluate a text, the *Eclogues* deny readers that ground.[159]

For Connolly, Vergil's pulling out the rug of stable reference from beneath his readers has political import: "aesthetic experimentation which questions conventional rules of representation bespeaks a corresponding questioning of the rules of the world."[160]

---

[155] Schmidt (2008) 47 (= Schmidt [1987] 254).
[156] Schmidt (1972) 111. Raymond Kania also sees the creation of Vergil's pastoral world as a fictionalizing act, but in contrast to Schmidt's reflexive text he emphasizes the poems' creation of a fictional world. See Kania (2016) 11-13.
[157] Iser (1993) 34.
[158] Iser (1993) 34. Martindale (1997) 111-20 expands on this approach.
[159] Connolly (2001) 110.
[160] Connolly (2001) 106. Jones (2011) 122 similarly notes a questioning "of the nature of representation and its relationship with reality" in the *Eclogues*, which "has both an aesthetic function, and a political dimension as well." Leigh (2016) takes a very different, explicitly Marxist approach to the relationship of the *Eclogues* to reality, suggesting that

The range of modern scholarly responses to the setting of the *Eclogues* leaves us poised somewhere between fiction and reality.[161] Thus Franz Witek speaks of a "verklärten Heimat" in the *Eclogues*, a transfigured homeland that is unreal and imaginative but still retains strong links to actual places.[162] No dreamlike Arcadia, but a range of fictionalized Italian places with an uneasy relation to real geography, confronts Vergil's readers. How does this affect the collection's interest in particular place and local environment? We can get further traction on this matter by turning from modern readers of Vergil's bucolic world to the bucolic world of which Vergil himself was a reader, in Theocritus.

Bucolic Space and Bucolic World

Theocritus' bucolic *Idylls* take place in a range of locations—from Cos to Sicily and southern Italy—but they all happen in the same kind of place, what Marco Fantuzzi and Richard Hunter stress is a "coherent world."[163] Recurring environmental features, characters, and even a particular set of rustic gods establish a coherent setting throughout all of Theocritus' bucolic poems.[164] Here it is useful to make a distinction between particular place and a more general sense of bucolic space. For while some notion of

---

Vergil obfuscates the importance of slavery in the Roman pastoral economy in *Eclogue* 2. While a fuller engagement with his reading is beyond my present purposes, it is worth noting that Leigh under-reads the potential of literary fictionality, constructing a very specific "real" narrative and setting behind the poem, deviation from which can for him only constitute mystification.

[161] Connolly (2001) 94-6 traces this reading back to Erwin Panofsky. It is worth noting that this is, in some ways, not all that far from Snell's placement of Arcadia "half-way between myth and reality," (Snell [1953] 301).

[162] Witek (2006) 91.

[163] Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 141.

[164] Fantuzzi and Hunter (2004) 151, 156-7. See also Segal (1981) 176-209 on the coherence of Theocritus' bucolic *Idylls*.

bucolic space is consistent in the poems, it can in fact be difficult to locate some bucolic *Idylls*, and critics have disagreed over the degree to which place names in Theocritus are meant to situate poems in actual locations.[165] That this is no recent readerly interest is shown by the scholia to Theocritus, which often specify a particular setting at the beginning of a poem—or at least try to.[166] Scholia at the beginnings of poems set *Idylls* 1, 6, 8, and 9 on Sicily, *Idyll* 7 on Cos, and *Idyll* 4 in Croton.[167] *Idyll* 3 is placed more vaguely somewhere near Croton, and *Idyll* 5 simply in Italy.[168] Of *Idyll* 10, we are informed that it is unclear where the action takes place.[169]

As illustrated by these attempts to pin poems to particular locations, Theocritean bucolic characteristically invites, but can also evade, location. And yet, a coherent sense of bucolic space does remain constant: if a bucolic setting is sometimes hard to place, it is never hard to recognize. It is this more general idea of bucolic space that Vergil takes up in writing the *Eclogues*. The bucolic environment is, already in Theocritus, a kind of space that can be instantiated in various places. Indeed, this applies to the *Eclogues*, as well. Whatever difficulties of localization beset a reader, the collection presents a cohesive *kind of space* built around recurrent characters, flora, fauna, and other environmental features.[170]

---

[165] See Levi (1993) 117-8 with Halperin (1993) 130-1.
[166] For Vergil's use of the ancient scholarship on Theocritus from which scholia on the poems derive, see Farrell (2016).
[167] *Id.* 1, arg. c, Wendel (1914) 23; *Id.* 6 arg. b, c, and d, Wendel (1914) 188-9; *Id.* 8 arg. a and b, Wendel (1914) 203; *Id.* 9 arg., Wendel (1914) 215; *Id.* 7 arg. a and b, Wendel (1914) 76; *Id.* 4 arg. a, Wendel (1914) 134.
[168] *Id.* 3 arg. a, Wendel (1914) 116; *Id.* 5 arg. a and c, Wendel (1914) 154-5.
[169] *Id.* 10 arg. a, Wendel (1914) 222.
[170] Jones (2011), who uses the term "bucolic space," shows that consistent references to particular kinds of flora and fauna, as well as a recurring cast of characters, help to delineate a more or less coherent "Eclogue world." He however continues to refer to this

In addition to a concept of bucolic space, Theocritus is important for Vergil in creating a fictional bucolic world. Mark Payne has shown at length that Theocritus creates in his bucolic poetry a "fully fictional world."[171] The bucolic *Idylls* "manifest themselves as neither making present the world of myth, nor offering an imitation of life. . . . Their appeal lies instead in fiction's ability to reveal to us a world that we have not encountered or imagined before."[172] To be bucolic, on Payne's account, is to imagine oneself into this fictional world, which seems tantalizingly reachable, but is in fact not to be found in any real countryside. The germ of a complex relationship between bucolic world and external reality, then, is already present in Theocritus, long before Vergil's addition of Caesar, Pollio, and Gallus to the mix.[173]

Theocritean bucolic thus provides a model for a particular poetry that unfolds in a particular space. This bucolic space can find instantiation in a variety of places, but also constitutes a fictional world that is not identical with any of these locations. These qualities of bucolic poetry may seem to pose problems for the importance of locality that I have been stressing in the *Eclogues*. Are these poems really concerned with local place at all, or simply with imagining bucolic *loca amoena* in general? In fact, as I will suggest, local place still matters to the *Eclogues*, even if we cannot know where the environments

---

as Arcadia. Similarly, Leclerq (1996) 580-9 demonstrates the consistency of Vergil's bucolic environment built around key terms and features. Flintoff (1974) 846 also argues for a consistent landscape throughout the *Eclogues*, and Kania (2016) 29 suggests that the *Eclogues* construct "a single fictional world." Jenykns (1998) 155 sees no self-consistent imaginary universe in the *Eclogues*, but in stressing particular differences between poems overlooks a more general consistency.

[171] Payne (2007)**.** He claims Theocritus' bucolic poetry as "the first fully fictional world in Western literature," (1).

[172] Payne (2007) 1.

[173] For a fuller argument for the fictionality of Vergil's *Eclogues*, see Kania (2016), which draws on the claims made by Payne on Theocritus to read the *Eclogues* as constructing a fictional world, inviting the imaginative supplementation of the reader.

of the poems are located, and even if they are located nowhere but in the imaginative cooperation of author, reader, and text.

Places Written, Read, and Seen

The fictionality of the *Eclogues* and the collection's uneasy relation to any definite reality mean that the environments of the *Eclogues* are heavily dependent on the imaginative work of a reader. But the fact that such places are not identical with any real locations outside of the text does not mean that they are not really places, or that they are merely some illusion held forth by the text. Imagined and fictional places are not entirely divorced from reality. Indeed, perhaps the most enduring influence of Snell's Arcadia, even in his firmest opponents, is an assumption that imaginative fiction constitutes a profound distance or escape from reality. In fact, experiences of imagined and actual places can intersect, blend, and recursively influence each other. In order to see this, it is helpful to turn to a literary influence for Vergil perhaps less expected, but no less significant, than Theocritus: the philosophical dialogues of Cicero.[174]

When Cicero's prose dialogues are read alongside Vergil's *Eclogues*, numerous parallels of narrative strategy emerge. First, the form of the philosophical dialogue as inherited from Plato (whose *Phaedrus* we will examine shortly) shares with the amoebean eclogue a structure whereby authorial voice is divided between a number of

[174] Prior to analyzing the *Eclogues*, Jenkyns (1998) 92 examines Cicero's *De Legibus* because "we find there in simple form themes that Virgil was to take up and turn into great art." Cicero, as I hope to demonstrate, is already artful in his own right. He is important to Vergil specifically for the way he experiments with combinations of imagined and real, specific places. While there is no reason to doubt Ciceronian influence on Vergil, even without positing such influence on the *Eclogues* Cicero shows what was possible for a Roman reader and writer of the late Republic in thinking through the relationship between real place, fictional texts, and imagined settings.

characters, who may occasionally seem to speak for the author.[175] The vexed relationship between Tityrus and Vergil may not be so different from that between Cicero and one of his philosophical mouthpieces. Additionally, Cicero's dialogues create the possibility for a kind of recursive self-citation familiar to the *Eclogues*. Just as Menalcas at the end of *Eclogue* 5 quotes earlier poems from the collection in which he is a character, characters within a Ciceronian dialogue can refer to and quote other Ciceronian works.[176]

More significantly for our purposes, though, Cicero places great stress on the setting of many of his dialogues, just as Vergil emphasizes the specific location of various bucolic performances and song exchanges.[177] The *De Oratore*, for example, situates the conversation of its characters in book one not only at Lucius Crassus' estate in Tusculum, but on a particular part of the estate, while deliberation in book three over where to have a discussion parallels the debate over where to sing in *Eclogue* 5.[178] A fragment from the *De Legibus*, preserved by Macrobius, has a character describe the setting of his conversation with such coloring that the passage would not be out of place in the *Eclogues*:

> visne igitur, quoniam sol paululum a meridie iam devexus videtur
> nequedum satis ab his novellis arboribus omnis hic locus opacatur,
> descendamus ad Lirim eaque, quae restant, in illis alnorum umbraculis

---

[175] The way Cicero's *De Amicitia* begins with a narrative frame in which Cicero recalls hearing of the central conversation of the dialogue is also comparable to the structure of *Eclogue* 7, where the speaker Meliboeus recalls the central song exchange of Corydon and Thyrsis. Compare Cic., *Amic.* 1 and Verg., *Ecl.* 7.1-20, 69-70.
[176] Compare Verg., *Ecl.* 5.85-7 and Cic., *Div.* 1.8, 1.13, 1.106, 2.63, and 2.148.
[177] For examples, see *Fat.* 2, *Brut.* 10, *Div.* 1.8, and *Rep.* 1.14 and 1.18. The very title of the *Tusculan Disputations* attaches itself to a particular location, and its five books represent five distinct occasions of speaking over five days. The second book of the *De Legibus* begins a new conversation with a new setting, and the *De Finibus* has separate settings for its conversations on Epicureanism (Cumae), Stoicism (Tusculum), and Academicism (the Academy in Athens). See *Leg.* 2.1 and *Fin.* 1.14, 3.7, and 5.1.
[178] *De or.* 1.7. Compare *De or.* 3.18 and *Ecl.* 5.1-19.

persequamur?

> Shall we, then, since the sun seems to have gone down a little since noon and this whole spot doesn't have enough shade from these new little trees, go down to the Liris and puruse the matters that remain in those little coverings of shade from the alders? (Cic., *Leg.* in Macr., *Sat.* 6.4.8)

The particular time of day, the shade of trees, and the riverbank all call to mind the carefully elaborated settings of bucolic song (as well as Plato's proto-bucolic *Phaedrus*).[179] It is no accident that both Cicero's *De Oratore* and Vergil's *Eclogues* end with a speaker saying *surgamus* ("let us rise," Cic., *De or.* 3.23; Verg., *Ecl.* 10.75). In both cases, particular works are defined by their particular places of enunciation.

The relationship between Vergil's *Eclogues* and the philosophical dialogues of Cicero presents us with something very different from the intertextuality of Vergil with Theocritus or Lucretius. The importance of Cicero (and Plato behind him) for Vergil consists in a suggestive mapping of the possibilities for constructing and encountering place within literature. Two Ciceronian texts in particular explore the rich possibilities of experiencing place with and through written texts. While something like a full exploration of Cicero's use of place in his philosophical works is far beyond the scope of our present purposes, a brief examination of key scenes in the *De Oratore* and *De Legibus* will offer useful lessons for handling the complexities of place in the *Eclogues*.

Early in the first book of his *De Oratore*, Cicero sets the dialogue in both time and place: at Lucius Crassus' villa in Tusculum, in 91 BCE (*De or.* 1.24). More specifically, he describes how the various characters of the dialogue walk in Crassus' garden and how a plane tree in the garden reminds Scaevola of a scene in Plato's

[179] On the influence of Plato's *Phaedrus* on the setting of the *De Legibus* see Dyck (2004) 20-2.

Phaedrus. Cicero's adaptation of the pleasant shade beneath Plato's plane tree—itself a proto-bucolic setting—has clear import for the shaded locales of Vergil's herdsmen.[180] But also of relevance for Vergil's *Eclogues* is the way the passage reflects on real and imagined places:

> postero autem die, cum illi maiores natu satis quiessent, et in ambulationem ventum esset: dicebat tum Scaevolam, duobus spatiis tribusve factis, dixisse: cur non imitamur, Crasse, Socratem illum, qui est in Phaedro Platonis? nam me haec tua platanus admonuit, quae non minus ad opacandum hunc locum patulis est diffusa ramis, quam illa, cuius umbram secutus est Socrates, quae mihi videtur non tam 'ipsa acula,' quae describitur, quam Platonis oratione crevisse: et, quod ille durissimis pedibus fecit, ut se abiceret in herbam, atque ita illa, quae philosophi divinitus ferunt esse dicta, loqueretur, id meis pedibus certe concedi est aequius. tum Crassum: immo vero commodius etiam; pulvinosque poposcisse, et omnes in eis sedibus, quae erant sub platano, consedisse dicebat.
>
> Then on the next day, when those older ones had rested enough, and they had come into the walkway, he [Cotta] said that Scaevola, after two or three paces, said, "Why don't we imitate that Socrates, Crassus, who is in Plato's *Phaedrus*? For this plane tree of yours has made me think of it, this tree wide enough to shade this place with its spreading branches no less than that one, whose shade Socrates sought, which seems to me to have grown not so much from the 'little stream itself' that is described as from Plato's language. And what Socrates did with his hardened feet, as he threw himself onto the grass and thus spoke those things that philosophers claim were spoken with divine influence—surely that is more fairly conceded to my feet." Then Crassus said, "No, instead let's be even more comfortable," and he ordered cushions, and Cotta said that everyone sat together on those seats, which were beneath the plane tree. (*De or.* 1.28-9)

This is a remarkable moment of intertextuality between two texts that have much to say about rhetoric, and is also a meta-literary hint that this dialogue will be a Romanized

[180] On the *Phaedrus* as a proto-bucolic text, see Murley (1940), Parry (1957) 16-20, and Hunter (1999) 14 with n. 53. On the influence of this passage of the *De Oratore* and the *Phaedrus* on *Eclogue* 5, see Berg (1974) 119-20. Pilipovic (2013) argues for a more thorough relationship between Plato's *Phaedrus* and Vergil's *Eclogues*.

imitation of and response to Plato.[181] But, more than this, the scene is also a probing of the relationship between reading, writing, and place. In this passage, a real tree reminds Scaevola of a place he has experienced through reading.[182] As he emphasizes, it is not so much the tree and shade itself from Plato's scene but the fact that it is described in Plato's fictive writing that lies behind its importance for him. Scaevola illustrates how a reader can experience a place through a text, form an attachment to it, and project that imagined place onto one's actual surroundings. Textual place is an important part of his perception and construction of actual place.

Plato's *Phaedrus* is already a text interested in the relationship between a particular location and a specific *mythos*. In it, Phaedrus and Socrates walk near a location where Boreas supposedly snatched away the nymph Orithyia, and the location causes Phaedrus to ask Socrates about this story (Pl., *Phdr.* 229B-C). What we see in Scaevola's (and Cicero's) reception of Plato is that by enshrining this particular place in a literary text, Plato has complicated things. He has both linked his text to that place, and made that place evocative of his own text—a strategy Cicero deploys with the settings of his own dialogues. And yet, by writing, Plato has also made the very particular part of grass Socrates and Phaedrus pick out peculiarly portable. Readers of Plato can imaginatively experience and develop a fondness for the particular place the *Phaedrus* describes, and then transpose that imaginative locale onto their own environment—just like Cicero's Scaevola. Finally, while revealing this process at work in the reception of

[181] On Cicero's construction of the *De Oratore* as a Roman dialogue responding to Plato, see Fantham (2004) 49-77. See also Zetzel (2003) and Connolly (2007) 99-100 on the importance of Crassus' addition of cushions to this Socratic scene.
[182] This is further complicated by the fact that what is for Scaevola a very real tree, which calls to his mind a textual tree, is for us a tree present only through Cicero's text.

Plato, Cicero is also here providing a model for the reading of his own precisely situated dialogue. Scaevola's experience of the *Phaedrus* is our experience of the *De Oratore*, and he illustrates how the places of literature (like the Tusculan villa he himself inhabits) can act upon readers' experiences in places outside of literature.

We find similar complexities at the beginning of Cicero's *De Legibus*. The work begins with Cicero, his brother Quintus, and his friend Atticus strolling around Cicero's Arpinum estate, and the first words of the dialogue are Atticus' gesturing toward *lucus quidem ille* ("that grove indeed," *Leg.* 1.1). But just what grove Atticus is referring to is immediately complicated, for he points not simply to a set of trees on Cicero's estate, but to a tree he has read about in Cicero's poem *Marius*:

> Atticus: lucus quidem ille et haec Arpinatium quercus agnoscitur saepe a me lectus in Mario. Si manet illa quercus, haec est profecto; etenim sane vetus.
>
> Quintus: manet vero, Attice noster, et semper manebit; sata est enim ingenio, nullius autem agricolae cultu stirps tam diuturna quam poetae versu seminari potest.
>
> Atticus: That grove indeed and this oak of Arpinum I recognize as the one I often read about in the *Marius*. If that oak tree remains, this is it right here; and indeed it is clearly old.
>
> Quintus: Indeed it remains, our dear Atticus, and it will always remain. For it was planted by the imagination. By no farmer's care can a plant be grown to be so long lasting as by the verse of a poet. (*Leg.* 1.1)

Are "that grove" and "this tree" to which Atticus is drawn the ones on Cicero's estate or the ones he has imagined in reading Cicero's poem on Marius? The trees on the estate are what he sees in this scene, but it is the latter that they make him think of, and it is the trees of Cicero's text that he has formed a relationship with over time (*saepe*). Again, as in the *De Oratore*, a place only experienced through text enriches this character's

experience of his actual surroundings. Quintus expands on this power of represented and imagined place by claiming that poets can perform a kind of planting that outlasts that of farmers. In Quintus' language, Cicero's poetry does not guarantee the immortality of any actual tree so much as it creates a kind of ontological double, a Marian oak that exists forever in poetry:

> dum Latinae loquentur litterae, quercus huic loco non deerit, quae Mariana dicatur, eaque, ut ait Scaevola de fratris mei Mario, "canescet saeclis innumerabilibus." . . . multaque alia multis locis diutius commemoratione manent quam natura stare potuerunt, quare "glandifera" illa quercus, ex qua olim evolavit "nuntia fulva Iovis miranda visa figura," nunc sit haec. sed cum eam tempestas vetustasve consumpserit, tamen erit his in locis quercus, quam Marianam quercum vocabunt.
>
> As long as Latin literature is spoken, the oak will not be missing from this place, the one deemed the Marian Oak, and the same one, as Scaevola says about my brother's *Marius*, "will grow old over the course of innumerable ages." . . . And many other things remain in many places longer in memory than they are able to stay in nature, for which reason that "acorn-bearing" oak from which there once flew "the tawny messenger of Jupiter, seen with its amazing figure,"—let it be this one here. But when weather and time have eaten away at it, nonetheless there will still be an oak in this spot, which they will call the Marian Oak. (*Leg.* 1.1-2)

Written places and environmental features can have their own existence in literature, which outlasts that of any real environment.[183] But, as this scene also illustrates, this textual existence does not remove such places from reality. Rather, imagined places can overlap with, and enrich, the experience of everyday places, as it does both here and in the *De Oratore*. Regardless of whether the oak Atticus points to is the same oak Cicero describes in his poem, he and Quintus are able to project it onto their surroundings.

[183] Connolly (2007) 90 suggests that here "the written word extends its metaphorical power even over the natural world." See also Dyck (2004) 54-7, for whom the oak raises questions about *opinio* and *natura,* an opposition relevant to the dialogue's exploration of the foundations of law.

Quintus' *sit haec* ("let it be this one") is the same operation Scaevola performs in the *De Oratore*, where he essentially suggests, "let Plato's plane tree be this one."

These issues gain added complexity by virtue of the fact that this discussion of the ontological status of places described in literature occurs within a place we access through literary description. The characters of Cicero's *De Legibus* reflect here on what their readers are currently experiencing. For if the Marian oak exists both on Cicero's property and in his poetry, it also exists in this prose dialogue. It existed in Cicero's mind, in Atticus' and Quintus', and now in ours. This leads to some fruitful ambiguities of deixis in this passage. Does "this" tree mean this one in the text we are reading? When Quintus says that as long as Latin literature is read, an oak will exist "in this place" (*huic loco . . . in his locis*), does he mean in this place in Cicero's *De Legibus*? *Locus*, after all, can also refer to a particular passage or "place" in a text.[184] As at the beginning of this scene, we may be prompted to ask which oak is even being discussed. The Marian oaks in Arpinum, in Cicero's *Marius*, in Atticus' and Quintus' minds, in Cicero's *De Legibus*, and in our readerly imaginations are all somehow the same tree and yet different—in different places, as it were.

Cicero opens up more questions than he provides answers, but he suggests a literary culture in the late Republic alive to the rich complexities of fictive art and imagination tangling with the experience of actual, specific places. Cicero shows that readers can experience their actual surroundings through the environments they have encountered imaginatively, in texts. Indeed, this is what Roman elites did through artifice and landscaping any time they modeled a part of a villa into a famous locale, such as

[184] See *TLL* VII.2.1576.65-71.

Cicero's own personal Academy or Lyceum. Cicero's writings show how this habit opens up rich possibilities for imagined and real place interacting through reading. Place attachments formed through texts can enrich and help shape our experiences of particular locations in the world.

Moreover, Cicero helps us see that even if we could pin certain of the *Eclogues* to specific locations, this would not solve the complexities attending the poems' relation to real places. Even if *Eclogue* 1 were definitively set in a very specific part of the environs of Mantua, to travel there would not be to experience the setting of the poem. Any visitor to that location would simply be like Atticus and Quintus, letting "this" field be the one described in the poem.[185] In making the relation between his literary settings and actual locations even less definite than in Cicero, Vergil heightens this imaginative aspect of place experience. There are environments in the *Eclogues* we can experience only by reading the poems—but these imaginative places are created out of real geographical locations, and can influence how readers then approach their actual world. This recursive movement between imagination and environment is something that Cicero helps us notice, and, as we will see, is also something that occurs within Vergil's own poems.

[185] This is essentially what happens when Hubaux (1927) 86 describes locating the *Eclogues* at a bit of a distance from Mantua: "en remontant le cours du Mincio, on arrive dans une region toute pareille à celles que décrivent les Eglogues I, III, VII et IX. On y retrouve les collines, aux flancs desquelles Mélibée aimait à voir s'accrocher ses chèvres, et qu'on avait en vain cherchées dans la plaine de Mantoue. On y voit de loin les hautes montagnes—la chaîne des Alpes—dont l'ombre s'allonge au crepuscule comme le soir où Tityre a dit adieu à Mélibée partant pour l'exil."

Pastoral Place, Between Imagination and Environment

Throughout the *Eclogues* imagination is a crucial part of how characters experience place. Indeed this is part of the difficulty that confronts anyone attempting to decide how real the world of the *Eclogues* is: the poems themselves thematize a tension between reality and fictionality. Nowhere is this clearer than in *Eclogues* 2 and 10. *Eclogue* 2 presents a reader with two starkly contrasting views of the same countryside: focalized through Corydon, it is a fantastical place filled with Pan, nymphs, and an impossible variety of flowers. Seen through the unsympathetic eyes of Alexis, the country is nothing but *sordida rura* ("squalid countryside," 2.28).[186] In *Eclogue* 10, Gallus projects and imagines himself into an Arcadian world.[187] A mention of Arcadian singers leads him to fantasize about living in a pleasant bucolic land:

> atque utinam ex vobis unus vestrique fuissem
> aut custos gregis aut maturae vinitor uvae!
> certe sive mihi Phyllis sive esset Amyntas
> seu quicumque furor (quid tum, si fuscus Amyntas?
> et nigrae violae sunt et vaccinia nigra),
> mecum inter salices lenta sub vite iaceret;
> serta mihi Phyllis legeret, cantaret Amyntas.
> hic gelidi fontes, hic mollia prata, Lycori,
> hic nemus; hic ipso tecum consumerer aevo.
>
> And would that I had been one of you and either the keeper of your flock
> or the vintner of your ripened grapes! Surely whether it would be Phyllis
> or Amyntas for me, or whatever mad folly (and what then, if Amyntas
> is dark? There are dark violets, too, and hyacinths are dark.),
> my beloved would lie beneath the pliant vine with me among the willows;
> Phyllis would pick garlands for me, and Amyntas would sing.

[186] On Corydon's imaginative fantasy, see Leach (1974) 146-53. Apostol (2015) emphasizes the delusions of Corydon but proceeds to doubt the very facts of the poem's narrative, which we of course only receive through Corydon's focalization.
[187] On the tension between imagination and reality in *Eclogue* 10 see Perret (1961) 107, Leach (1974) 158-69, and Alpers (1979) 228-32. Perkell (1996) 135-6 considers a similar opposition between the idealized "pastoral vision" of the character Gallus and the perspective of the poem as a whole.

> Here are cool springs, here are soft meadows, Lycoris; here is a grove;
> here with you I would waste away from the passage of time. (*Ecl.* 10.35-43)

The numerous contrafactuals here (*fuissem*, *iaceret*, *legeret*, *cantaret*, *consumerer*) show the essentially fantastical and unreal nature of Gallus' imagined environment. And yet, Gallus works himself up to a startlingly immediate evocation of place with the emphatic repetition of *hic* ("here") in lines 42 and 43. The imagined world of willows, meadows, and springs is suddenly *here*—it starts to become real and present for Gallus as if directly around him, as his fictionalizing imagination begins to transfigure his actual surroundings. And soon after these lines, Gallus' pastoral fantasy again seems to impinge on his actual experience. He begins by imagining what he might do—*ibo et Chalcidico quae sunt mihi condita versu* | *carmina pastoris Siculi modulabor avena* ("I will go and play on the reed-flute of the Sicilian shepherd the songs composed by me in Chalcidian verse," 10.50-1)—but this imagined bucolic existence edges into reality. Gallus' declarations of a possible future erupt into a sudden present vision: *iam mihi per rupes videor lucosque sonantis* | *ire, libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu* | *spicula* ("now I see myself going through the crags and resounding groves; it is pleasant to shoot Cydonian arrows from my Parthian bow," 10.58-60). Carried away by poetic fantasy, Gallus suddenly seems to be moving in the bucolic world of his own imagination.[188] He demonstrates in extreme form how imagined environments can form a significant part of actual place experience.

Both *Eclogues* 2 and 10 show characters putting imagined places and environments into relation with their surroundings in different ways. Corydon imposes on

[188] Klingner (1967) 170 similarly describes Gallus here as losing himself in his imagination. Gallus' imagined transformation into a bucolic singer has significance in terms of poetic genre, as the poem brings together Gallan elegy and Vergilian bucolic: see Conte (1986) 100-29 and Harrison (2007a) 59-74.

his surroundings the trappings of an imaginative world, enriching the sense of place with which he attempts to charm Alexis. Gallus, on the other hand, momentarily (and only momentarily) escapes his surroundings and circumstances by imagining himself into a distant land. While Vergil, as author, models his Corydon on Theocritus' Polyphemus and his Gallus on the Daphnis of *Idyll* 1, the characters themselves also model their experiences and surroundings on literary tropes—Gallus' imagining himself into Arcadia is not so different from a Ciceronian character imagining himself into Plato. Characters throughout the *Eclogues*, but especially Corydon and Gallus, dramatize how experiencing place involves bringing imagined or fictional places to bear on actual environments, and it is possible to see in this a model for how to read the places of the *Eclogues* themselves: as the product of a poetic imagination engaging with but transfiguring actual environments, in the process creating places its readers will experience imaginatively but then bring to bear on their own surroundings.

The Makings of Place

Again, it is important to stress that calling the environments of the *Eclogues* imaginative or fictional does not make them placeless. Within a fictional bucolic space, the *Eclogues* stress specific locations, even if a reader is not certain where those locations are. Wherever one imagines *Eclogue* 1 to be set, at the heart of the poem is the importance of a particular bounded place to Meliboeus, as seen earlier.[189] And wherever it is that Vergil's herdsmen stop to sing, the poems carefully describe the locations of these

[189] Duquensay (1981) 38 suggests *Eclogue* 1 may blend features of northern and southern Italy, while Conington and Nettleship ([1898] 2007) 24 sees features of both Sicily and Mantua in the poem.

performances, whose features contribute to their particularity place. Wherever *Eclogue* 7 takes place, for example, the poem begins by specifying a particular locale with a flurry of deictic adverbs:

> huc mihi, dum teneras defendo a frigore myrtos,
> vir gregis ipse caper erraverat; atque ego Daphnin
> aspicio, ille ubi me contra videt. "ocius" inquit
> "huc ades, o Meliboee; caper tibi salvus et haedi;
> si quid cessare potes, requiesce sub umbra.
> huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuvenci,
> hic viridis tenera praetexit harundine ripas
> Mincius, eque sacra resonant examina quercu."
>
> The male of the flock had wandered here, while I
> was protecting the tender myrtles from the frost;
> and I saw Daphnis, and when he saw me in turn, he said,
> "Quick! Come here, oh Meliboeus; your goat and your kids are safe;
> if you can relax at all, come rest beneath the shade.
> The cattle themselves will come here through the meadows to drink,
> here the Mincius has fringed its greenish banks with tender reeds
> and from the sacred oak the swarms of bees are buzzing." (*Ecl.* 7.6-13)

The Mincius suggests northern Italy, but it is the repetition of *huc* and *hic* more than anything that establishes a sense of place *here*. Even if the rest of the poem, with its "Arcadian" herdsmen, makes us doubt the relation of this place to any real bank of the Mincius, the poem asks us to imagine a specific place. Throughout the *Eclogues*, as here, it is often not any real geographical location, but rather a sense of locality itself that the poems emphasize. Where "here" is on a map may be less important than that we imagine it as a distinct "here."

And yet, this more abstract sense of particularity or locality is often achieved through the specific qualities of actual, particular places. In the case of *Eclogue* 7, Vergil's native surroundings of Mantua are a significant influence on the fictional locale he constructs. Especially notable is the Mincius River, which "has fringed its greenish

banks with tender reeds (12-13)." As Richard Jenykns colorfully emphasizes, crucial here is the particular quality of the Mincius, as opposed to other Italian rivers:

> Most Italian rivers, small or large, are really mountain torrents: in dry season their streams run shrunken through boulders or gravel; after rain, or when the snows melt, they are turbid and swollen. . . . The rivers of the northern plain, including the Po itself, mostly do not differ much from other Italian rivers in this respect . . . Mincius, however, is something of an exception. Its headwaters are collected in the enormous basin of the Lake of Garda . . . The lake supplies a relatively steady flow of water throughout the seasons, and the modest declivity between the lake and the river's confluence with the Po makes the current slow; today, in fact, wide marshy lakes have formed around Mantua, apparently since Virgil's lifetime; reed beds remain a distinctive feature of its course.[190]

Noting that similar descriptions of this river appear also in the *Georgics* and in the *Aeneid*, Jenkyns calls the Mincius "Virgil's *sphragis*."[191] Vergil links his particular authorial identity to the particular identity of his local river. The specific qualities of this river and its surroundings inform other moments in the *Eclogues*, as well. The way the Mincius spreads into a variety of smaller streams creates a marshy terrain Vergil alludes to in the *Georgics* as *qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum | pascentem niveos herboso flumine cycnos* ("the sort of field unfortunate Mantua lost, which nurtured snow-white swans with its grassy stream," *G.* 2.198-9). Vergil's strange formulation *herboso flumine* (grassy stream, instead of watery field) captures the specific quality of the marshes around Mantua, and it is this specific environment that lies also behind the presence of swampland in *Eclogue* 1 (1.47-8) and the reference to Mantuan swans in *Eclogue* 9 (9.26-

[190] Jenkyns (1998) 147-8.
[191] Jenkyns (1998) 148. On the presence of Mantua throughout Vergil's works see also Gasser (1999) 62-73, though Gasser to some degree underestimates the importance of Mantua as a real, specific location in the *Eclogues*, opting for an overly idealizing and generalizing reading of Vergil's bucolic world.

9).[192] The surroundings of Mantua and their actual nonhuman ecology are crucial to the construction of place in the *Eclogues*. The poems do not rely simply on generalized *locus amoenus* descriptions, rhetorical set pieces designed to conjure up the general idea of a pleasant locale, but on details furnished by specific environments.[193]

A close Theocritean imitation in *Eclogue* 2 makes a similar point. Describing the noontime heat, Corydon says, *nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos* ("now also the thorn bushes cover the green lizards," 2.9). This line recalls a description of noon from Theocritus—ἀνίκα δὴ καὶ σαῦρος ἐν αἰμασσιαῖσι καθεύδει ("when even the lizard sleeps in the wall," *Id.* 7.22)—but substitutes thorn bushes for Theocritus' stone wall. As Cartault recognizes, Vergil here removes a feature common enough on a Greek island like Cos (the setting of *Idyll* 7) but absent from northern Italian farms, where hedge barriers were more common.[194] Here, in a minute detail of description, we glimpse Vergil constructing the environment of *Eclogue* 2 both out of the imagined world of Theocritean poetry and out of the very real environments he lived in.[195] The setting of the poem is not in any simple sense a real place in northern Italy, but its own particularity as an imagined environment is fashioned out of the specific environmental features of that region.

---

[192] See Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.48.

[193] Rosenmeyer (1969) 232 claims that the Sicily of Theocritus is "little more than a cartographical pretense, a cypher for the *locus amoenus* with its brooks, its pastures, its groves of oaks and willows, and the occasional beach," and goes on to suggest the same is true of Vergil's bucolic setting. Putting aside his questionable judgment on Theocritus, my reading here disputes this overly simplifying view of place in the *Eclogues*. Bonjour (1975) 192-3 summarizes the details of the *Eclogues* that seem drawn from Vergil's northern Italy.

[194] Cartault (1897) 92, supported by Hubaux (1927) 73-4 and noted also by Leigh (2016) 412. Cartault suggests that Vergil's change of Theocritus is based on "une observation personelle."

[195] Hubaux (1927) 80-1 also sees Vergil drawing on experience of his local surroundings for the description of a vine at *Ecl.* 2.70.

Particularity of environment matters to these poems, even if that particularity is in the service of an imaginative fiction.

Writing of very different kinds of texts, Lawrence Buell has suggested, "perhaps the commonest attraction of environmental writing is that it increases our feel for both places previously unknown and places known but never so deeply felt."[196] In thinking of the *Eclogues* as a kind of environmental writing, we could add that the poems may also increase our feel for places knowable only through their text. Specific, local environments mattered to Vergil as he wrote the *Eclogues*, but he used them to create a poetry not limited to any real locations, enabling readers to form attachments to and have experiences of places that exist in the poems. And yet, Vergil's construction of a fictional bucolic world does not establish a profound distance from reality, as both Snell and Schmidt—in their different ways—would have it. Rather, imagination and reality cross-fertilize in the *Eclogues.* While asserting the importance of local environment, the *Eclogues* also reflect upon their own creation of place, arising from a combination of environmental experience and literary imagination. Particular places with their specific environmental features go into the making of Vergil's fictional locales, which are imaginary but still particularized. And just as with the characters of Cicero's dialogues, these places that are read and imagined can act powerfully upon readers' experiences and ideas of actual places outside Vergil's text, including but not limited to his Mantuan environs. Readers can put the imagined places of the poems in dialogue with the environments they encounter in life. This was Vergil's experience of living near Mantua, reading Theocritus, and then writing the *Eclogues*. This is what his imaginative

[196] Buell (1995) 261.

herdsmen-singers do within the poems. And this is what readers of the *Eclogues* themselves have done and continue to do.[197]

Conclusion

This chapter has examined how locality matters to the themes and interests of the *Eclogues*, and how the poetry collection conceptualizes and constructs local place. Instead of treating place simply as a background setting, a visual landscape, or a symbol, reading for place as a thematic concern in its own right reveals important aspects of the poetry. Vergil stresses the importance of local dwelling to the herdsmen of the *Eclogues*, representing multifaceted place attachments between individuals and their familiar homes. This is seen most clearly in *Eclogues* 1 and 9, where the local patterns of bucolic life are put under pressure, but Vergil's whole pastoral work imagines herdsmen in rural localities like those lost by Meliboeus and Moeris. In dramatizing the effects of land confiscations on these local herdsmen, Vergil also probes the contingent nature of place, defined by unstable boundaries. The contingent localities of the *Eclogues* are fictional, but are constructed as local, particular places, not the placeless realm of Arcadia ecocritics too often assume is characteristic of classical pastoral.

Locality in the *Eclogues,* then, is a complex, shifting concept—more nuanced than the naïve Romantic holdover it is sometimes treated as in recent environmental

[197] A number of modern and contemporary receptions of the *Eclogues* tend to localize themselves, perhaps most famously the work of Seamus Heaney, with poems such as "Bann Valley Eclogue" (in Heaney [2001]). To take just one more notable example, Robert Frost originally considered calling his collection *North of Boston* "New England Eclogues"—see Alpers (1996) 309. Importantly these poems are not set in a placeless Arcadia, but in a series of localities tied by their participation in bucolic space.

criticism.[198] Readers of modern and contemporary poetry have suggested that the once comfortable stability of local or topographic poems has been disrupted by forms of modernity and globalism.[199] But what has begun to emerge from this examination of the *Eclogues*, and what the following chapters will continue to demonstrate, is that local place is already a complicated concept in Augustan poetry. We will see forms of quasi-globalism and supra-local mobility that complicate locality in the *Georgics* and in Horace's *Odes*. And already in the *Eclogues*, local dwelling is fragile and contingent, not a natural relation to one's soil but an ongoing process of place attachment achieved among shifting forms of political and social organization.

In some ways, the *Eclogues* lay the groundwork for the future explorations and complications of local place in the works that follow after it. Tensions seen in *Eclogues* 1 and 9 regarding shifting boundaries and the power of Rome to reorganize space and place reappear in the *Georgics*, as that work explores the relationship between Italy, Rome, and Rome's global empire. Local place attachments of the sort modeled by Vergil's characters are also centrally important to Horace's self-representation in the *Odes*, and his representation of his personal Italian places. Finally, the issues of fictional, textual, and real place raised by Vergil's construction of a pastoral world is important for each of these works, and will return in this dissertation's conclusion, which delves into problems of fictionality and representation in environmental texts via a reading of Ovid's exile poetry. In all of these Augustan works, as in the *Eclogues*, local place is a central

[198] For example, emphasizing and celebrating the local is characteristic of what Lawrence Buell has called first-wave ecocriticism. See Buell (2005) 1-28.
[199] For example, Ramazani (2017). I engage further with Ramazani in chapter six, where I explore Horace's version of a place-based lyric poetry.

thematic concern and a concept that the text complicates and problematizes in its own way.

Before moving on to those works, though, the following chapter focuses on the nonhuman world in the *Eclogues*. This chapter has stressed the importance of place to human life in the collection, even while recognizing that place is often made distinct by certain nonhuman beings and features. The next chapter will examine in greater depth how the nonhuman is a crucial part of the places and place attachments of the *Eclogues*. I will argue that the *Eclogues* conceptualizes place as fundamentally more-than-human, defined by its particular assemblage of interacting human and nonhuman beings within its bounds. The nonhuman elements of local environments in the *Eclogues* contribute to a sense of local place, and also participate in the central activity of Vergil's herdsmen: making bucolic music. Moreover, I will argue that the *Eclogues* present local environments as crucially important not only to the musical activities of those herdsmen, but also to the sonic texture and language of Vergil's poems themselves.

Chapter 2

The Local Environments and More-than-human Music of the *Eclogues*

Introduction

As described in the previous chapter, pastoral has a privileged but problematic place in environmental literary criticism and theory. It is one of the traditional literary modes and genres that is most concerned with representing the nonhuman world, but the way in which it does so is often assumed to be suspect. Greg Garrard echoes many ecocritics' concerns when he writes, "from the outset, pastoral often used nature as a location or as a reflection of human predicaments, rather than sustaining an interest in nature in and for itself," and claims, "at the root of pastoral is the idea of nature as a stable, enduring counterpoint to the disruptive energy and change of human societies."[200] Such critiques are largely drawn from the later English pastoral tradition, following in the critical footsteps of Raymond Williams.[201] However, these readings are often traced back to Vergil: Garrard for one insists on pastoral's simplistic representation of nature "from the outset" and claims that the *Eclogues* show "a pointed contrast of rural retreat and the harms consequent on civilization."[202] And some classicists have accepted similar readings. Eleanor Leach finds in the *Eclogues* "a pastoral impulse, a desire for return to nature."[203] We have already seen that Vergil does not construct a timeless pastoral world

---

[200] Garrard (2012) 39, 63. See also Love (1990) 207 and Gifford (2016) 17.
[201] Williams (1973) looms large over ecocritical critiques of classical pastoral. See Gifford (1999) 7-10 and Garrard (2012) 41-6.
[202] Garrard (2012) 40
[203] Leach (1974) 66. Apostol (2015) 16-22 suggests that Corydon projects a fantasy of Nature onto his rural surroundings that *Ecl.* 2 as a whole does not uphold. Apostol's reading, however, rests on an unconvincing psychologization of Corydon and (ironically) on a conflation of Corydon's presentation of the countryside with "nature."

cut off from or opposed to politics, and in this chapter, we will also see that the *Eclogues* do not represent the countryside as a realm of nature or a retreat from human civilization.

Other scholars have contested interpretations of pastoral based on a concept of nature, but have tended to do so by denying the importance of the nonhuman world to the *Eclogues* entirely. In his influential account of pastoral, Paul Alpers has argued that the long shadow of Romanticism (and especially Schiller) has caused readers to exaggerate the prominence of landscape in pastoral and that "we will have a far truer idea of pastoral if we take its representative anecdote to be herdsmen and their lives, rather than landscape or idealized nature."[204] And E.A. Schmidt has similarly argued that ideas of pastoral centered on idealized landscape or nature are mistaken, suggesting instead that the genre is built around the representation of herdsmen as singers.[205] Alpers and Schmidt respond to simplistic readings of pastoral and nature by jettisoning the nonhuman entirely. By contrast, I will argue that the *Eclogues* do not represent a "retreat into nature," but nonetheless are deeply concerned with the nonhuman environment that fills these poems.[206]

This chapter, then, attends to the nonhuman world of the *Eclogues* without lapsing into assumptions about nature or landscape. As in the previous chapter, this has the dual

---

[204] Alpers (1996) 22, expanding on Alpers (1979) 5-6. See further Alpers (1996) 28-32. Alpers (1996) 27 acknowledges, "it is still the case that certain representations of landscape have always been characteristic of pastoral," but goes on to define pastoral landscapes as merely a setting for herdsmen. Much early modern pastoral criticism also defined the genre as an imitation of shepherds or of rural life; see Halperin (1983) 36-42. Marx (1986) 45 has summarized such understandings of the genre with the dictum, "no shepherd, no pastoral." Saunders (2008) 2-3 contests Alpers, argues for maintaining a focus on landscape and nature without replicating Schiller.

[205] See Schmidt (1972) 107 and 141-2. See also Halperin (1983) 64 on the importance of musical activity to (modern understandings of) pastoral.

[206] Gifford (2006) 17 refers to the "classical pastoral momentum of retreat into nature."

potential to remedy an under-reading of the nonhuman environment in much classical scholarship, as well as to respond to simplified readings and assumptions about classical pastoral in ecocriticism. The rural world of the *Eclogues* is not synonymous with nature. It is a countryside thoroughly shaped by human life and activities, and integrated into the structures and networks of Roman power. It is, however, a site of dense and foregrounded interrelation between human and nonhuman beings. The local places that the poetry describes are natural-cultural assemblages of humans and nonhumans, and the local dwelling that it valorizes is dwelling as part of a more-than-human community. The first part of this chapter argues for and elaborates on this environmental understanding of local place in the *Eclogues*, and then explores how this sense of place is expressed sonically, as the nonhuman world actively participates in bucolic music through various forms of environmental sound.

The second part of this chapter considers the implications of this more-than-human acoustic world for our understanding of bucolic song and the pastoral poetry for which that song to some degree stands. Vergil's repeated emphasis on echo decenters the human, and encourages a conception of resonant soundscapes rather than singing subjects. Taking into account all the forms of environmental sound present in the *Eclogues*, I argue that Vergilian pastoral is best understood not as a representation of herdsmen's songs but of entire bucolic soundscapes. Finally, I turn from the songs represented within the poetry collection to Vergil's poetry itself. Nonhuman sound, in addition to the words of human herdsmen, contribute to the sonic texture of Vergil's language, as he uses sonic effects to render audible the acoustic environments of his imagined bucolic world. In short, the nonhuman environment is central to the collection's themes of local place and local

dwelling, as well as to the performances of bucolic music that pervade the collection. But beyond this, it is also imagined as helping to shape Vergil's very language and the music that it makes.

Part 1: The More-than-human World of the *Eclogues*

Place Beyond the Human

In the previous chapter, I emphasized the role of Roman cultural practices and human activities in altering, dividing, and conceptualizing the local places of the *Eclogues*. This accords well with much scholarship on space and place, which insists on the cultural construction and social production of both terms.[207] Exemplary is Simon Schama's argument that "landscapes are culture before they are nature; constructs of the imagination projected onto wood and water and rock."[208] While this may be true of "landscape" only in a most narrow sense, it is emphatically not true of the localities of Vergil's *Eclogues*.[209] These poems stress that local place is not simply a construction of individual and communal memory, or the result of a human geometry imposed on the land. It is an environment made up of ecological interactions and relations between humans and nonhumans. We have already seen hints of the importance of the nonhuman

[207] For example, Lefebvre (1974). This emphasis on the cultural construction of space and place is dominant in Sluiter and Rosen (2006), Gilhuly and Worman (2014), and McInerney and Sluiter (2016).
[208] Schama (1995) 61. See similarly Purcell (2010) 123: "there is no such thing as a natural landscape."
[209] While Schama is arguably speaking of landscape as opposed to a concept of nature or environment, the force of his claim is to deny the agency and vibrancy of the nonhuman environment. My aim is not to reverse Schama's terms and claim that Vergil's bucolic countryside is nature before it is culture, but rather to trace the imbrications and entanglements of what we might refer to by "culture" and "nature," a binary that has little purchase on the world of the *Eclogues*.

world in these poems: it is the variety of nonhuman life, for example, that furnishes Vergil's herdsmen with so many of their metaphors, figures of thought, and conceptual tools. And features like trees and rivers help influence (but do not entirely determine) the establishment of land boundaries and divisions in the Roman countryside.

Beyond this, though, nonhuman beings are central to the making of place and place attachment in the *Eclogues*. Take, for example, Corydon's description of his local surroundings in *Eclogue* 2:

> nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant,
> nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos,
> Thestylis et rapido fessis messoribus aestu
> serpyllumque herbas contundit olentis.
> at mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustro,
> sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis.
>
> Now the cattle, too, seek the cool shadows,
> now the thickets even cover over the green lizards,
> and Thestylis is grinding thyme and fragrant herbs
> for the reapers exhausted from the intense heat.
> but along with me, while I track your steps, the orchards
> resound with the hoarse cicadas beneath the blazing sun. (*Ecl.* 2.8-13)

Cattle, lizards, woods, and cicadas help make up the sense of place here. Stressing the nonhuman components of this place, however, does not make Corydon's pastoral location a site of nature. Thestylis and human laborers (*messoribus*) also contribute to the particularity of Corydon's local environment. Place here is thoroughly natural-cultural with an array of domesticated animals, non-domesticated animals, trees, and humans in particular social and power relations—all of them together giving this place its particularity. And this is not simply peripheral scene setting for the rest of the poem. Corydon's rural environment is important to his rejection by his beloved Alexis, and that

environment is not simply an ideological projection of rusticity. It is an actual place constituted by human and nonhuman beings and activities.

In *Eclogue* 7, we find another concise rendering of specific place defined by its combination of human and nonhuman features:

> huc ipsi potum venient per prata iuvenci,
> hic viridis tenera praetexit harundine ripas
> Mincius, eque sacra resonant examina quercu.
>
> The cattle themselves will come here through the meadows to drink,
> here the Mincius has fringed its greenish banks with tender reeds
> and from the sacred oak the swarms of bees are buzzing." (*Ecl.* 7.11-13)

The riverside locale to which Daphnis here beckons Meliboeus is constituted by the Mincius River, the marshy reeds it supports, the oak and bees, and the herdsmen and their animals. As these brief examples suggest, the concept of local place that we have seen to be so central to the *Eclogues* is not place as a cultural construction but place as a more-than-human environment.

Eclogue 1 in particular exemplifies the importance of the nonhuman world to the places Vergil's characters inhabit. The poem may focus on the turmoil that land confiscations create in Meliboeus' life, but this disturbance is not limited to the human world. After hearing of Tityrus' good fortune, Meliboeus reacts with wonder, since the whole countryside has been affected by the confiscations:

> non equidem invideo, miror magis: undique totis
> usque adeo turbatur agris, en ipse capellas
> protinus aeger ago; hanc etiam vix, Tityre, duco.
> hic inter densas corylos modo namque gemellos,
> spem gregis, a! silice in nuda conixa reliquit.
> saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset,
> de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus.
>
> Indeed I am not jealous, but rather I'm amazed: everywhere
> is chaos, all throughout all the fields; look, I myself am sick,

driving my goats along. And this one, Tityrus, I can hardly lead.
For here among the dense hazels, she just left little twins—
ah! the hope of the flock—on the bare flint. I recall that often
the oaks, struck from the sky, foretold this evil for us,
if only my mind hadn't been so foolish. (*Ecl.* 1.11-17)

A slight textual issue in line twelve is instructive. Against the generalizing *turbatur* ("there is turmoil") some manuscripts have *turbamur* ("we are thrown into turmoil"). Editors rightly tend to prefer *turbatur* for its generalizing force, referring to widespread disorder.[210] But just how far does this generality extend? In fact, the disorder affects not just numerous herdsmen, but their animals, as well. Meliboeus specifies his general claim of disorder, after all, by pointing in part to the goats he is leading along (12-15). Ian DuQuesnay suggests that the failed birth of the goats here is an objective correlative for Meliboeus' forestalled future, but the animals go beyond merely reflecting Meliboeus' predicament: they themselves have their own misfortune.[211] As Putnam describes it, "The verb *duco* acknowledges that movement is also necessary in the life of the animals. . . . The trials of the land and the shepherd affect the beasts as well."[212] Meliboeus' goats, too, lose a *patria*, as the tumult caused by land confiscations extends beyond the human sphere.

Similarly, when Meliboeus offers a melancholy picture of the life he has been robbed of, but which Tityrus will continue to have, he emphasizes the numerous interrelations of human and nonhuman beings that constitute Tityrus' environment:

fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt

---

[210] See Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.12. As Servius long ago argued, *sane vera lectio est "turbatur", ut sit impersonale, quod ad omnes pertinet generaliter* ("clearly the true reading is 'turbatur', so that it is impersonal, because it pertains generally to all," ad *Ecl.* 1.12 in Thilo [1887]).
[211] Duquesnay (1981) 69. Jones (2011) 39 offers a similar interpretation.
[212] Putnam (1970) 30.

et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus
limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco:
non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas,
nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent.

Fortunate old man, so these parts of the countryside
will still be yours, great enough for you, even though
bare rock covers it all and marsh intrudes on the pasturage
with muddy rush; no unfamiliar grasses will try your breeding sheep
nor will the harmful diseases of a neighboring flock hurt them. (*Ecl.* 1.46-50)

Meliboeus' preoccupation is with the temporal continuity of Tityrus' life (*manebunt*), but this continuity exists not only for Tityrus. His cattle are interestingly positioned in these lines: on the one hand, they are part of the assemblage that makes up Tityrus' sense of place, but on the other hand they also have their own sense of familiar location. *Insueta pabula* ("unfamiliar pasturage") momentarily focalizes narration through the perspective of the cattle, who have specific, familiar haunts of grazing. The powerful youth in Rome who has allowed Tityrus' bucolic life to continue within its familiar locale has also ensured the stability of the cattle's dwelling in this place. Nonhumans help constitute the local places that matter to Tityrus and Meliboeus, and they also have their own relations and attachments to particular place.

The lines that follow emphasize the intertwining of human and nonhuman life even further:

fortunate senex, hic inter flumina nota
et fontis sacros frigus captabis opacum;
hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite saepes
Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti
saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro;
alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras,
nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes
nec gemere aëria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.

Fortunate old man, here among familiar streams
and sacred springs you will take the cool shade;

> from here, as always, the hedge by your neighbor's
> border line will urge you to sleep with a gentle hum,
> Hyblaean bees feeding on its willow flower.
> Beneath a lofty cliff the reaper will sing to the breeze,
> and meanwhile neither the hoarse wood pigeons, your delight,
> will stop their sighing, nor will the turtle-doves high in the elm. (*Ecl.* 1.51-8)

The densely entangled syntax of lines 53-5 especially emphasizes the interrelation of hedge, bees, and flowers that altogether produces the particular experience described. The participle *depasta* is passive, but here retains the force of a middle voice, also taking *florem* as a kind of direct object.[213] Meanwhile the hedge, the proper subject of *suadebit*, urges on sleep with a gentle murmuring that seems to belong not so much to the bees as to the plant itself. These momentary confusions of agency and identity help each individual feature of the image yield to the sense of a whole miniature ecology constituted by an interrelation of parts. The following lines then continue this focus on interrelation in a sonic register, as the sibilants of the buzzing hedge (*saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro*) transition into a description of the voices of a reaper, wood-pigeons, and turtle-doves all sounding together.[214]

What Tityrus enjoys and what Meliboeus proleptically mourns is clearly not just a site of human significance, but it is also not a pristine nature untouched by culture. Rather, it is a dynamic web of relations between human and nonhuman presences. The particular set of relations (these bees, this hedge, this reaper, and this elm) is the cause for a personal bond to a particular place. In addition, nonhuman animals have their own bonds to local place, and the various forms of life in these places all depend on specific relations

[213] See Clausen (1994) ad 1.54.
[214] Baraz (2015) 98 also emphasizes the "strong presence of sound" in Meliboeus' description.

with each other. What land surveying divides and what land confiscations reorganize are not just regions of human dwelling, but whole environments and local ecologies.

This understanding of place as the totality of an area's human and nonhuman beings is similar to what has been called the topocosm, defined as "not merely the human community of any given area or locality but the total corporate unit of all elements, animate and inanimate alike, which together constitute its distinctive character and 'atmosphere.'"[215] The topocosm, however, is steeped in primitivist assumptions: Theodor Gaster coined the term in a discussion of the primitive rituals underlying drama, and it is generally invoked to describe a lost archaic closeness to nature.[216] Chris Fitter, for example, deploys the term in a developmental narrative of landscape consciousness, in which we are told, "the primitive conceives nature as an indissociable whole," and, "the world for primitive nomadic man was . . . above all unitary."[217] This posited, rather Edenic state does not match Meliboeus' description of Tityrus' land. The description is somewhat idealizing, drawing especially on a key passage from Theocritus (*Id.* 7.135-42), but the environment contains familiar features of a Roman estate.[218] Its human inhabitants are not uniquely in touch with nature, but exist in particular and various relations with their surroundings that include familiar plants, environmental features, animals, and other humans. Any "topocosmic" sense of place here is not the product of a primitive worldview in which mankind has not yet fallen from sacred unity with nature. On the contrary, it results from a particular natural-cultural environment, emotionally

---

[215] Gaster (1950) 4.
[216] Segal (1963) 26, for example, uses the term in describing an archaic Greek worldview of cosmic coherence.
[217] Fitter (1995) 15, 25.
[218] On the Theocritean intertext see Coleman (1977) ad 1.51 and Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.51-8.

colored and acutely perceived. Place in the *Eclogues* simply *is* a more-than-human phenomenon. It may be defined as a network or assemblage of human and nonhuman presences and relations within a bounded space.

Sympathy and Community

What does it mean to be part of such a network or assemblage? While the localities of the *Eclogues* do not reveal nostalgia for a lost union with nature, they do contemplate a form of community between herdsmen and the other inhabitants of their environments. They explore what it means to be one of the co-constituent parts of a more-than-human environment, in large part through pastoral sympathy. This figure allows the poems to imagine a cross-species affective community embracing different forms of life. It is, perhaps, this trope of a nonhuman world responding to the plights of humans that above all lies behind the assumption that pastoral idealizes a lost closeness to nature. It is important, though, to examine how Vergil deploys pastoral sympathy before falling into this familiar (Schillerian) reading. Pastoral sympathy in the *Eclogues* is better understood as imagining humans as members of a local environment including elements of what modern readers might see as both nature and culture.

Sympathetic response from the nonhuman world is a trope that gains new prominence in Hellenistic literature, and is prominent in Theocritus.[219] In *Idyll* 1, for example, Thyrsis sings of foxes, wolves, and cattle lamenting the suffering of Daphnis

[219] Copley (1937) surveys the pathetic fallacy in early Greek literature, but notes that early examples differ in kind from what appears in later Greek literature. Buller (1981) 36 notes that Hellenistic pastoral provides "the first major use of the pathetic fallacy in Western literature," and links its emergence to concepts of sympathy in philosophical and scientific texts, especially Stoicism (40).

(*Id.* 1.71-5). This becomes an important trope in bucolic poetry, taken to an extreme by Moschus in his *Lament for Bion*, where all sorts of beings mourn Bion, from trees and flowers to birds, satyrs, and Apollo himself.[220] These instances look like what John Ruskin famously called the pathetic fallacy. For Ruskin, this trope is a category error, ascribing human emotion to the nonhuman world in a state of heightened emotion (or, less excusably, stylistic decadence).[221] In ancient texts, it has been argued that the pathetic fallacy evidences a worldview in which humans are understood as part of nature.[222] Sympathy does indeed represent a human intimacy with nonhumans, but the invocation of nature here can be misleading. Sympathy can imagine humans as members of a more-than-human community without relying on any concept of nature, as we will see is the case in the *Eclogues*.

An elaborate example of this figure occurs in *Eclogue* 5, when both Mopsis and Menalcas sing of the death and deification of Daphnis, a mythical herdsman who has been identified as the son of a nymph.[223] Mopsus describes various creatures' reactions to Daphnis' death:

> exstinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnin
> flebant (vos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis),
> cum complexa sui corpus miserabile nati

[220] See Baraz (2015) 93-9 for this figure as a crucial part of the pastoral tradition. Buller (1981) 36 calls the *Lament for Bion* "nothing more than an extended pathetic fallacy."
[221] See Ruskin ([1856] 1904) 201-20. Copley (1937) 194, in tracing Ruskin's pathetic fallacy in early Greek literature, similarly defines it as "an illusion . . . that the inanimate world is possessed of human feeling."
[222] Buller (1981), esp. 39-40. Dick (1968) 27 similarly suggests that the origins of the figure of pathetic fallacy lie in a primitive worldview "wherein man regarded himself as part of his natural surroundings."
[223] On the deification of Daphnis as alluding to (but not allegorizing) that of Caesar see Coleman (1977) 173-4 and Cucchiarelli (2012) 281-2. On the importance of Daphnis to Theocritean bucolic and on the various myths about the legendary figure, see Hunter (1999) 9 and 63-8.

atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater.
non ulli pastos illis egere diebus
frigida, Daphni, boves ad flumina; nulla neque amnem
libavit quadripes nec graminis attigit herbam.
Daphni, tuum Poenos etiam ingemuisse leones
interitum montesque feri silvaeque loquuntur.

The nymphs cried over Daphnis, cut off by a cruel death
(you hazels and rivers are witnesses to them),
when his mother embraced her son's pitiful body,
calling the gods and the stars cruel.
During those days no one drove the cows
to the cold streams to pasture, Daphnis, and no animal
tasted the water, nor did any taste a blade of grass.
Daphnis, the rugged mountains and woods say
that even African lions bemoaned your death (*Ecl.* 5.20-8)

After this, Menalcas sings of Daphnis looking down from heaven, where he has become a god:

candidus insuetum miratur limen Olympi
sub pedibusque videt nubes et sidera Daphnis.
ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas
Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas.
nec lupus insidias pecori, nec retia cervis
ulla dolum meditantur: amat bonus otia Daphnis.
ipsi laetitia voces ad sidera iactant
intonsi montes; ipsae iam carmina rupes,
ipsa sonant arbusta: 'deus, deus ille, Menalca!'

Gleaming Daphnis marvels as the strange threshold of Olympus
and beneath his feet he sees the clouds and stars.
And so, a sudden delight takes hold of the forests
and the rest of the fields, Pan and the herdsmen,
and Dryad girls. And the wolf plans no attacks on the flock,
and no hunting nets threaten trickery for stags. Kindly Daphnis loves peace.
The unshorn mountains themselves cast voices up to the stars in joy
and the very cliffs and trees resound with songs:
"A god! That man is a god, Menalcas!" (*Ecl.* 5.56-64)

All sorts of beings mourn Daphnis' death and rejoice at his apotheosis. As in Moschus, this use of sympathy implies a single community embracing humans and nonhumans, here including animals, plants, nymphs, and even the god Pan. The trope imagines an

affective community across ontological difference. Daphnis is the ur-herdsman of pastoral, and so there is some sense of nostalgia or longing for this ideal herdsman of the mythic past.[224] However, this is not a fantasy of closeness to a concept of nature opposed to culture or human civilization. Sympathy here brings together humans and nonhumans, but also different nonhuman beings like nymphs, wolves, and stags into a single community. Daphnis is envisaged first as part of, and then as presiding over, a more-than-human community that traverses any boundaries one might try to draw between nature and culture. Are planted orchards (*arbusta*, 64) examples of nature or culture? What about the son of a nymph who is part of a human community of herdsmen, or those herdsmen's domesticated animals? And how natural or cultural are nymphs? Assigning beings to one side of a nature-culture binary makes little sense here. And encapsulating all nonhuman beings under a label of nature collapses important differences between—for example—cows, wolves, trees, nymphs, and gods. It is better to see these scenes as depicting more-than-human communities embracing ontological diversity and difference.

This example of sympathy in *Eclogue* 5 is framed as clearly fantastical, within songs that herdsmen sing about a mythic semi-divine figure. Nonetheless, it is arguably a way of thinking about something that is true of the less mythic local environments throughout the *Eclogues*. Pastoral sympathy is a spectrum of tropes—some more and some less fantastical—that direct us to imagine humans as co-constituent parts of local environments. When Meliboeus tells Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1 that the very pine trees and

[224] It is significant that Vergil uses the figure of sympathy for Daphnis, who is sympathetically mourned by the nonhuman world in songs sung by some of Theocritus' characters. See Theoc., *Id.* 1.65-98 and *Id.* 7.72-7. It is possible that the figure of sympathy when applied to other figures briefly or playfully imagines any real herdsman as a Daphnis, the mythic ideal of a herdsman.

springs called out for him in his absence (*Ecl.* 1.38-9), this is a way of imagining the close bonds between Tityrus and the local environment of which he is a part. It briefly imagines these environmental features as endowed with emotion in order to express that without Tityrus the more-than-human environment of his home lacks one of its familiar co-constituent parts. The figure of speech does not necessarily suggest that Tityrus is at one with nature or the nonhuman world, but conceives of him as an integral part of a particular, local community including but exceeding the human.

It is possible to see this as a projection of human emotion onto the nonhuman environment, a form of anthropic arrogance that reduces the world to human terms. However, the degree of projection or (to use Ruskin's term) fallacy in figures of sympathy is variable. A herd animal mourning for its herdsman is not as implausible as a wild animal doing the same, and the latter is not the same kind of impossibility as a mountain rejoicing. Additionally, the real force of the figure of sympathy is not simply that nonhuman beings might feel emotions, but that they feel them for humans. Sympathy can sometimes have less to do with humanizing the nonhuman than with imagining that the nonhuman cares about the human. This is not to say that sympathy is in no way a humanizing gesture, but simply that this is not all the trope accomplishes. In the *Eclogues*, sympathy envisions humans and nonhumans as part of a reciprocal affective community. Throughout the collection, local place is conceptualized as fundamentally more-than-human, and the trope of pastoral sympathy is one way of conceptualizing the human's participation in these environments. It is these particular local environments and natural-cultural communities that the *Eclogues* valorize. Vergilian pastoral does not retreat into a

realm of simplified nature, but directs our attention to the more-than-human ecologies with which human life is intertwined.

Sound, Song, and Environment in the *Eclogues*

So far in this chapter I have explored the importance of the nonhuman world to the issues of local place and dwelling in the *Eclogues*. In addition to this, the nonhuman world factors in another of the collection's major interests: song. While the *Eclogues* are full of references to the consequences of civil strife, the perils and pains of love, and other aspects of their herdsmen's lives, if one were pressed to say what actually *happens* in the poems, the best answer might simply be song. Singing is the preeminent activity of Vergil's herdsmen; as E.A. Schmidt has stressed, at the core of ancient bucolic is the representation of herdsmen as singers.[225] And in this most central aspect of the characters' lives, the particularities of local environments play a significant role. As I will argue, nonhuman beings participate agentially in the production of bucolic song through various forms of environmental sound. Local environments in the *Eclogues* are not simply communities of humans and nonhumans dwelling together, but also musical communities that resound together. Here again it is important to read the places of the *Eclogues* as environments rather than simply as landscapes. A visual focus on passive landscape overlooks the important acoustic presence and sonic agency of the nonhuman world in these poems.

That local environments matter to bucolic music is apparent in the care Vergil takes in situating the performances of his characters. Many of the *Eclogues* place great

[225] Schmidt (1972) 107. See also Perret (1965) 30.

stress on the location of bucolic performance, on setting the scene before giving readers the actual songs of herdsmen.[226] *Eclogue* 5, for example, begins with Menalcas inviting Mopsus to sing with him in a particular location:

> cur non, Mopse, boni quoniam convenimus ambo,
> tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus,
> hic corylis mixtas inter consedimus ulmos?
>
> Mopsus, since we've come together, both of us skilled—
> you at playing the light pipes and I at singing verses—
> why don't we sit here among the elms mixed with hazels? (*Ecl.* 5.1-3)

The two end up settling on a different location, though, when they come upon a cave (5.19). The poem takes great care in elaborating one potential locale for a bucolic performance and then specifying a different one. Passages like these not only situate the bucolic songs that the *Eclogues* frame and represent, but also imply that this specification of setting is important. They crucially link song to the particular place of its performance, and that place's environmental features.[227]

Eclogue 3 places the song exchange of its characters more specifically in both spatial and temporal terms:

> dicite, quandoquidem in molli consedimus herba,
> et nunc omnis ager, nunc omnis parturit arbos,
> frondent silvae, nunc formosissimus annus.
> incipe, Damoeta; tu deinde sequere, Menalca.
> alternis dicetis; amant alterna Camenae.
>
> Sing, since we're sitting together in the soft grass,
> and now every field, now every tree is blooming,
> the woods have their leaves; now is when the year is most lovely.
> Begin, Damoetas; you then follow, Menalcas.

[226] As noted by Davis (2012) 56 and Saunders (2008) 73. In addition to the examples examined here, see *Ecl.* 2.3-5 and 7.1-13.

[227] Cf . Saunders (2008) 73: "this practice of associating songs with specific settings . . . suggests a more thoroughgoing correlation between the contours of any given song and the contours of the environment within which it is sung."

Sing in turn; the Muses love alternating songs. (*Ecl.* 3.55-9)

Elsewhere, Vergil goes further in actually integrating bucolic song into environmental processes and temporal rhythms. Numerous *Eclogues* end with the onset of evening, thus aligning the waning of song with the waning of daylight.[228] And in *Eclogue* 3 herdsmen's abundant songs are compared to streams that nourish the fields. Palaemon ends the poem by telling the singers Damoetas and Menalcas, *claudite iam rivos, pueri; sat prata biberunt* ("stop your streams now, boys; the meadows have drunk enough," 3.111).

The connection between bucolic music and particular locales of performance is also evident in the implications, in *Eclogues* 1 and 9, that in abandoning their familiar environments Meliboeus and Moeris will cease to sing.[229] Clearly, song and environment have an intimate and important relationship in these poems. In Putnam's words, "shepherd and land are indivisible and song is a product of the union."[230] But how or in what sense does song emerge from this union? Beyond seeing the environments of the *Eclogues* as the mere setting for song or locus for poetic inspiration, the relationship between song and environment in these poems has often been seen as essentially symbolic: the landscape stands for pastoral poetry.[231] This is certainly the case at the beginning of *Eclogue* 6: *prima Syracosio dignata est ludere versu | nostra neque erubuit silvas habitare Thalea* ("our Thalea first deigned to play in Syracusan verse, and did not blush to live amid the woods," 6.1-2). Here to live in the woods is to engage in the composition of the poetry of the woods, a reading aided by the fact that the noun *silvae*

[228] See *Ecl.* 1.82-3, 2.66-7, 6.82-6, and 10.77.
[229] See *Ecl.* 1.77 and 9.51-5.
[230] Putnam (1970) 302.
[231] For examples of the former readings, see Leclerq (1996) 425 and 428, who notes that poetic inspiration takes place "in nature" because that is where the haunts of the muses are, and Deremetz (1995) 296.

can also refer to written material. Similarly, to take just one more example, when the final poem of the collection ends with the speaker leaving his place of song, his *surgamus* ("let's rise," 10.75), announces also Vergil's departure from the lowly pastoral genre.

But it is possible to go too far in generalizing from these moments of place symbolizing poetry. Timothy Saunders, for example, argues for a pervasive "equation between poetry and place" in the *Eclogues,* which "[cast] themselves and other texts from the literary tradition as heavenly bodies, geographical places, natural spaces and topographical features," such that Vergil's poetry "discerns in the cosmos a kind of celestial map of the literary tradition."[232] While spatial and topographical distinctions are often associated with distinctions of genre or kinds of poetry,[233] this approach obscures the fact that place also matters in these poems *qua* place. Indeed, we saw in the previous chapter that the local environments among which the characters of Vergil's poems make their lives matter in a variety of ways because they are represented as actual places, not just symbols. Saunders' approach would elide the distinction between the imagined spaces of poetry and the actual spaces of physical environment that is so crucial to, for example, *Eclogue* 9.

Specific environments in the *Eclogues* are not just "the setting and inspiration for song,"[234] but neither are they merely symbols of that song. Rather, the environment is crucial to herdsmen's songs because it actually participates in bucolic performances through various forms of environmental sound. The environments that surround pastoral

[232] Saunders (2008) 101, 4, and 30, respectively. He suggests a similar approach in Saunders (2006) 6-7.
[233] Worman (2015) examines spatial and topographical metaphors of genre in Greek literature and criticism.
[234] Putnam (1970) 392.

singers produce sounds and are both receptive and responsive to human sound. Echo, after all, has long been recognized as a distinctive and crucial feature of Vergil's bucolic world.[235] As we will soon examine, Vergil builds on and revises key passages of Lucretius in order to fashion a resonant bucolic world of echoing voices. The collection's opening lines are programmatic as the reclining Tityrus makes the woods resound with the name of his beloved Amaryllis (*Ecl.* 1.4-5).

Often the line between echo and a figure of pastoral sympathy is unclear, and this leaves the agency of the resounding environment also ambiguous. In *Eclogue* 1, for example, Meliboeus tells Tityrus that while he was in Rome he was dearly missed:

> mirabar quid maesta deos, Amarylli, vocares,
> cui pendere sua patereris in arbore poma;
> Tityrus hinc aberat. Ipsae te, Tityre, pinus,
> ipsi te fontes, ipsa haec arbusta vocabant.
>
> I wondered, Amaryllis, why you were calling in sadness
> on the gods, for whom you left the apples hanging in their tree;
> Tityrus was gone. The very pine trees, Tityrus, called for you,
> the very springs and the orchards themselves called out for you. (*Ecl.* 1.36-9)

I have already mentioned these lines as an example of pastoral sympathy, but they could also simply refer to an echo, as trees and springs reverberate with the voice of Amaryllis. The repetition of *Tityrus* . . . *Tityre* perhaps suggests such echoing, though the emphatic *ipsi* . . . *ipsa* grants the voice to the fountains and trees themselves.[236] Similarly, in *Eclogue* 10, a whole environment mourns for Gallus:

> illum etiam lauri, etiam flevere myricae,

[235] See, for example, Desport (1941), expanded in Desport (1952); Damon (1961) 281-90; Boyle (1977); Breed (2006) 74; and Paraskeviotis (2016). Fitzgerald (2016) suggests a turn from echo to resonance, in an attempt to emphasize "multidimensional resonance" over a "unidirectional flow" of sound.

[236] Clausen (1994) ad 1.39 and Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.38-9 read the lines as showing a sympathetic response from nature.

pinifer illum etiam sola sub rupe iacentem
Maenalus et gelidi fleverunt saxa Lycaei. 15

Him even the laurels, even the tamarisks cried over;
pine-covered Maenalus, as well, and the rocks of icy Lycaeus
cried over him as he lay beneath the deserted cliff. (*Ecl.* 10.13-5)

These lines seem to be a clearer example of sympathy, imagining the nonhuman world mourning for Gallus. But the specification of a pine-topped mountain and rocky crags may also suggest echo. Could this simply be an elaborate periphrasis for describing the mountain spaces as echoing with the voices of all who came to visit the dying Gallus, including animals, herdsmen, Pan, and Apollo (10.16-30)? In both these cases—and throughout the *Eclogues*—Vergil blurs the distinction between descriptions of echo and of a sympathetic nonhuman world.[237] This encourages readers to conceptualize echo as environmental sound that seems to come from somewhere other than a human subject and subtly suggests that there is a kind of experiential truth to descriptions of woods calling out with voices.

More generally, the environments of the *Eclogues* are also described as producing their own sound, whether with the buzzing of bees and cicadas, the singing of birds, or the rustling of wind through reeds and trees.[238] In fact, the Mantuan environment largely behind the fictional places of *Eclogues* 1 and 9 has an abundance of reeds due to the particular behavior of the Mincius River, and the area's marshy fields constitute an ideal habitat for swans, a paradigmatic symbol of beautiful singing.[239] In other words, the environment of these poems is literally productive of song—of the reeds herdsmen play

[237] See for example, in addition to these two passages, *Ecl.* 5.27-8 and 5.62-4.
[238] For example, see *Ecl.* 1.53-8, 2.12-13, 7.13, and 8.22-3.
[239] See Verg., *Ecl.* 1.47-48 with Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.48, *Ecl.* 9.27-9, and *G.* 2.198-9, as well as Jenkyns (1998) 147-8, discussed earlier in chapter one.

as instruments and of the tuneful birds to whom human singers are compared. At the beginning of *Eclogue* 7, Daphnis sits *sub arguta . . . ilice* ("beneath a clear-sounding ilex tree," 7.1), described with the same adjective that will, twenty-three lines later, describe a herdsman's pipes (*arguta . . . fistula*, 7.24). Both the tree and the musical instrument make a particular sound when air is blown through them, and the repeated adjective emphasizes the homology between breath through the pipes and wind through the trees. All it takes is a particular kind of listening—one marked by the choice of *argutus* to describe the tree—to discern that humans are only one producer of tuneful sound among others in the bucolic world.[240]

While Vergil's particular emphasis on the pastoral echo is largely an innovation, the presence of human song in the context of environmental sound does look back to his bucolic model Theocritus. In particular, it recalls the parallelism with which *Idyll* 1 opens, comparing a goatherd's song to the rustling of wind through a pine tree (*Id.* 1.1-3).[241] A similar comparison appears in the pseudo-Theocritean *Idyll* 9, mimicking the structure and language of Theocritus' first lines: ἁδὺ μὲν ἁ μόσχος γαρύεται, ἁδὺ δὲ χἁ βῶς, | ἁδὺ δὲ χἁ σῦριγξ χὠ βουκόλος, ἁδὺ δὲ κἠγών ("sweetly sings the calf, and sweetly sings the cow. Sweet is the song of the herdsman and his pipe, and sweet is my song, too," 9.7-8). Here we see an early reception of Theocritus picking up on the programmatic quality of *Idyll* 1's opening: the combination and comparison of human and nonhuman sound is distilled as something quintessentially bucolic, necessary for any imitation of Theocritus, as Vergil too would recognize.

---

[240] Saunders (2008) 80 notes this and other occasions when "topographical features share the same qualities as song."

[241] On the combination of human and nonhuman sound and song in these lines, see Gutzwiller (1991) 14-6 and 84-5; Alpers (1996) 23-4; and Baraz (2015) 94-5.

The abundance of nonhuman sound in the *Eclogues* also gestures toward Lucretius, as Vergil signals with a key allusion. The beginning of *Eclogue* 6 refers to Vergil's pursuit of pastoral poetry as practicing the *agrestis Musa*, the rustic muse (6.8), a phrase attested elsewhere in Latin literature only in Lucretius.[242] Lucretius uses the phrase in an account of how early humans learned to produce music and song:

> at liquidas avium voces imitarier ore
> ante fuit multo quam levia carmina cantu
> concelebrare homines possent aurisque iuvare.
> et Zephyri cava per calamorum sibila primum
> agrestis docuere cavas inflare cicutas.
> [. . .]
> saepe itaque inter se prostrati in gramine molli
> propter aquae rivom sub ramis arboris altae.
> non magnis opibus iucunde corpora habebant,
> praesertim cum tempestas ridebat et anni
> tempora pingebant viridantis floribus herbas.
> tum ioca, tum sermo, tum dulces esse cachinni
> consuerant; agrestis enim tum musa vigebat.
> [. . .]
> et vigilantibus hinc aderant solacia somno
> ducere multimodis voces et flectere cantus
> et supera calamos unco percurrere labro;
> unde etiam vigiles nunc haec accepta tuentur.
>
> But imitating the liquid voices of birds with the mouth
> happened long before men were able with singing to revel
> in amusing verses and to please their ears. And first
> the murmurings of the wind through the hollows of reeds
> taught rustic folk to blow through hollow stalks.
> [. . .]
> And so often laid out among each other on the soft grass
> by a stream of water, beneath the branches of a tall tree
> they pleased their bodies with no grand riches,
> especially when the weather was kind and the seasons
> of the year painted the greenish grasses with flowers. Then
> there were often jests, then was back-and-forth and pleasant laughter
> common; for the rustic muse was in her prime.
> [. . .]

[242] See Lipka (2001) 66-7. Tityrus in *Eclogue* 1 also refers with this key adjective to his rustic pipe (*calamo . . . agresti,* 1.10).

> And from this there was a solace for those who lay awake
> instead of sleep—to draw out various-sounding voices, to tune songs,
> and to run the reed-pipes under a curled lip. Whence even now
> those who stay awake preserve these traditions. (Lucr. 5.1379-1408)

The relevance of these lines to Vergil's imagination of a musical countryside is clear, both in the jovial images of herdsmen making music and in particular words here that will reappear in the *Eclogues*.[243] For Vergil, then, to write bucolic is not only to become a Roman Theocritus, but also to dramatize the very origins of song and poetry itself.[244] In particular, through Lucretius, Vergil points to nonhuman sounds as at the origin of human song in a deep historical, anthropological sense.[245]

Lucretius shows how human language and song emerge from and are a part of a wider network of sound-making animals and environments. Importantly, Lucretius also suggests that this historical truth is something one can still observe in the contemporary countryside (1408-11). This postulation provides the link between Lucretius' primitive man and Vergil's bucolic herdsmen. The pastoral singer's embedded performance returns human song to its origins: just as human song once emerged from a wider array of nonhuman sounds, each bucolic performance arises out of and takes its place in an environmental network of sound. The local places of performance that Vergil's poems take such effort to specify are not only settings for song, but in fact produce the sounds that prompt and generate human song in the first place.

While Vergil alludes in the *Eclogues* to Lucretius' account of humans learning song from the nonhuman world, some have actually seen Vergil as pointedly reversing

---

[243] See Hardie (1998) 10-12, Breed (2006) 97-8, and Jones (2011) 21-2.
[244] Similarly Berg (1974) 104, Deremetz (1995) 294-5, and Breed (2006) 98.
[245] This gives added force to traditional comparisons of singing to birdsong throughout the *Eclogues*. See *Ecl.* 7.70, with Harrison (1998); 8.55; and 9.35-6.

his Lucretian model through an emphasis on the environment echoing back the songs of human subjects, rather than humans repeating what they have heard from their environment. The collection's first description of echo is generally taken to be exemplary, as Meliboeus remarks on Tityrus' singing: *formosam resonare doces Amaryllida silvas* ("you teach the woods to echo *Amaryllis is beautiful*," 1.5). Philip Damon comments, "Vergil's swain *par excellence* is discovered not listening to nature's song but teaching nature to sing his."[246] Anthony Boyle goes further: "the natural landscape in which Tityrus realises his Muse acts—and this it never does in Theocritus—as a mere *cadre sonore* for his piping."[247] Tityrus' teaching, however, does not necessarily make the woods a passive echo chamber. Instruction implies sociality, and this line imagines trees as able to learn. The verb of teaching here could suggest a form of cooperation, perhaps even the image of leading a chorus.[248] Nonetheless, Brian Breed sees *doces* as an important reversal of Lucretius' *docuere*:

> if in the *De Rerum Natura* man makes music by imitating nature, the reverse is true in *Eclogue* 1: nature, the forest, is imitating Tityrus. Whereas Tityrus 'teaches' (*doces*, 5) the woods to echo 'Amaryllis', in Lucretius the winds 'teach' (docuere, 5.1383) men to play the pipes; they then gradually 'learn' (*didicere*, 1384) to play the *tibia*.[249]

---

[246] Damon (1961) 281. Similar statements are offered by Rosenmeyer (1969) 185-6; Wright (1983) 108; Berg (1974) 105; Schmidt (1987) 30, 32; Gutzwiller (1991) 85; and Baraz (2015) 96. Desport (1941) 279 sees echo as a sign of a poet's incantatory power over nature. Davis (2012) 19 compares Tityrus' ability to "teach" the woods to an Orphic ability to exercise control over the environment, though he also emphasizes the reciprocity of Vergil's descriptions of resonant echo.
[247] Boyle (1977) 121-2.
[248] One could compare the Greek χοροδιδάσκαλος. Indeed, *docere* can refer to rehearsing or producing a play on the stage, as at Cic., *Brut.* 73 and *Tusc.* 4.63. Horace uses the related *discere* to describe choruses learning their parts at *Epist.* 2.1.133.
[249] Breed (2006) 99.

However, it is possible to read the two intertexts here more together than against each other: Tityrus has the forest echo back his song, but that human song is itself a distant echo of nonhuman song heard long ago. The woods repeat back what the human has heard and repeated from the woods. Moreover, it is important to note again that the ability to be taught and to repeat what one hears is a form of agency. Vergil's language does not ask us to imagine echo as sound bouncing off of a passive surface, but as a process whereby the trees actively give back the sound they have been taught to repeat. Read this way, Vergil's first description of echo in the *Eclogues* does not vaunt human singer over sonorous environment, but rather establishes a kind of musical reciprocity. This general pattern of reciprocal sonic exchange captures the coexistence of human song with the variety of environmental sounds that fill the *Eclogues*.

The acoustic world of the *Eclogues*, then, is not simply filled with human voice, but with human and nonhuman sounds that resonate together and respond to each other. Sometimes this happens through sympathetic response from the nonhuman world, sometimes through echoing, and sometimes through environmental features and nonhuman beings simply making their own sounds. The more-than-human local environments of the *Eclogues* are, from an acoustic perspective, also assemblages of various beings sounding together. In the rest of this chapter, I argue further that these acoustic assemblages decenter the singing human subject in favor of resonant soundscapes, with important implications for how we understand both bucolic music within the fictional world of the *Eclogues* and Vergil's own written poetry.

Part 2: Bucolic Soundscapes and Vergil's Acoustic Ecopoetics

Echo, Resonance, and Bucolic Soundscapes

Vergil's *Eclogues* do not simply represent human singers performing in the context of a sonorous environment. The omnipresence of echo and environmental sound in the collection goes further and actually displaces human singers as the source of bucolic song. Ultimately, as I will argue, the *Eclogues* encourage us to think of bucolic song as the music of entire bucolic soundscapes, and to see Vergil's language as the product and carrier of more-than-human sound. In order to see this, we need to delve into the figure of echo more deeply, and examine how Vergil revises Lucretius' influential treatment of the phenomenon.

Along with the *Musa agrestis* of *Eclogue* 6, a significant Lucretian allusion also begins *Eclogue* 1. Here, Meliboeus refers to Tityrus' playing bucolic music as practicing the *Musa silvestris,* the sylvan muse (1.2). Just as with *Musa agrestis*, this phrase appears elsewhere in Latin literature only in Lucretius.[250] Lucretius' sylvan muse appears in a discussion of the phenomenon of echo:

> haec loca capripedes Satyros Nymphasque tenere
> finitimi fingunt et Faunos esse loquuntur,
> quorum noctivago strepitu ludoque iocanti
> adfirmant volgo taciturna silentia rumpi
> chordarumque sonos fieri dulcisque querellas,
> tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum,
> et genus agricolum late sentiscere, quom Pan
> pinea semiferi capitis velamina quassans
> unco saepe labro calamos percurrit hiantis,
> fistula silvestrem ne cesset fundere musam.
> cetera de genere hoc monstra ac portenta loquuntur,
> ne loca deserta ab divis quoque forte putentur

[250] See Lipka (2001) 66 and Desport (1941) 271 on this allusion. Boyle (1977) sees the *musa agrestis* and *musa silvestris* as two opposed models of poetry, but Breed (2006) 172 n. 9 argues persuasively for seeing the two as "more or less synonymous."

sola tenere. ideo iactant miracula dictis
aut aliqua ratione alia ducuntur, ut omne
humanum genus est avidum nimis auricularum.

Goat-footed satyrs and nymphs inhabit these places
in the imagination of locals, and they say that there are Fauns
by whose noise, when they wander at night, and by whose joking
and playing they assert that quiet silences are commonly broken.
And, they say, the sounds of string instruments are made,
and the sweet complaints that the pipe pours out when it's tapped
with the fingers of the ones who are singing. And the country folk
hear it all over, when Pan, shaking the pine-garment covering
his half-wild head, often runs the humming pipes beneath his curled lip,
so that the pipes do not cease to pour out the woodland Muse.
They say there are other strange creatures and portents of this sort,
so that they may not be thought to inhabit lonely places
left deserted even by the gods, as well. So they throw about miracles
in their tales, or various things are held by various rationales,
since all the human race is overly greedy for ears. (Lucr. 4.580-94)

The relevance of the Lucretian passage is immediately confirmed by the description of echo in Vergil's ensuing lines, and indeed this passage informs the prevalence of echo throughout the *Eclogues*.[251] A number of critics have emphasized that echo is both a distinctive and crucial feature of Vergil's pastoral poems, operating on numerous levels as the text describes and enacts the phenomenon.[252] Marie Desport sees Vergil's bucolic as fundamentally "une 'poesie à echo,'" while Philip Damon similarly asserts, "pastoral poetry is virtually defined throughout the *Eclogues* as a song sung to nature with the aim

[251] See Damon (1961) 285-8 on the importance of Lucretius' account of echo to the *Eclogues*.
[252] Rosenmeyer (1969) 148 and 237 and Breed (2006) 75 note that echo is not a feature of Theocritean bucolic. Breed (2006) 99 notes, "the dual status of echo as both a represented phenomenon of the fictional world and a metaphor for allusion or literary imitation." Boyle (1977) is interested in echoic song as a figure for a self-contained and bounded poetry walled off from the concerns of political life. Paraskeviotis (2016) surveys echo on multiple levels in the *Eclogues* as "physical phenomenon, literary metaphor and textual-echo effect," (46).

of awakening nature's echoic reply."[253] This in fact relates to a key difference between the bucolic environments of Theocritus and Vergil. As Clausen notes, in contrast to Theocritus' bucolic world, "Virgil's is heavily wooded; his Muse is sylvan . . . and sylvan his song."[254]

In the Lucretian explanation, echo shows merely the spreading of human voice. The point of the passage is that there is no environment abuzz with the voices of satyrs, nymphs, and fauns—only the dispersed voice of human subjects. In other authors, however, echo can obscure the source of voice—even without imagining the satyrs Lucretius scoffs at. We can see this in two fragments from Roman tragedy, which exemplify the approach to echo whereby Vergil reverses Lucretius. In Pacuvius' *Medus*, a messenger speech takes advantage of echo to paint a vivid mental image of a scene: *clamore et sonitu colles resonantes bount* ("with clamorous noise the echoing hills low," fr. 5 Ribbeck).[255] Here the lowing of *bount*—the sound proper to the *bos* (cow)—is ascribed not to any animal, but to the hills.[256] The combination of *clamor* and *sonitus* used to describe the sound (probably a hendiadys) gets at the peculiar status of the sound somewhere between the shouting of an articulate animal (*clamor*) and mere noise (*sonitus*).[257] Another tragic echo is found in a fragment of Accius' *Philoctetes*, no doubt exploiting the presence of echo in Sophocles' version of the tragedy (Soph., *Phil.* 1458-60). Accius' Philoctetes dwells, *in tecto umido* | *quod eiulatu questu gemitu fremitibus* |

---

[253] Desport (1941) 270; Damon (1961) 282.
[254] Clausen (1994) xxvi; similarly Desport (1941) 273 and Bonadeo (2003) 74.
[255] In Ribbeck (1897) 119.
[256] In fact, the reason Nonius quotes this line (and thus the reason we have it) is to mention that *bount* comes from *bos*. See Ribbeck (1897) 119.
[257] *Clamor* does not exclusively denote animal voice, but does primarily refer to human or animal voice, or human applause —see *TLL* III.0.1255.14-1256.82.

resonando mutum flebilis voces refert ("in a wet cavern, which, though mute, repeats my tearful calls, resounding with wailing, complaint, and moaning," fr. 11 Ribbeck).[258] Far from Lucretius' naïve rustic, Philoctetes here is under no illusion that his dwelling is anything other than mute, yet still affirms that it gives back voice. (Accius' verse, in turn, mimics the effect with its repetition of *-tu* sounds.) There is a phenomenological accuracy to describing echo as voice issuing from inanimate objects, even when one knows they have no voice of their own. This is the possible approach to echo that we glimpsed earlier with Vergil's trees calling out for Tityrus and mourning for Gallus, and this is the treatment of echo with which he counters Lucretius throughout the *Eclogues*.

As seen earlier in *Eclogue* 1 (1.36-9), echo can make it unclear whether a voice calling after Tityrus is coming from Amaryllis, or is imagined as uttered by personified trees and springs themselves. This inability to determine the voice's source emphasizes the dispersed presence of that voice throughout an environment. Something similar happens in *Eclogue* 2, when the lonely Corydon sings among the trees: *at mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustro, | sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis* ("but along with me, while I track your steps, the orchards resound with the hoarse cicadas beneath the blazing sun," 2.12-13). Corydon and the cicadas are both displaced as subjects here, and are put on equal footing: the trees resound with the voices of both animals.[259] Sound is coming from multiple places at once in these lines—from Corydon, from cicadas, and from the resonant trees—and it is not entirely clear which source of sound has priority. Corydon

[258] In Ribbeck (1897) 239.
[259] As Bonadeo (2003) 63 notes, Vergil mimics this echoing with <u>ar</u>*denti* . . . <u>ar</u>*busta* (13). The myth that cicadas are former humans, famously told in Plato's *Phaedrus* (Pl., *Phdr.* 259B-E) arguably also encourages us to consider their voices on the same level as Corydon's.

may echo the hoarse tones of the cicadas, or the cicadas may be imagined as sympathetically responding to Corydon's song. Perhaps Corydon's singing is prompted by the way the trees throw back the noise of the cicadas, or perhaps it is his echoing voice among the woods that moves the cicadas to make their own sound. By making *arbusta* the subject of *resonant* and moving both Corydon and the cicadas to rather vague ablative roles, Vergil makes any hierarchical distinctions of primacy difficult, even impossible, among the various and blending sounds of this scene.[260]

It is because of these effects that it may be better to speak of resonance, rather than echo, in the *Eclogues*. This is the suggestion of William Fitzgerald, who argues that this would better capture the "multidimensional resonance" of the sonic world of the *Eclogues*, instead of implying a "unidirectional flow" of sound.[261] A turn to resonance also emphasizes the environment within which sound reverberates. We can contrast this with Brian Breed's reading of echoes in the *Eclogues*, which also notes how the poems frustrate attempts to trace voices to any particular source. In his reading of *Eclogue* 6, Breed stresses, "an echo always presumes an origin in speech that is absent."[262] And à propos of *Eclogue* 1, he remarks that echo "is deceptive precisely because of the separation of words from their source in the past," and suggests that echo threatens "the connection of a voice to its personal source."[263] In contrast to this emphasis on absent sources, Fitzgerald's notion of resonance would have us notice the "auditory overload,"

---

[260] Fitzgerald (2016) elaborates on the different ways of construing *mecum* and *cicadis*, concluding "it is hard for a single ear to adopt all the aural perspectives these lines project."
[261] Fitzgerald (2016).
[262] Breed (2006) 88.
[263] Breed (2006) 100, 101.

of environmental sound that echo offers.[264] Breed is certainly right that echo displaces the sources of sound, but in a sense he does not go far enough. Vergil's use of echo and resonance encourages one to think not only about lost or irretrievable sources, but in fact to think without sources, to imagine a sourceless sound emanating from all over an environment. This is the ideal form of pastoral music, as embodied by the bucolic herdsman par excellence, Pan.[265] The music of Pan is fundamentally one that reverberates through an environment.[266] It is, after all, this uncanny sound that seems to come from all over and yet from nowhere at all that lies behind the "panic" of Pan's music.

Whether we want to refer to Vergil's sound effects as echo or resonance, they displace human singers as the source of bucolic music, in favor of a resonant environment. Furthermore, Vergil's focus on these sonic dynamics also decenters the human listener. Echo makes the nonhuman world not only productive of song, but also receptive to it: when Tityrus "teaches" the trees, they are imagined as listening. And in *Eclogue* 10, the speaker uses the figure of echo to assert that he is not singing without an audience: *non canimus surdis, respondent omnia silvae* ("we are not singing to deaf ears; the woods answer everything back," 10.9).[267] Indeed, when Lucretius' rustics imagine nymphs and satyrs, they are described as *avidum auricularum* ("eager for ears," 4.593)—they invent rural gods in part because they want to think they have an audience. As much

[264] Fitzgerald (2016).
[265] Vergil refers to Pan at *Ecl.* 2.31-3, 4.58-9, 5.59, 8.24, and 10.26. See Desport (1942) 275-8 on Pan as an archetypal poet of the pastoral echo. On the importance of Pan, mentioned prominently at Theoc., *Id.* 1.3 and 1.16, to the *Eclogues*, see Schmidt (2008) 44 (=Schmidt [1987] 252) and Jones (2011) 49-50.
[266] Already in the *Homeric Hymn to Pan*, his echoing music is emphasized. See Desport (1941) 277-8.
[267] See also *Ecl.* 2.5.

as echo and resonance imagine beings other than humans speaking and singing, they also imagine forms of nonhuman listening.

This is the case in *Eclogue* 8, when Damon elaborates on what he means by Maenalian song:

> Maenalus argutumque nemus pinusque loquentis
> semper habet, semper pastorum ille audit amores
> Panaque, qui primus calamos non passus inertis.
>
> Maenalus always has sonorous woods and speaking pines,
> always he hears the loves of shepherds and he hears Pan,
> who was the first not to allow the reeds to remain without art. (*Ecl.* 8.22-4)

The potential for echoic sound among the groves and woods of Mt. Maenalus leads to a description of the mountain "hearing" the love songs of shepherds and of Pan, because the possibility for sympathetic response from the environment is predicated on its ability to hear. At the beginning of this poem, a similar image of the nonhuman world listening to human song is elevated into an Orphic image:

> Pastorum Musam Damonis et Alphesiboei,
> immemor herbarum quos est mirata iuvenca
> certantis, quorum stupefactae carmine lynces,
> et mutatae suos requierunt flumina cursus,
> Damonis Musam dicemus et Alphesiboei. 5
>
> Let us sing the shepherds' Muse of Damon and Alphesiboeus,
> at whose competition the heifers marveled, forgetful of grass,
> by whose song the lynxes were stunned, and the rivers, altered,
> left their courses—let us sing the Muse of Damon and Alphesiboeus. (*Ecl.* 8.1-5)

On these lines, Clausen comments, "no singer in Theocritus possesses such Orphean power over the natural world."[268] But it is worth being more specific about what is supernatural here, for nonhuman animals can hear human song. The description begins, in fact, with a plausible image of a cow reacting to the noise of humans. *Mirata* arguably

[268] Clausen (1994) ad 8.2-4.

humanizes the animal slightly, but it is also hard to argue that a cow cannot exhibit surprise. The following image of the more exotic lynxes then edges this toward Orphic territory, with the stronger adjective *stupefactae*. Finally, the rivers whose courses are changed by the herdsmen's singing move fully into the realm of poetic imagination. We do eventually arrive at an image of "Orphean power" in these lines, but only as an extension of the kinds of nonhuman listening that really do occur in the world.

In fact, the scattered references to Orpheus throughout the *Eclogues* can be read in just this way: as an extension of nonhuman listening beyond the sphere of intelligent animals.[269] Such references function as a way of thinking about a whole environment as in some sense receiving sound, vibrating and resonating with music. Orpheus capturing the attention of trees with his singing (*Ecl.* 3.46) or Mt. Maenalus listening to shepherd songs may seem like sheer mythic fantasy, but in fact they are not far from visions of the world found in philosophical accounts of sound in Aristotle and Lucretius. Both philosophers suggest that sound moves through the air all around us, in excess of what we can perceive. In the *De Anima*, Aristotle notes that echo is likely always happening, but we are only sometimes aware of it.[270] Similarly, Lucretius' materialist explanation of sense perception suggests that sounds (just like odors and visual simulacra) are constantly flying around us (Lucr. 4.221), only partially perceived. And his discussion of vocal

[269] There are references to Orpheus and Orphic effects of song at *Eclogues* 3.44-46, 4.55-57, 6.27-30, 6.69-71, 8.1-5, and 8.52-56. Desport (1952) sees a general Orphic pattern throughout Vergil's works of poetry as possessing an incantatory power over nature, shown in part through the echoic response it awakens in the environment and at 136-47 surveys references to Orpheus in the *Eclogues*. Kania (2012) shows that a plurality of characters can momentarily approach the status of Orphic singer in the *Eclogues*, but notes the lack of a single, master Orphic singer in the in the collection.

[270] Arist., *De an.* 2.419b 29-30. On Aristotle's account of echo, see Bonadeo (2003) 19-29.

production discusses how in speaking aloud one person's voice multiplies itself into many voices, only some of them reaching ears, with many others dispersed through the air, bouncing off of solid surfaces as echoes, or filling enclosed places with sound (*DRN* 4.563-71, 4.607-8).[271]

It is a small step of poetic imagination to go from Lucretius' wasted voices falling on deaf surfaces to the thought of whole environments "hearing" human song. There is an entire world of sounds and voices bouncing off surfaces and pervading environments that we only hear part of. And it is this surplus of sound in the bucolic world that Orphic references and images of nonhuman listening figure. They gesture toward a body of sound we cannot hear, but which philosophers can postulate and poets can imagine. The resonant environments of the *Eclogues* contain more song than any human listener alone can hear—indeed, just as the bucolic singer is one of many producers of sound in these poems, the human ear becomes just one reverberating object among others.

This is the overwhelming world of environmental sound that the *Eclogues* imagine, sound of which humans are neither the privileged source nor the primary target. Bucolic song arises from an entire environment and is not so much to be fully grasped by any individual listener as imagined pervading a whole environment. As much as local places matter to the characters within the *Eclogues*, they are thus also crucial to the very constitution of bucolic song, which owes its particularities to the features of particular environments. In summing up this idea of environmental sound, the term soundscape is

[271] On Lucretius' account of vocal production and the splitting of voices, see Holmes (2005) 541-6. And see Bonadeo (2003) 30-7 on Lucretius' understanding of echo.

useful, denoting the totality of sounds within an environment.[272] Vergil's *Eclogues* are best understood as the representation not of herdsmen's songs but of entire bucolic soundscapes.

The singing human subject is decentered by Vergil's emphasis on echo, resonance, and environmental sound. Still, human singers remain important. Musically expert herdsmen are crucial to the world of song contests and musical lineages that the *Eclogues* represent.[273] However, their human voices are only part of bucolic soundscapes. From the perspective of the characters within Vergil's poems, surrounding environmental noises are in response to human song, or are the context out of which song arises. But from the perspective of a reader, human and nonhuman sounds are equally parts of the acoustic environments that the *Eclogues* construct. The prevalence of amoebean song exchange in pastoral already offers a model whereby one singer's words are only part of a larger poetic whole. The resonant environments in which bucolic singers perform, I suggest, mean that all human songs in the *Eclogues* are similarly just one part of an immersive, environmental sonic performance.[274] There are certainly masterful human singers in the *Eclogues*, but what it means to be such a bucolic musician is to activate and participate in a more-than-human music, which the *Eclogues* take care to represent in its entirety.

---

[272] Popularized by R. Murray Schafer, the soundscape has become a key term and concept in the field of sound studies and beyond, even as it has been used and understood in widely varying ways. Schafer ([1977] 1993) 7 broadly defines a soundscape as "any acoustic field of study" and uses the term to refer to an "acoustic environment."
[273] See e.g. *Ecl.* 2.31-9, 3.21-31, 6.64-73, 7.69-70, and 9.66-7.
[274] Karakasis (2011) treats song exchange in Roman pastoral at length. Desport (1941) 274 suggests that in the *Eclogues* even solitary song becomes amoebean song, due to the echoic response of nature and explores this further at Desport (1952) 39-55. Damon (1961) 281 also refers to "a kind of amoeban song between man and nature," in the *Eclogues*. As I have emphasized, it is not just echo, but also other forms of environmental sound, too, that respond to human song.

Writing Song, Recording Sound

One of the central complexities of the *Eclogues* is that they present themselves as a collection both of oral songs and of written poems.[275] Up to this point, I have emphasized the agency and importance of the nonhuman world in contributing to the soundscapes imagined within the fictional world of the poems. But Vergil's sonically dense poetry does not only point to acoustic phenomena within its represented world. It also creates and transmits sound with its own language. Vergil practices an acoustic ecopoetics in the *Eclogues*, manipulating and deploying his language to transmit and recreate nonhuman sound. These poems represent bucolic music as environmentally embedded, but also reveal the ability of poetic language to recreate and transmit local soundscapes beyond their locality.

Bucolic soundscapes—not just the words of human song—comprise the sonic texture of Vergil's own language. Consider these lines from *Eclogue* 1, seen earlier:

> hinc tibi, quae semper, vicino ab limite saepes
> Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti
> saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro;
> alta sub rupe canet frondator ad auras,
> nec tamen interea raucae, tua cura, palumbes
> nec gemere aëria cessabit turtur ab ulmo.
>
> From here, as always, the hedge by your neighbor's
> border line will urge you to sleep with a gentle hum,
> Hyblaean bees feeding on its willow flower.
> Beneath a lofty cliff the reaper will sing to the breeze,
> and meanwhile neither the hoarse wood pigeons, your delight,
> will stop their sighing, nor will the turtle-doves high in the elm. (*Ecl.* 1.53-8)

[275] Breed (2006) analyzes at length the complex tensions between written poetry and oral song in the *Eclogues*.

Human and nonhuman sounds merge and blend here, as Vergil creates a miniature soundscape of birdsong, human voice, and the murmuring of bees reverberating through a hedge. But more than this, Vergil imitates the nonhuman sounds of this scene with his own words: the lines begin with an abundance of sibilants that climax in line 55, where the distribution of the buzzing s-sounds throughout the line even mimics the pervasive quality of bees sounding all throughout the hedge. And following this, both the onomatopoetic *turtur* and the similar sounding *tua cura* imitate the birdsong their lines describe. As this passage exemplifies, while Vergil's *Eclogues* often give us the words of herdsmen's songs, they also go to great lengths to render the nonhuman sounds of bucolic soundscapes, as well.

Far from examples of mere ornamental sound effects, moments like these show that the constituent parts of Vergil's poetry include both human utterance and nonhuman sound. Effects like assonance, consonance, and onomatopoeia do not simply refer to environmental sound, but make it present to a reader's ears. Indeed, while Vergil stresses the resonant environments of bucolic performances, he is also interested in the possibility of transmitting this kind of immersive environmental performance beyond the boundaries of its locale. *Eclogue* 6 ends with echoing valleys spreading the song of Silenus up to the stars (6.84), while the dedication of *Eclogue* 8 to an addressee sailing past the Timavus River or Illyrican Sea means that the situated songs of Damon and Alphesiboeus will be heard by someone abroad and in transit (8.6-8). More fundamentally, this kind of transmission is what all of Vergil's poems do as pieces of writing. Making local soundscapes portable, they allow a reader who is *not* within a local bucolic place to imaginatively experience its acoustic environment.

This is comparable to what Shane Butler has termed the "phonographic claim" of ancient texts. Butler sees ancient literature as filled with sonic features that cannot be reduced to narrow linguistic aims, and reads these features as "symptoms of textual vocality."[276] On his account, literary texts seek not simply to communicate meaning, but to write voice.[277] Butler is particularly interested in the human voice, but we can extend his approach to the environmental sounds of the *Eclogues*: to the extent that texts can write the voice, they can also transcribe a soundscape. Indeed, there is reason to believe that Vergil would have been very sensitive to the sonic capabilities of poetry. At least one group of ancient readers stressed above all poetry's aural effects: for the Euphonists, a school of Hellenistic critics, "the desired effect of poetry was the pleasure of hearing beautiful sound."[278] Recent work has pointed to the influence of this school of thought on Theocritus' bucolic poetry—both in its programmatic statements of poetics and in its creation of a textual performance evoking oral shepherd song.[279] Moreover, aside from its general currency in the Hellenistic literature so important to Vergil, Euphonism is also among the approaches to poetry considered (if argued against) in the work of Vergil's philosophical instructor Philodemus.[280]

---

[276] Butler (2015) 17.
[277] Butler (2015) 13-4.
[278] Gutzwiller (2010) 347. On Euphonist theory see further Gutzwiller (2010) 346-54, Asmis (2004), and Porter (2010) 276-82.
[279] For the former see Gutzwiller (2010) 353-4; for the latter, see Kaloudis (2016).
[280] Indeed, Philodemus' rebuttal to Euphonism in his *On Poems* is our primary source for information on the theory. Janko (2000) provides an edition of *On Poems* 1, and Obbink (1995) offers a number of essays linking Philodemus' poetics to Roman poetry. On Vergil's familiarity with the teachings of Philodemus, see Farrell (2014) 88-90 and, for the varied influences of Philodemus on Vergil and other Augustan poets, see Armstrong, Fish, Johnston, and Skinner (2004).

When we turn to the *Eclogues*, we do indeed find a poetry rich in sounds not just described but recreated.[281] In the description of buzzing bees from *Eclogue* 1, the line *saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro* (1.55) serves to transmit the buzzing of bees as much as to deliver semantic content. Or consider the first line of the *Eclogues*: *Tityre tu patulae recubans sub tegmine fagi* ("Tityrus, you lying back underneath the shade of a beech tree ," 1.1). Tityrus is a name dense with associations: already the name of a character in Theocritus, it can also refer through etymological play to a kind of reed pipe, a satyr, and even a goat—all with programmatic potential for pastoral.[282] And yet, the most significant thing about *Tityre tu* may be its sound, as it mimics the music of Tityrus' piping.[283] *Tityre tu* sounds almost like pure sonic babble, alphabetic writing deployed to capture sound more than linguistic units of meaning.[284]

Moreover, what is particularly crucial here is that *Tityre tu* renders a music we cannot otherwise grasp. The *Eclogues* begin with Meliboeus commenting on a song that Vergil's poem does not represent, and so readers are immediately called upon to imagine what they were not present to hear. And yet, through Meliboeus' own song, we do get some access to Tityrus' performance. Through effects like the sounds of *Tityre tu* or the echoing of *Amaryllida silvas* (1.5), Meliboeus transmits some of Tityrus' song. At the very start of the *Eclogues*, then, we have an example of how a skillful singer can use language to transmit non-linguistic sounds from a prior bucolic performance. And this is

---

[281] Bonadeo (2003) 63 and Breed (2006) 89 and 171 n. 63 both point to Vergil's particular propensity for echoic effects. Schmidt (1987) 30-5 analyzes closely Vergil's complex play with sounds in the first five lines of the *Eclogues*.
[282] See Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 1.1 on the multiple meanings of Tityrus. See Cairns (1999) on the significance of *tityros* as a Doric word meaning "reed pipe."
[283] Line 4, with *tu, Tityre*, continues this sonic play, on which see Schmidt (1987) 31-3.
[284] In this Vergil is replicating the dense sonic effects at the start of Theocritus's first *Idyll*, also evocative of pipe music. See Schmidt (1987) 31-2.

just what Vergil's poetry continually aims to do. A reader of the *Eclogues* is not in the presence of a piping Tityrus, a singing Meliboeus, buzzing bees, or resounding woods. But Vergil can recreate these sounds for a reader through the medium of writing. One could say that Vergil's poetry *records* environmental sound, capitalizing on the textual and musical senses of the word. Of course, there are no actual pre-existing performances that Vergil's poems record and transmit. They are fictional constructions of the text. That text, though, represents itself as relaying and transmitting environmentally situated performances. The *Eclogues* are imagined records and transmissions of fictive bucolic soundscapes. To read a poem, aloud or in one's head, is to make the sounds its words tell you to make, to play the record.

If all this seems rather far from the domain of ancient poetry, it is worth defamiliarizing ourselves from the ubiquity and normality of reading and writing. As William Fitzgerald notes, in the *Eclogues* "the experience of reading is made strange, decomposed."[285] Throughout the *Eclogues*—a collection replete with tensions between orality and literacy—there are a number of images that figure the strangeness of writing song. One of these is a repeated motif of the containment of song within an instrument and this, I argue, captures the remarkable capacity of writing to record and recreate a musical performance. At the end of *Eclogue* 5, Menalcas gives his pipes to Mopsus as a gift. This instrument, he explains, has taught him two songs, which happen to correspond to *Eclogues* 2 and 3:

> hac te nos fragili donabimus ante cicuta;
> haec nos "formosum Corydon ardebat Alexin",
> haec eadem docuit "cuium pecus? an Meliboei?"

[285] Fitzgerald (2016)

> We will first present you with this delicate reed-pipe;
> this one taught us "Corydon burned with desire for lovely Alexis,"
> and this same one taught "Whose flock is that? Meliboeus'?" (*Ecl.* 5.85-7)

The instrument, not Menalcas (or any poetic mentor) is the source of Menalcas' poetry. And Menalcas now gives the instrument to a new owner, whom it may also teach these songs. Similarly, in *Eclogue* 3, Damoetas describes his instrument, not himself, as having earned the prize of a goat in a singing contest: *an mihi cantando victus non redderet ille,* | *quem mea carminibus meruisset fistula caprum?* ("or was it not that he, beaten in singing, gave back to me the goat that my pipe won with its songs?" 3.22). In the refrain of Damon's song in *Eclogue* 8, it is the flute (*fistula*) that is repeatedly asked to begin a song, playing "along with" its owner (*mecum*).[286] And *Eclogue* 2 describes a shepherd's pipes as having (*habet,* 38) a new player, rather than the player having the pipes.[287] Finally, in *Eclogue* 10, when hoping that Arcadians will sing of him, it is their instrument Gallus imagines as singing his love-songs: *o mihi tum quam molliter ossa quiescant* | *vestra meos olim si fistula dicat amores* ("Oh how softly my bones would then repose, if one day your pipes should sing my loves," 10.33-4).

It is possible to read these instances away as mere metonymy, but this is metonymy repeatedly deployed to imply something: the instruments of herdsmen are devices that can contain and transmit song. And like these pipes given from singer to singer, the handing over of written poems to a reader is the gift of an object that contains song, which may be learned and "played" by one who reads them. The handing down of pipes in the *Eclogues* has been read persuasively by Thomas Hubbard as a sign of poetic

[286] *Ecl.* 8.21, 25, 28a, 31, 36, 42, 46, 51, 57, and (with slight variation) 61.
[287] Relatedly, in *Eclogue* 6, Gallus' poetic succession of Hesiod is figured by the handing over of pipes with which Hesiod was so powerful a singer (6.69-73).

influence and literary filiation, but it may also be a way of conceptualizing the transmission and dissemination of written poetry books: the circulation of physical objects that contain song.[288] And what the poetry book of the *Eclogues* contains and transmits is a more-than-human music.

Listening to Silenus' Song: Performance and Transmission in *Eclogue* 6

Eclogue 6, in particular, is concerned with this ability of poetry to transmit or recreate an environmentally situated performance for readers, and a reading of the poem offers a way of tying together the above observations on environmental sounds, bucolic song, and Vergil's written poetry. The poem narrates the attempt of Chromis and Mnasyllus to capture Silenus and (with some difficulty) force from him the song they have longed to hear (6.13-19). With its numerous layers of framing and songs within songs, one of the enticing questions of this poem is whether we readers—who have only the internal narrator Tityrus' account of the event—can access this song, as well.

The fantastical song that Silenus sings is fundamentally linked to its locale of performance, as a description of its effects upon his surroundings emphasizes:

> tum vero in numerum Faunosque ferasque videres
> ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus;
> nec tantum Phoebo gaudet Parnasia rupes,
> nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea.

> Then indeed you would have seen Fauns and beasts playing in rhythm,
> then you would have seen strong oaks move their tops;
> neither does the Parnasian rock rejoice so much in Phoebus,
> nor do Rhodope and Ismarus marvel so at Orpheus. (*Ecl.* 6.27-30)

[288] For Hubbard's reading, tracing a pervasive anxiety of influence in pastoral, see Hubbard (1998) 45-139.

As suggested earlier, the Orphic effects of Silenus' song can be read as figuring a kind of nonhuman listening, such that Silenus' song is thought of as pervading and reverberating throughout his environment.[289] This aspect of Silenus' song is stressed again at the end of the poem, as the surrounding valleys resonate with his music: *ille canit, pulsae referunt ad sidera valles* ("he sings and the valleys struck by the sound echo it back to the stars," 6.84). The song that Chromis and Mnasyllus elicit from Silenus consists not merely of his powerful voice, but of an entire resonant soundscape. Moreover, Silenus' voice is that of a hybrid, shifting nonhuman being—his metamorphic voice alone arguably figures the more-than-human timbres of bucolic music. In more ways than one, Silenus' song creates a soundscape of multiple voices.

In addition, Silenus describes scenes of resonant environments within his own song. He tells, for example, the story of Hylas: *his adiungit, Hylan nautae quo fonte relictum | clamassent, ut litus 'Hyla, Hyla' omne sonaret* ("to these he adds at which spring the sailors shouted for Hylas, left behind, so that the whole shore resounded, 'Hyla, Hyla,'" 6.43-44). And in mentioning the Argive daughters of Proetus, driven mad by Hera such that they believe they are cows, Silenus describes how *Proetides implerunt falsis mugitibus agros* ("the Proetides filled the fields with false lowings," 6.48). Both of these descriptions emphasize the environmental resonance of a sound and, moreover, each one recreates this sound with its own words. In the latter, *mugitibus* is a clear onomatopoeia, and the placement of the syllable *mu-* at the end of a string of spondees,

[289] The Orphic comparison is reinforced by an intertextual relationship with Orpheus' song in book one of the *Argonautica*, on which see Clausen (1994) 176 and Breed (2006) 76-7. Breed (2006) 75-7 notes that Silenus' voice is described through its effects on his surroundings, rendering "phenomenal voice" and thereby "projecting voice as presence rather than as communicative act," (76). What Breed does not emphasize is that this approach to representing voice stresses its presence as dispersed environmental sound.

just before the fifth-foot dactyl speeds us to the end of the line, encourages a reader to draw out and linger on the sound. In the case of Hylas, the repetition of his name mimics an echo. In fact, with a clever trick of prosody, Vergil has "Hyla" scan two different ways in the same line: the first ends with a long syllable, and the second with a short.[290] Thus, the second "Hyla" fades away, capturing the weakening in repetition characteristic of echo.[291]

We may not be present to hear the sounds of the Proetides or of Hylas' comrades, or even Silenus' versions of them, but Vergil's words recreate these sounds for us. In the case of the Proetides, we are distanced from any original or "real" sound by multiple frames: within Vergil's poem, the speaker Tityrus tells of Silenus' singing of the women's imitation of cattle lowing. And yet, a sound still resonates at each of these narrative levels. Indeed, it is worth noting that *falsis mugitibus* ("false lowings") can be understood in a number of ways. The sounds are false, because they are not the true cries of actual cattle, but—with Lucretius in mind—an echo is quintessentially a *vox falsa,* and here *falsus mugitus* could conceivably refer to the echoes of the women's voices filling the fields. Then again, what is Vergil's onomatopoetic *mugitus* if not a "false" lowing? What the Proetides and those around them hear, what Silenus' audience hears, and even what Vergil's readers hear are all *falsi mugitus*. An imitative *mu-* is voiced at each layer of narrative framing.

Another moment when we seem to hear sound break through these layers is in Silenus' narration of the myth of Pasiphae. As Brian Breed shows, the poem begins with

---

[290] The "a" in the second "Hyla" is shortened due to hiatus. See Nisbet (2008) 58 on the scanning of the same word in two different ways within the same line as a Neoteric trick.
[291] Desport (1941) 278 notes that the echoing effect here is emphasized by "une prosodie exceptionelle." See also Bonadeo (2003) 70 and Breed (2006) 89.

Tityrus' account of Silenus' song, but then moves into what seem to be Silenus' own words (6.47-55), and finally into Pasiphae's own quoted speech (6.55-60).[292] Breed notes that here "Silenus' singing voice and the speaking voice of Pasiphae seem to escape or bypass the narratorial filter of Tityrus," but for him the fleeting presence of voice is a tease, a deceptive reality effect.[293] Any sense of direct encounter with the voice of Silenus is "a fiction that is inevitably exposed," and "the text of *Eclogue* 6 does not, and cannot, give us the voice and the sound of the song of Silenus."[294] However, if we do not seek in voice the signature of individual presence, we can notice that Vergil does make some of the sounds of Silenus' song present to his readers.[295] This is not to suggest that he overcomes the distance or absence of writing entirely, but what is remarkable about Vergil's poem is how present the sounds of absent characters and environments can become to us. Despite multiple layers of narrative framing and reperformance, Vergil's poem transmits the sounds of Silenus' performance through the words by which he records them.

At the end of *Eclogue* 6, Vergil adds one more complication to the frames of quotation and narration surrounding Silenus' song:

> omnia, quae Phoebo quondam meditante beatus
> audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros,
> ille canit, pulsae referunt ad sidera valles;
> cogere donec ovis stabulis numerumque referre
> iussit et invito processit Vesper Olympo.
>
> All the things that blessed Eurotas once heard when Phoebus
> was practicing and bid the laurels learn—all this he sang,

[292] Breed (2006) 83-4.
[293] Breed (2006) 85.
[294] Breed (2006) 81.
[295] By contrast, Kania (2016) 114 emphasizes "the unavailability of the music" of the *Eclogues* to readers, because they cannot hear the individual voices of Vergil's herdsmen.

and the valleys, stricken by the sound, echoed it to the stars,
until Vesper ordered the sheep back to the pens, bade them
to be counted, and went on his way through the unwilling heavens. (*Ecl.* 6.82-6)

Regardless of whether *omnia* here means that Silenus' entire song is what Apollo once sang or whether Apollo's song is merely one more topic of Silenus' song, these lines create a chain of musical transmissions figured by echo.[296] In Breed's words, "once upon a time Apollo sang to the river Eurotas, who passed the song along to the laurels (82-4). From some source the song reached Silenus and from him it echoed to the stars and Olympus (84-6)."[297] This string of echoing transmissions has as its ultimate destination *Eclogue* 6 itself, this very poem. The beginning of the poem emphasizes this crucial transition from oral repetition to written record, as it points unequivocally to its own textual status. After the poem's famous Callimachean *recusatio*, Vergil includes a dedication to Varus:

non iniussa cano. si quis tamen haec quoque, si quis
captus amore leget, te nostrae, Vare, myricae,
te nemus omne canet; nec Phoebo gratior ulla est
quam sibi quae Vari praescripsit pagina nomen.

I do not sing what hasn't been asked for. But if anyone
should read this, as well, overcome by desire, our tamarisks
and the whole grove, Varus, will sing of you; nor is any page more pleasing
to Phoebus than the one with Varus' name written atop it. (*Ecl.* 6.9-12)

The key words *leget* and *pagina* remind us that all of the echoing and resounding song to follow is contained within a written object.[298] For Breed this means, "the absence of text

[296] On the ambiguity caused by *omnia quae* see Clausen (1994) ad 6.82-4 and Cucchiarelli (2012) ad 6.82.
[297] Breed (2006) 90. Cf. Perret (1961) ad 6.82.
[298] Cf. Breed (2006) 91-2. While Breed's reading concludes with "the essentially dual status of the voices of Virgil's pastoral" (92) as oral and written, my point is that the written pages of *Eclogue* 6 further the echoic transmissions imagined within it.

has replaced the presence of voice."[299] But Vergil's poetry is a very particular kind of writing: because of the recurrent sonic effects of his language, his text is one that allows for future vocalizations of the sounds of Silenus' song, future readings that are also future listenings. This would seem to capture the coexistence and cooperation of writing and echoing, reading and hearing, in this dedication. The conditional statement in these lines succinctly specifies the link between acoustic environment and written record operative throughout the *Eclogues*: if the page is read, a grove will resound.[300]

Readers of *Eclogue* 6 are profoundly distanced from the strange sounds at the heart of Silenus' song, and yet even at this distance we can hear some of their echoes. Aligned with the internal audience of Chromis and Mnasyllus, we too get to hear some of the song of Silenus. *Eclogue* 6 shows sounds—human and otherwise—transmitted through multiple layers of performance, narration, and transcription. In this, it dramatizes in acute fashion what Vergil elsewhere attempts to do in the *Eclogues*: not simply represent, but in fact relay the resonant soundscapes of bucolic song. Vergil's written poetry book asks us to imagine these acoustic environments, but also—through poetic effects—transmits their sounds to a reader's ears. Given this collection's fundamentally double identity as both written poetry and oral song, it is perhaps no surprise that poetry has a complex relationship to place in the *Eclogues*. Bucolic song is constituted by and dependent upon its particular local environment, but it is also something Vergil's portable poetry book can provide.

---

[299] Breed (2006) 81.

[300] Lowrie (2009) 148-9 offers a sensitive reading of how orality and writing are intertwined in *Eclogue* 6, arguing that Vergil "recognizes reading's performative power," (148).

The *Eclogues* are poems rich in sounds described and enacted, and repay close attention to their dense sonic texture. Such a reading reveals that particular place is crucial to the songs performed by the herdsmen of the *Eclogues*: sonorous environments and resonant locales contribute to a sense of bucolic soundscapes embracing human and nonhuman sound alike. These soundscapes constitute the acoustic world the poems imagine, and also affect Vergil's own language. As writing, Vergil's poetry is the carrier of nonhuman sounds and human voice, as it attempts to make the more-than-human soundscapes of its imagined places audible to readers' ears. The nonhuman world is not simply something that Vergil's poems represent, but actually helps determine the language, sonic texture, and distinct character of his poetry. In this, the *Eclogues* are not simply poems about the nonhuman environment, but exemplify an environmental poetics or ecopoetics, as described by Scott Knickerbocker: Vergil's acoustic ecopoetics rematerializes language in response to the sounds of the nonhuman world.[301] The poetry arises out of and is shaped by the more-than-human world it also seeks to represent.

Conclusion

Instead of approaching the places of the *Eclogues* through the lens of nature or landscape, this chapter has read them as environments. The local places that the previous chapter showed to be so central to the *Eclogues* are networks and assemblages of human and nonhuman beings who together constitute particular localities. Vergil's *Eclogues* are not simply poems about herdsmen and their human concerns, but poems about bucolic environments in all their more-than-human complexity. As we saw earlier, Paul Alpers

[301] Knickerbocker (2012) 2 defines ecopoetics by the use of "'sensuous poesis,' the process of rematerializing language specifically as a response to nonhuman nature."

has argued pastoral is best understood as about "herdsmen and their lives, rather than landscape or idealized nature."[302] But it is arguably Alpers' entire framing of pastoral as about *either* human characters *or* landscape and nature that falls into the Romantic trap he wants to avoid. Human and nonhuman presences echo each other, live among one another, and resound together throughout the *Eclogues*, as their entanglements and interactions make up both the natural-cultural environments of Vergil's bucolic world and the more-than-human soundscapes that result.

These soundscapes, in turn, are imagined as partly determining the sonic texture of Vergil's own language, which he crafts and manipulates in order to evoke and transmit nonhuman sounds. The nonhuman world is thus a subject and interest of the *Eclogues*, and also something that helps shape the poetry itself. This provides us with our first model of environmental poetics in Augustan poetry, and also shows the potential of an environmentally oriented pastoral already in Vergil. Pastoral is not from its inception about nostalgia for a lost, idealized nature, though it is from its beginnings seriously interested in the nonhuman. From the stories it tells, to the sounds it makes and is made of, to the places it describes, this is poetry built around a world that is much more than human.

The nonhuman world is also at the center of Vergil's second major work, the *Georgics*. While the *Eclogues* imagine human herdsmen as part of more-than-human local communities, the *Georgics* uses the topic of farming to explore the human's enmeshment with the nonhuman more broadly, on varying scales from that of a local piece of land to the entire cosmos. In addition, in contrast to the pleasurable dwelling and

[302] Alpers (1996) 22.

resonant soundscapes of the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics* probes ecological relations through the many ways in which nonhumans are integral to humans' labor, production, and struggles for survival and prosperity. It is a poem with its own different way of approaching the complexities of living in more-than-human environments, which also complicates and questions the concept of locality valorized in the *Eclogues*. This particular treatment of local place and environment in Vergil's didactic poem is the subject of the following two chapters.

Chapter 3

Vergil's Ecological Poem

Introduction

As I argued in the previous chapter, the *Eclogues* conceives of local place as fundamentally more-than-human, and considers its human herdsmen as one part of more-than-human communities. Vergil's *Georgics* is also interested in the human's participation in a more-than-human world, though in its own way. The *Georgics* is a very different text from the *Eclogues,* with a different way of apprehending and representing the world. In the *Eclogues*, there is a sense that if a herdsman were simply allowed to live his life in his particular place, he could dwell pleasantly within his environment. In the *Georgics*, living as one being among others is fraught with much more difficulty. The poem takes as one of its key subjects the immense work required for humans to fashion a successful existence in their environment, and because of this treats the nonhuman world above all as a site of inquiry and an object of knowledge, in a way absent from the *Eclogues*. For all its trees, rivers, rocks, shrubs, and fields, the *Eclogues* does not contain a single instance of the word *natura*. The collection is simply not interested, as the *Georgics* is, in inquiring into the workings of the world, the particular natures of specific beings and species, or the organizing force or principle behind the totality and variety of the world.

By contrast, the term *natura* appears seven times in the *Georgics*, referring variously to the particular natures of specific animals, plants, and soils (*G.* 2.9, 2.47, 4.149); an organizing force or principle (*G.* 1.60, 2.20); and the totality of the world (*G.* 2.483). As this suggests, the difference in genre between the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*

reflects two different ways of approaching and imagining human existence alongside nonhuman beings. And while pastoral has been greatly important for environmental literary criticism, the georgic also offers a rich history and tradition of environmental poetry.[303] In this chapter, then, I explore the particular environmental thinking and poetics of Vergil's *Georgics*, interpreting it as an ecological poem.

One of the enduring problems in scholarship on the *Georgics* has been its status as a didactic text: does Vergil really seek to teach farming?[304] And why would he devote a massive poetic work to this topic? As the rather fanciful idea that the poem was meant to rouse Roman readers back to their farms after the civil wars has fallen out of favor, readers have typically accounted for Vergil's interest in the topic of farming by appealing to Roman ideals of the farmer and of country life.[305] The cultural importance and ideological weight of the figure of the farmer have been seen as key to the poem's interest in the humble details of soil types, plant classifications, and animal husbandry. This is linked to a larger tendency of anthropocentric reading, where the focus of the

---

[303] Fairer (2011) argues that ecocriticsm should address the comparatively neglected georgic tradition, a call seconded by Sayre (2016), who examines English translations of the *Georgics* but does not engage in full readings of Vergil's poem.

[304] Volk (2008) 6 expresses the "near-complete scholarly consensus that . . . the work is intended not to teach agriculture to farmers but rather to convey a larger message," and that "the poet purports to teach one thing but really wants to get across another." Ross (1987) 11-12 modifies this sort of approach by emphasizing that while Vergil "had no interest in teaching agriculture," he nonetheless "*is* interested in the practical details of agriculture," (emphasis original), and Nelson (1998) 91 similarly insists that farming is not a figure for anything in the poem, but rather a topic in which any "larger message" is immanent to farming itself. Spurr (1986) defends the position that the poem actually has an interest in accurate agricultural instruction. Kronenberg (2009) 22 with n. 82 offers a useful overview of how literally or figuratively scholars have taken the didactic intent of the poem.

[305] For example, Lyne (1974) 47, Miles (1980) 1-63, Ross (1987) 14-19 and 21-2, Reay (2003), and Thibodeau (2011). The figure of the farmer is also central to the reading of Perkell (1989).

poem is assumed to be human life. Putnam, for example, reads the *Georgics* as "manifestly teaching us how to deal with nature but in fact forming a handbook bent on showing us ourselves."[306]

In contrast to these interpretations, I wish to emphasize in my reading of the poem not the heroic farmer but the flourishing farm. The *Georgics* is interested in farming because the farm is an ideal place in which to consider the entangled lives of humans and nonhumans.[307] The farm is a space of ecological interaction, where all different forms of human and nonhuman life become what they are through and with each other, and where environmental features like soil, topography, weather, and climate help determine, foster, and curb life. The topic of agriculture allows the poem to show the myriad ways in which human life—in its failures and successes—is always necessarily lived out in relation with the nonhuman.

I begin this chapter by defining and contextualizing what I see as the ecological thinking of the *Georgics,* and by differentiating this from readings of the poem that shoehorn the relations of humans and nonhumans into binaries of nature and culture, or humans and nature. I then examine how each of the four books of the poem approaches its particular topics, stressing the human farmer's practices of managing ecological relations between beings with specific individual natures. In the second half of the chapter, I examine the particular status of the human within the ecologies of which it is a part. While much of Vergil's poem denies human exceptionality, the *Georgics* does recognize humanity's unparalleled ability to transform its environments. This tension

[306] Putnam (1979) 15. Similarly readings can be found in Parry (1972) 36, Lyne (1974) 47, Miles (1980) 62, and Boyle (1986) 37.
[307] Cf. Nappa (2005) 12.

between humans as one kind of being among many others and yet as distinct from all others finds crucial expression in book one's interest in weather signs. As that section of the poem reveals, the peculiar status of the human within a world of semiotic exchange underlies the didactic project of the poem. The *Georgics* relays the *signa* of the world and offers its readers the fantasy of an agricultural expertise that better connects them to the webs of ecological interaction that make up the world.

Part 1: Farming and Ecology in the *Georgics*

Vergil's Ecological Thought

It is common to understand the *Georgics* as fundamentally about, as Charles Segal puts it, "the relation between man and nature."[308] Some scholars have sought to gain insight into the *Georgics* by explaining exactly what *natura* means to Vergil in this poem, or to ancient Romans more generally.[309] But as we have just glimpsed, Vergil does not adhere to any one meaning of *natura*. He freely blends and combines the particular natures of Aristotle and Theophrastus, the use of Nature in Epicureanism and Stoicism, and the more general use of *natura* to refer to the totality of the cosmos.[310] In a sense, these interpretations gesture toward what I, too, see at the heart of this complex poem. However, they are often hindered by assumptions about nature and rigid binaries between

[308] Segal (1966) 307. See other, similar statements about the larger structure or theme of the *Georgics* at Otis (1963) 153; Klingner (1967) 227; Pigeaud (1977) 431; Putnam (1979) 7-8; Perkell (1989) 26-27 and 33-34; Nelson (1998) 87, 88, and 155, following Otis; and Nappa (2005) 12. In other readings, ideas of nature play a less explicit role but often surface without further examination of ideas of nature at play in the *Georgics*.
[309] For example: Wilkinson (1969) 152, Ross (1987) 21-23, and Nelson (1998) 90, 163.
[310] These are only some of the various senses of *natura.* For some of the varied philosophical understandings of *natura* available to Vergil, see Cic., *Nat. D.* 2.81. Vergil also capitalizes on the etymological force of *natura* as a coming into being or birth, on which see Ross (1987) 19.

humans and nature, or nature and culture, problems discussed in this dissertation's introduction. These frameworks can distort the poem and overlook Vergil's particular, contextualized interests in the nonhuman world. Throughout this chapter, I will note when unexamined concepts of nature and culture fail to capture the complexities and specificity of the *Georgics*, but it is worth briefly considering the major pitfalls of such approaches at the outset.

First, a rigid binary between humans and nature collapses important differences between various nonhuman beings, seeing them all as manifestations of "nature," rather than as particular beings, each with their own specific nature. It also risks reducing complex interactions between various humans and nonhumans into a farmer either working with nature or struggling against it.[311] This does little justice to, for example, beekeeping in book four, where the farmer must fight against the *meropes* (a bee-eating bird) while fostering the growth of grasses and flowers (by keeping cattle, sheep, and goats away), in order to let the complex nonhuman society of bees thrive (*G.* 4.8-24). Second, invocations of nature often assume a form of cosmic holism—nature as a perfect unity into which humans do or do not fit—which is far from a given in the poem.[312] In fact, one of the things that Vergil's blending and juggling of Epicureanism, Stoicism, and Hesiodic theology puts into question is precisely whether and how our world of

[311] See Lyne (1974) 48; Betensky (1979); Putnam (1979) 14; Ross (1987) 83; Boyle (1986) 48; Thomas (1988a) ad 2.279-83; Perkell (1989) 34, 45; Nelson (1998) 87; and Gale (2000) 252-9.
[312] For example: Nelson (1998) 154 and 163; and Nappa (2005) 47, 73, and 220.

bewildering complexity and diversity coheres, whether there is a god or a universal force called *Natura* that determines how everything fits and functions together.[313]

Finally, thinking of nature as a pristine realm untouched by humans can lead one to see human engagement with the nonhuman world as a tragic transgression onto nature. Vergil is interested in how humans intervene in and powerfully alter the nonhuman world, as we will see throughout this chapter. However, the poem does not reveal "a spiritual loss associated with the transformation and distortion of *natura*."[314] In fact, the *Georgics* shows that to live is necessarily to live with, to affect and alter (as well as be altered by) one's environment. Specific interactions can be productive or destructive, cooperative or antagonistic—but are not categorically a violation of Nature, as the poem does not oppose a concept of Nature as untouched wilderness to an idea of culture that is the unique purview of the human. Human life simply cannot be other than entwined with other life, in webs of relations with a variety of beings, all of whom shape and transform each other's lives. The *Georgics* teaches agriculture as a practice of working with and within these webs, and thereby reveals human life, endeavors, and achievements as always carried out in multispecies and more-than-human relationships. It is Vergil's poem of ecology.

Ecology has been a central concept for environmentalism and ecocriticism. Early ecocritics were eager to apply insights from ecology to readings of texts, and to see literary texts as exemplifying or embodying ecological principles—often relying, though,

[313] On Vergil's blending of these three cosmic systems, see Gale (2000), esp. 15, 58, 66-7, 111-2, and 270.
[314] Thomas (1988a) ad 2.61-2.

on dubious assumptions about the harmony or balance of natural ecosystems.[315] More recently, Timothy Morton has theorized the ecological thought, the thought that "existence is always coexistence."[316] For Morton, the ecological thought stresses interconnectedness such that "nothing exists all by itself, and so nothing is fully 'itself.'"[317] All things together make up what Morton refers to as the mesh—short, as he puts it, for "the interconnected-ness of all living and non-living things."[318] A variety of other contemporary thinkers, while not using the terminology of ecology, have also stressed relationality over bounded individualism.[319] Donna Haraway, for example, explores how "we are in a knot of species coshaping one another in layers of reciprocating complexity," while Anna Tsing summarizes, "human nature is an interspecies relationship."[320] The *Georgics* shows a similar interest in the mesh of relations between humans, nonhumans, and their environments, in how humans and

---

[315] See, for example, Rueckert ([1978] 1996), Love (1990) 206, Kroeber (1994), and Evernden (1996). This work builds on earlier (proto-)environmentalist articulations of connectedness, as in Muir ([1911] 1997) 211: "when we try to pick out anything by itself, we find it hitched to everything else in the universe." Phillips (2003) 42-82 surveys the importance of concepts of ecology to early ecocriticism, while critiquing ecocritics' reliance on simplistic ideas of balanced ecologies.

[316] Morton (2010) 4.

[317] Morton (2010) 15.

[318] Morton (2010) 28. Evernden (1996) 93 similarly argues that ecology leads to the realization that "there are no discrete entities," and that "there is no such thing as an individual, only an individual-in-context," (103). See also Bryant (2013) 302-4, who qualifies ecology's insistence on relations by emphasizing that interconnectedness is not guaranteed and urges ecological thinkers to attend to the precarity of relations.

[319] See, e.g., Barad (2007), Haraway (2008), Alaimo (2010), and Tsing (2012).

[320] Haraway (2008) 19, 42 (and see also Haraway [2016] 12-13); Tsing (2012) 144. Nye and Emmett (2017) 14 usefully synthesize and summarize as follows: "rather than see history solely in human terms, we should include other life forms, seeing them as entangled with humanity. In trajectories of co-evolution, human beings have emerged alongside *companion species*. . . . Philosophers and anthropologists write of human and animal *co-becoming*, whether the animals in question are wild species we have struggled to preserve or domesticated cats, dogs, horses, cows, and birds."

nonhumans shape each other and become together, and in how, ultimately, human life cannot be considered apart from the ecological webs in which it is embedded.

To find this ecological thinking in the *Georgics* is not to retroject modern ecology or contemporary theory onto Vergil. The concept of ecology has a lengthy history, which some have even traced back to ancient natural history, Aristotelian biological inquiry, and Hippocratic texts.[321] My aim is not to collapse wildly different ways of approaching and making sense of the world or to enlist ancient texts into a narrative of progress marching toward modern science, but I do want to suggest that there have long been various forms of thinking ecologically—that is, attending to the constitutive relatedness of life. Ancient ethnographic, medical, and biological works do attend to relationships between particular species, between organisms and habitats, and between humans and their environments. Drawing on these and other ancient models, Vergil creates a form of ecological poetry.

In particular, the Stoic concept of the sympathetic cosmos stands behind Vergil as a major and influential model of an interconnected world. The Stoic concept of sympathy builds on observations of relatedness between discrete beings and phenomena in the world—between, for example, the tides and the moon, or all of the flowers that bloom at the same particular time of year (see e.g. Cic., *Nat. D.* 2.19 and *Div.* 2.33-4)—and

[321] Egerton (2012) finds proto-ecological roots in ancient Greek and Roman texts, though he constructs an overly Whiggish history of ecology. Ernst Haeckel coined the term "oecologie" in 1866 (see e.g. Hunt and Marlow [2019] 5), but already decades earlier Alexander von Humboldt desecribed in the world a "chain of connection, by which all natural forces are linked together, and made mutually dependent upon each other," (Humboldt [1849-58] 1). On Humboldt in the context of a move in biology toward concern with "the interdependence of organisms with one another and their inorganic environment," see Rigby (2004b) 32-3. Humboldt himself traces the idea of an interconnected cosmos back to antiquity, on which see Schliephake (2016a) 5-6. Schliephake (2016a) 9 notes that while the term ecology is modern, "ancient civilizations nonetheless developed ideas that could well be referred to as ecological." Bearzot (2017) 51 and Hunt and Marlow (2019) 2 make similar observations.

reinforces the idea that the cosmos is structured by a divine Nature. It is how Stoics conceptualize a variegated universe of separate individual beings that is nonetheless unified and interconnected.[322] Vergil considers ideas similar to Stoic sympathy twice in the poem (1.415-23; 4.219-27), and both times does not assent to them.[323] Nonetheless, Stoicism offers for Vergil a powerful model of a world of relations, relevant especially to his discussion of predictive weather signs. He shares an interest in the way seemingly discrete beings and phenomena work together, even if he is not willing to leap from individual connections to an overarching principle of *sympatheia*.

Vergil also finds a form of ecological thinking in the tradition of agricultural writing extending back to Hesiod. Indeed, one of the claims of this chapter is that agricultural writing represents a major tradition of ecological thinking in the ancient world, of which Vergil's *Georgics* is a particularly complex example. Already in Hesiod's *Works and Days*, the world is a web of relations, of individual species and subjects co-shaping each other's lives. So much is implicit in the connections that Hesiod's instructions draw between seemingly unrelated phenomena:

> ἦμος δὴ λήγει μένος ὀξέος ἠελίοιο
> καύματος εἰδαλίμου, μετοπωρινὸν ὀμβρήσαντος
> Ζηνὸς ἐρισθενέος, μετὰ δὲ τρέπεται βρότεος χρὼς
> πολλὸν ἐλαφρότερος· δὴ γὰρ τότε Σείριος ἀστὴρ
> βαιὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς κηριτρεφέων ἀνθρώπων
> ἔρχεται ἠμάτιος, πλεῖον δέ τε νυκτὸς ἐπαυρεῖ·
> τῆμος ἀδηκτοτάτη πέλεται τμηθεῖσα σιδήρῳ
> ὕλη, φύλλα δ᾽ ἔραζε χέει πτόρθοιό τε λήγει·
> τῆμος ἄρ᾽ ὑλοτομεῖν μεμνημένος, ὥριον ἔργον.
>
> When the strength of the sharp sun ceases
> from its sweat-causing heat, and Zeus brings autumn rain,
> and the flesh of man is made lighter; for at that time

[322] See Laurand (2005).
[323] See Gale (2000) 77-78 and 84-86.

the star Sirius makes its way over the heads of men
bred for misery less by day, and takes more of night:
then the wood cut with the iron is least eaten by worms,
and it has poured its leaves to the ground and stops sprouting.
At that time remember to cut timber, a seasonable task. (*WD* 414-22)

εὖτ᾽ ἂν δ᾽ Ὠρίων καὶ Σείριος ἐς μέσον ἔλθῃ
οὐρανόν, Ἀρκτοῦρον δ᾽ ἐσίδῃ ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς,
ὦ Πέρση, τότε πάντας ἀπόδρεπε οἴκαδε βότρυς·

When Orion and Sirius come into the middle of the sky,
and rose-fingered Eos looks upon Arcturus, Perses,
at that time pluck all the grapes, and take them home. (*WD* 609-11)

The ripeness of a grape between one's fingers is somehow linked to the movement of celestial bodies, while the strength and position of the sun affects the behavior of worms, the quality of wood, and thus the timing of human work. The very concept of a poem on works and days is made possible by this kind of cosmic relatedness, the implicit assumption that the activities of humans are (or can be) linked to the movements of the seasons and the stars. Each individual life is connected to other life in the order that Hesiod's Zeus guarantees.[324] Not yet grist for Stoic mills, these observations don't necessarily imply anything like a sympathetic cosmos or an overarching idea of Nature, but they do ground human life in a world that is made up of discrete and different beings nonetheless becoming together, working and living in and through relation.

A form of ecological thinking is also present in Roman prose agricultural treatises. Here, the focus is not so much on the difficult-to-explain relationships that lead Stoics to posit *sympatheia*, but rather on the everyday connections between beings interacting on a

[324] As Nelson (1998) 129 summarizes, "the cosmos, for Hesiod, is an interrelated order." Nelson, however, underreads the difficulty of fitting into this order for Hesiod's mankind, and also tends to couch the idea in a terminology of nature that is alien to Hesiod's poem. See e.g. Nelson (1998) 98.

farm. Cato the Elder, in his treatise *De Agri Cultura*, advises his reader to evaluate the whole local ecology of a potential farm site:

> vicini quo pacto niteant, id animum advertito: in bona regione bene nitere oportebit. Et uti eo introeas et circumspicias, uti inde exire possis. uti bonum caelum habeat, ne calamitosum siet, solo bono, sua virtute valeat. si poteris, sub radice montis siet, in meridiem spectet, loco salubri, operariorum copia siet, bonumque aquarium, oppidum validum prope siet aut mare aut amnis, qua naves ambulant, aut via bona celebrisque. siet in his agris, qui non saepe dominos mutant: qui in his agris praedia vendiderint, eos pigeat vendidisse. uti bene aedificatum siet.
>
> Direct your mind to how the neighbors are faring: in a good area they ought to be faring well. And go into the area and look around, so you can find your way back out. It should have a good sky, so that it is not stormy, and it should be flourishing of its own strength, with good soil. If you are able, it should be beneath the base of a mountain, and should look toward the south; it should be in a fertile location, and there should be an abundance of laborers, and a good source of water. There should be a well-off town nearby, or the sea or a river, by which ships travel, or a good, frequented road. Among these fields should be those that do not often change their masters. Those who have sold their estates in these fields should be irked to have sold. There should be good buildings. (*Agr.* 1.2-4)

Cato's farmer must take note of the land's climate, topography, soil, orientation toward the sun, and position relative to environmental features like mountains and bodies of water. But much more than this, he must also look to the land's neighbors, its buildings, and the proximity of the farm to a supply of laborers, to roads, and to towns. The constituitive relatedness of all life on the farm means that he must oversee all aspects of a miniature ecology and how they interact. And these intersecting relationships cut across any distinctions we might be tempted to draw between nature and culture. The farm is a place where human and nonhuman beings and practices shape each other in countless ways that cannot be neatly parceled into such categories, as Cato points toward connections between soil types, urban settlement, slave labor, bodies of water, and

regional climate. Cato's ideal manager of a farm must take account of relations that are ecological, social, and political all at once.

The way farming encourages ecological thinking is even clearer in Vergil's more immediate prose predecessor Varro. Early in the first book of his *De Re Rustica*, the characters of the dialogue attempt to delimit the scope of their conversation (*Rust.* 1.2.12-17). Does agriculture only mean the planting of crops, or does it include grazing and animal husbandry, as well?[325] Everyone is moving toward excluding cattle from the purview of agriculture, when Publius Agrasius objects: how can cattle be excluded, when their manure is so valuable to a farm's soil? Gaius Agrius replies that by this reasoning slave trading should form a part of agriculture, along with other laborers and craftsmen, since they all help with the functioning of a farm (1.2.21). Picking up on Agrius' *reductio ad absurdum*, Scrofa notes that if a farm were near a road, it might cause a tavern to be built nearby, but the running of that tavern would not form a part of agriculture (1.2.22-24). The topic of farming here threatens to expand outward and include everything: plants, animals, humans—even a whole local economy. How can one define a limited sphere of agriculture, when everything on and around a farm is intimately related, and ultimately traced back to the fertility and profitability of the land?

While the threat here is neutralized and the topic narrowly defined, this passage still shows how agriculture can provoke a kind of ecological thinking: the activities, products, and wastes of plants, animals, and humans are all always related. Affinities and antipathies between particular plants, soils, animals, and climates are the sort of thing a

[325] Servius, *Praef. in G.* (in Thilo [1887]) rehearses a similar debate: while some think that only the first two books of the *Georgics* are, strictly speaking, georgic, Servius asserts that books three and four are within the poem's topic, as well.

skilled farmer must know.[326] And these sorts of relations extend even to the connections between farming and the slave economy, or between particular environments and the development of taverns and human communities. What Agrius and Scrofa reject here is the germ of a genuinely ecological thought.

Vergil draws on this tradition of agricultural writing, as well as on Hippocratic texts, prose ethnography, Aristotelian biology and Theophrastan botany, and philosophical accounts of the cosmos in order to fashion his own ecologically minded poem.[327] To some degree, all writing about farming can be said to be interested in ecology. However, the ecological character of the *Georgics* is a question of emphasis. Cato's *De Agri Cultura* and Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, for example, are texts more concerned with economy than ecology: while they may point to and imply ecological relations, they are ultimately most interested in the profitable running of an estate. Vergil in the *Georgics* is not simply writing about how to farm successfully. He is exploring with sensitive imagination the different forms of life that become together on the farm and the ways in which humans are necessarily entwined with nonhumans. We can better see exactly what this means through a brief reading of the poem as a whole, examining each book of the *Georgics* from an ecological perspective.

---

[326] In this passage, for example, Gaius Fundanius notes that while cattle may be helpful for crops because of their manure, goats spell disaster for olives and vines, which they destroy (1.2.18).

[327] See Thomas (1982) 35-92 on ethnography in the *Georgics*. On the influence of Hippocratic writings on the poem, see Ross (1987) 64-5. Aristotle is important throughout book three: see, e.g., Mynors (1990) ad 3.215-41, ad 3.242, ad 3.255, and Thomas (1988b) 86. On the influence of Theophrastus on book two, see Thomas (1987) 230 and 254-6, citing Jahn (1903) and Mitsdörffer (1938).

Living and Working With: Agriculture as Ecological Practice

In the very first words of Vergil's poem, mention of crops leads to the stars and then back to the earth and its inhabitants:

> Quid faciat laetas segetes, quo sidere terram
> vertere, Maecenas, ulmisque adiungere vitis
> conveniat, quae cura boum, qui cultus habendo
> sit pecori, apibus quanta experientia parcis,
> hinc canere incipiam. 5
>
> What makes the crops fertile, under what star
> it is best to turn the land, Maecenas, and to join vines
> to elms, what care there is for cattle, and for raising the herd,
> how great the experience for tiny bees—from here
> I will begin to sing. (*G.* 1.1-5)

The stars and the earth are brought next to each other at the end of the first line (*sidere terram*), illustrating how intimately related these distant objects are.[328] In Hesiodic fashion, the human activity of turning over the soil depends on a timing known through this relation. The poem to come promises to treat these kinds of connections, as well as what plants grow together and when, and how to care for animals as large as a cow and as miniscule as a bee. All this variety of life somehow works and becomes together, and this world of living-with will be the subject of the poem. *Hinc* is perfectly ambiguous—the world is a tangled mess of relations, so where can we find a single or stable "here" from where to begin when trying to get a grasp of the world? Any individual point in the web will lead to countless others, and those to others still.

The first four lines of the *Georgics* are a syllabus for the four books to come. They comprise a simple list, but over the course of the poem Vergil will demonstrate how

[328] This is later recalled at the start of book two, which also brings the words together in summarizing the topics of the first book as *arvorum cultus et sidera caeli* ("the cultivation of fields and the stars of the sky," 2.1).

its discrete items are connected: how keeping bees requires tending to flowers, how animals are needed to plow the land for crops, and how what makes the fields fertile is often the manure of the very creatures who feed on their products.[329] Throughout, agriculture is revealed to be a multispecies and more-than-human pursuit, in which nonhumans exert significant agency and help shape the life and activities of the humans that are codependent with them. Farming in the *Georgics* discloses human existence as inextricably embedded in webs of relation and mutual dependence with all sorts of nonhumans.

These webs of relation include gods, a particular kind of nonhuman whose importance the poem stresses. After the first four lines of the poem, book one begins with a "vast edifice of vocatives,"[330] a lengthy address to Liber (Bacchus), Ceres, Fauni and nymphs, Neptune, Aristaeus, Pan, Minerva, Triptolemus, Silvanus, and indeed all gods and goddesses who care to look after the fields (*dique deaeque omnes, studium quibus arva tueri*, 1.21).[331] These figures are not human, but are to varying degrees anthropomorphic. They are strange, otherly beings who are nonetheless brought into social relation through the interpellation of prayer and through ritual. They suggest a complex and abundant world that is other and utterly different from the human, yet at the same time related to, comparable with, and impinging on humanity. The specific gods Vergil invokes oversee specific spheres of activity and particular environments, and maintaining a proper relationship with the gods is an important part of managing one's

[329] Servius ad *G.* 1.1 informs us that *laetus* is a typical rustic metaphor for fertile crops, and that *laetamen* is a common term for manure. See Cic., *De or.* 3.155 with Jenkyns (1998) 331 on the metaphor. Vergil mentions manure more explicitly at *G.* 1.80.
[330] Thomas (1988a) 68.
[331] Book two will then begin by invoking Bacchus (2.2), and book three with an address to Pales and Apollo (3.1-2).

place within a more-than-human ecology. As Vergil instructs in a key line underlying all the instructions of his didactic poem, *in primis venerare deos* ("above all, worship the gods," 1.338).

After this lengthy proem, the first book of the *Georgics* proceeds to focus on the farmer's management of the land, a task in which plants, animals, humans, gods, and the particular capacities of different soils all play a role. A farmer must pray to the gods for the right kind of weather to lead to the right quality of soil (1.100-1) and then must continually make sure the soil has neither too much nor too little moisture, through irrigation (1.100-17) or through burning stalks of grain (1.84-93).[332] But it is not just the human farmer who alters the soil: different crops have different effects on the land, and can dry it out. This is why crops must be rotated, and fields allowed to rest (1.71-94).

The fundamental form of managing the land is plowing, and Vergil shows this crucial activity of agriculture to be a combination of human, plant, and animal agency and labor. Hesiod's instructions for making a plow start with finding a tree that already has the ideal curvature, but Vergil begins his instructions with how to grow a tree into the right shape:[333]

> continuo in silvis magna vi flexa domatur
> in burim et curvi formam accipit ulmus aratri.
> huic a stirpe pedes temo protentus in octo,
> binae aures, duplici aptantur dentalia dorso.
> caeditur et tilia ante iugo levis altaque fagus
> stivaque, quae currus a tergo torqueat imos,
> et suspensa focis explorat robora fumus.

[332] This is one example of a repeated motif in book one, where, as David Ross has stressed, the farmer must achieve a balance of fundamental elements on his farm. "It is the farmer," Ross (1987) 46 summarizes, "who restores the balance between the dry and the wet, the hot and the cold." See Ross (1987) 32-94 more generally on the importance of the four elements to book one of the *Georgics*.

[333] Mynors (1990) ad 1.169-70 notes the difference.

> Right away, still in the woods, a great elm is bent by force and tamed
> into the plow-beam and it accepts the form of the curved plow.
> To this is fitted a beam stretching eight feet long,
> and two boards, and the share-beam with double back.
> A linden is cut, as well, beforehand for the yoke, and a tall beech
> for the handle, which may turn the bottom of the plow from behind,
> and smoke proves the wood as it hung over the hearth. (*G.* 1.169-75)

Here the human forces the elm to grow into the ideal shape, though it is the plant itself that does the growing. Just as the farmer will later capitalize on the labor of oxen for plowing, here he manipulates the agency of the tree to make it grow itself into the correct form. From the formation of the plow to the actual activity of plowing, this is a process only made possible by a combination of human, animal, and plant agency. The plow illustrates a specific, situated collaboration between certain human and nonhuman animals and several particular trees—a working together that is partly the result of violent force (*magna vi,* 169).

Violence, indeed, is also a part of irrigation, where the farmer struggles as if in hand-to-hand combat (*comminus*) with the soil:

> quid dicam, iacto qui semine comminus arva
> insequitur cumulosque ruit male pinguis harenae,
> deinde satis fluvium inducit rivosque sequentis
> et, cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis,
> ecce supercilio clivosi tramitis undam
> elicit? illa cadens raucum per levia murmur
> saxa ciet, scatebrisque arentia temperat arva.

> Why should I speak of he who, when the seed is cast,
> goes after the fields up close and breaks through the heaps
> of infertile sand and then leads a river and its attendant streams
> to the crops? And he, when the field is hot and dried up
> with grasses dying—look—he draws water from the brow of a downhill channel.
> The water falls down, making a sharp noise among the light rocks,
> and it relieves the parched fields with gushing waters. (*G.* 1.104-10)

This is often read as part of a pattern of imagery that depicts "the farmer's battle with external nature."[334] But what the farmer does in this passage is channel the flow of streams, clearing a path for them so that they will of their own force flow where he wants them to go. A battle here is indeed fought, but against dry soil and with the cooperation of streams.[335] The farmer is not in conflict here with any concept of *natura*, nor does he fight against the nonhuman as a category. Here, as elsewhere in the *Georgics*, farming involves local instances of situated violence (as well as cooperation and cooptation). It is not an absolute conflict against Nature, but an ongoing struggle effected by strategically managing ecological relations, by exercising specific acts of violence against some creatures and things, while tending carefully to others.

The intervention into and manipulation of plant life seen in constructing the plow is important throughout the second book of the *Georgics*, which focuses on the cultivation of the crops that grow in the soils properly managed in book one. Vergil emphasizes how much humans rely on plants and trees: in addition to crops grown for consumption, he notes the ships, houses, boats, wheels, and weapons made from the timber of particular types of trees (2.440-53). So many spheres of human activity rely on plant life, and in order for this to be the case, different plants require different forms of attention and cultivation. This is the point of a crucial passage early in the book. Some

---

[334] Putnam (1979) 14. See also Lyne (1974) 48; Betensky (1979); Ross (1987) 83; Boyle (1986) 48; Thomas (1988a) ad 2.279-83; Perkell (1989) 34, 45; Nelson (1998) 87; and Gale (2000) 252-9.

[335] This is emphasized by Vergil's adaptation here of a Homeric simile used to describe Achilles in combat with the river Scamander. Not only does Vergil turn Homer's imagined simile into described reality, but he also turns Achilles' fight with a river into a farmer's cooperation with a river and fight against the land. On the Homeric intertext here, see Thomas (1988a) ad 1.104-110 and Farrell (1991) 211-13.

trees grow on their own, Vergil tells us, while others are grown through the efforts of humans:

principio arboribus varia est natura creandis.
namque aliae nullis hominum cogentibus ipsae
sponte sua veniunt camposque et flumina late
curva tenent, ut molle siler lentaeque genistae,
populous et glauca canentia fronde salicta;
pars autem posito surgunt de semine, ut altae
castaneae, nemorumque Iovi quae maxima frondet
aesculus, atque habitae Grais oracula quercus.
pullulat ab radice aliis densissima silva,
ut cerasis ulmisque; etiam Parnasia laurus
parva sub ingenti matris se subicit umbra.
hos natura modos primum dedit, his genus omne
silvarum fruticumque viret nemorumque sacrorum.
sunt alii, quos ipse via sibi repperit usus;
hic plantas tenero abscindens de corpore matrum
deposuit sulcis, hic stirpes obruit arvo,
quadrifidasque sudes et acuto robore vallos.
silvarumque aliae pressos propaginis arcus
exspectant et viva sua plantaria terra;
nil radicis egent aliae summumque putator
haud dubitat terrae referens mandare cacumen.
quin et caudicibus sectis (mirabile dictu)
truditur e sicco radix oleagina ligno;
et saepe alterius ramos impune videmus
vertere in alterius, mutatamque insita mala
ferre pirum et prunis lapidosa rubescere corna.

First of all the nature of tree propagation is varied.
For some grow themselves of their own accord with no humans
urging them, and they hold the fields and the curving rivers far and wide,
like the soft osier and the slow broom, the poplar and the pale willow
with its grey leaves. And some arise from fallen seed, like the tall
chestnut trees, and the great oak that shades the groves of Jupiter,
and the oak held by Greeks to be oracular. For others the densest woods
grow up from root, such as cherries and elms. And even the Parnassian laurel
brings itself up, little, beneath the great shadow of its mother. These ways
nature first gave. By these ways every kind of forest tree, shrub, and sacred grove
flourishes. There are other ways, which the path of experience has found for itself.
This man, cutting slips from their mother's tender stalk, places them in furrows.
This man buries stems in the field, along with stakes split in four and spikes
of sharp wood. Some trees of the forests await the pressed curve of the layer
and slips alive in their own soil. Others need no root, and the pruner does not

> hesitate to take the lofty top part of the tree and entrust it back to the earth.
> In fact, even from cut trunks (amazing to say) the olive root is thrust forth
> from the dry wood. And often we see one tree's branch turn into another's
> with no harm, and a pear tree transformed, bearing grafted apples,
> and the stony cornel-cherries ripening on plum trees. (*G.* 2.9-34)

Many emphasize in this passage a clean distinction between natural and artificial tree growth (signaled by the opposition of *natura* and *usus* in lines 20 and 23), and link this to a larger contrast between nature and culture in the poem.[336] However, Vergil's mention of nature at the very start of this passage complicates matters: *principio arboribus varia est natura creandis* ("first of all the nature of tree propagation is varied," 9). Thomas and Mynors both gloss the line as describing natural tree growth, in opposition to artificial plantings.[337] In fact, though, *natura* in line 9 is crucially different from *natura* in line 20. The earlier use refers to the particular natures of different kinds of trees. The logical structure of the passage is as follows: different trees have different natures of propagation. Some grow without human aid, by nature alone, while others human experience has found ways of propagating. As this paraphrase makes clear, there is a tension in these lines between two different understandings of *natura*. Vergil affirms a distinction between trees that grow by nature and those that grow through artificial means, but he also suggests that it is in the nature of certain tree types to grow with human help.[338]

Vergil adapts this passage from Theophrastus, whose botanical work offers important background to these lines.[339] In discussing plant growth, Theophrastus posits two distinctions: between wild and cultivated growth, and between natural and unnatural

---

[336] See Ross (1987) 97, Thomas (1988a) ad 2.10-11, Thomas (1987) 75, and Kronenberg (2009) 136.
[337] Thomas (1988a) ad 2.9; Mynors (1990) ad 2.9.
[338] Cf. Lucretius' description of domesticated animals, who by nature need human help and protection (Lucr. 5.864-70).
[339] On Theophrastus as a source for this passage, see Thomas (1987) 230 and 254-6.

growth. Crucially, these are two separate binaries: cultivated growth is not necessarily unnatural, and neither is wild growth always natural (*Caus. pl.* 3.1.1, 5.1.1).[340] The pupil of Aristotle, Theophrastus puts enormous importance on the particular *physis* of different plants: what makes a plant growth natural or unnatural is whether it succeeds or fails in living up to its particular nature.[341] He concludes that it is naturally proper for some plants to grow without human aid, for others to grow with it, and for still others to grow either with or without human cultivation (*Caus. pl.* 1.16.13), and suggests that human art can help a tree fulfill its nature (*Caus. pl.* 1.16.10-12).

Vergil follows Theophrastus in noting the different natures of trees with regard to propagation. While one could emphasize the distinction between wild and cultivated trees here, the opposition of *natura* and *ars* is not our binary of natural and cultural. Even plants that need no cultivation are brought into networks of human relation and use—transplanted, grafted, harvested, and manipulated like the elm bent to grow into part of a plow. And trees planted by humans retain their own agency, growing in ways humans can manage and tend to but not fully control. This key passage at the beginning of book two defines arboriculture as a practice of attending to the different requirements of different plants, whose particular natures allow for different kinds of propagation. This is why it

[340] At *Hist. pl.* 2.1.1, Theophrastus suggests that tree propagation from seed and root might seem to be most natural (φυσικώταται δόξαιεν ἄν), but this is in contrast to spontaneous growth as well as to growth through human cultivation. Cf. Thomas (1987) 256 who argues that Vergil's aim in adapting Theophrastus is "to underscore as much as possible the separation of Theophrastus' two classes of propagation—the natural and the cultivated." Thomas collapses Theophrastus' two separate distinctions, and underappreciates the importance of specific natures to Theophrastus' inquiry.

[341] It is instructive that a tree being felled by humans is an unnatural tree death for Theophrastus, but so too is a tree dying due to cold, disease, or strong winds (*Caus. pl.* 5.8.1).

climaxes with the command, *agite o proprios generatim discite cultus agricolae* ("Go, farmers, and learn the appropriate cultivation for each kind," 2.35-6).

Human cultivation taps into and cooperates with plants' particular natures and capacities. The human may cut and plant slips, for example, but once this is done the plant continues to grow through its own power. The human merely alters, directs, and encourages the trajectory of plant growth. To be sure, Vergil's imagined farmer alters and manipulates plants to a great extent. Vergil instructs his addressee to soften (*mollite*, 2.36) and tame (*domandae*, 2.62) plants through cultivation. Wild plants that one grafts or transplants are said to throw off their sylvan spirit (*exuerint silvestrem animum*, 2.51) and become malleable to the wishes of the grower who tends to them. But these plants never become mere passive instruments of the farmer. They are particular forms of life the farmer lives alongside, manages, and coaxes or forces to develop in desirable ways. In growing vines, for example, the farmer must wait until the appropriate time to prune and cut, letting the vines grow of their own accord but then managing that growth (2.362-70). The farmer fashions the form of vines by pruning (*fingitque putando*, 2.407), but only after letting the vines grow according to their own nature.

Grafting is another example of this: humans have learned how to attach one plant to another, but it is then the plant that does the work of growing under modified conditions:

> aut rursum enodes trunci resecantur, et alte
> finditur in solidum cuneis via, deinde feraces
> plantae immittuntur: nec longum tempus, et ingens
> exiit ad caelum ramis felicibus arbos,
> miratastque novas frondes et non sua poma.
>
> Or again smooth trunks are cut open, and a way is cut deep in
> with wedges; then productive slips are put in. And there is not much time

before a great tree has come out of it toward the sky with fruitful boughs,
and it marvels at its new leaves and fruits not its own. (*G.* 2.78-82)

The human agency implied in the passive verbs here (*resecantur, finditur, immittuntur*) smoothly transitions to the tree as the subject of its own active verb (*exiit*): once the human has arranged for the growth to occur in a certain way, the tree simply emerges of its own accord. The perfect tense of *exiit* captures how plant growth can only be known retroactively: we cannot see plants growing, but only notice when plants have grown through their own strange agency. The paradox of *non sua poma* is that the resulting fruits of a grafted plant are not the fruits of the original plant and yet are the results of that plant's agency and growth, as channeled and altered by humans.

Grafting shows that even when humans dramatically alter and intervene in the growth of plants, growing crops and trees is still a practice of working with and alongside the natures and agential capacities of plants. An elaborate military simile makes this point, when Vergil compares the organization of vines in a vineyard to lines of troops drawn up for battle:

sin tumulis acclive solum collisque supinos,
indulge ordinibus; nec setius omnis in unguem
arboribus positis secto via limite quadret:
ut saepe ingenti bello cum longa cohortis
explicuit legio et campo stetit agmen aperto,
derectaeque acies ac late fluctuat omnis
aere renidenti tellus, necdum horrida miscent
proelia, sed dubius mediis Mars errat in armis.

But if the soil is steep with mounds and inclined hills, give space
to the rows; and no less, when the trees are put in place, may every path
form an exact square with a dividing line cut out, just as when
in a great battle a large legion has arranged its cohorts and the battle line
stands in an open field, and columns are drawn up, and the whole earth
wavers with gleaming bronze, and the horrid battles are not yet joined,
but Mars wanders in the midst of the arms, uncertain. (*G.* 2.276-83)

Here the farmer arranges his vines them as a general might order his troops, invoking the specific political-military command of *imperium*.[342] The comparison implies a social relationship between the farmer and his plants, which are under his control but still exercise agency in a controlled fashion, responding to his efforts of cultivation with the reliable regularity of well-disciplined soldiers.

In book three, this method of intervening in nonhuman life, but also letting it take its natural course within circumscribed conditions, is also how animal husbandry works. Different kinds of animals call for different forms of care and attention, and even the same animal can be raised differently for different roles or tasks, like a plant whose growth is manipulated to tend in one way or another.[343] Book three considers the variety of different kinds of animals with whom human life is entangled in ties of interdependence. Just as book two observes how much humans rely on various plants, book three surveys all kinds of ways in which humans rely on animals—both their products and their labor. Animals provide milk (3.394-403) and wool (3.384-93), and are used in plowing (3.50), as well as in war and racing (3.179-208). Chariot racing and its attendant glory are only possible because of cooperation between humans and well-bred, well-trained horses (3.103-22), who themselves have a desire for glory and victory (*tantus amor laudum, tantae est victoria curae*, 3.112). The sort of victory celebrated in

[342] See Miles (1980) 78 on the activation of the specific sense of *imperium* here. And compare *imperat arvis* at *G.* 1.99. Gale (2000) 257 notes a pattern of imagery in the poem in which "the farmer is . . . a general ordering and disciplining his 'army.'" For Thomas (1988a) ad 2.279-83, this simile "contributes to the portrayal throughout the book of arboriculture as warfare between man and nature," but it is important to note that the farmer is here not in combat with the vines.

[343] See e.g. *G.* 3.384 and 3.394, different instructions for raising sheep for wool or for milk.

Pindaric odes, in other words, is partly owed to the strength, work, knowledge, and desire of a nonhuman companion.

Book three shows different forms of living-with for different animals: the forms of companionship with and care for horses are not the same as those for sheep, or cattle—or the dogs who help humans hunt and assist in looking after herd animals (3.404-13), receiving human care but also providing care for other animals. These various relationships can involve intimate cohabitation, but also brutal force. The forced enlisting of animal labor is even referred to as a form of *servitium* (3.168), in a poem that neglects the human slavery underlying Rome's agricultural economy.[344] But recognizing the farmer's control over animals, as well as the power dynamics of these relationships, does not change the fact that the human only lives and flourishes with and through nonhuman animals.

All of book three is devoted to seeing human life as necessarily intertwined with that of nonhuman animals. The book then concludes with a nightmarish episode imagining what human life would be without them. Vergil's Noric plague adapts the famous plagues of Thucydides and Lucretius. But where those authors treat animal

[344] While Vergil is sensitive to the many kinds of intertwined life on the farm, he famously omits explicit mention of slavery in the *Georgics*, constructing an elite fantasy of rural labor that obfuscates the actual labor of slaves. See, for example, Fitzgerald (1996) 389-90. While I do not have the space here to deal with this issue fully, I would suggest that slaves are difficult for this poem to grapple with not just because of their labor, but also because of their life. The poem's ecological thinking and attentiveness to the claims of various forms of life are potentially at odds with the dehumanizing ideology of slavery. Unable or unwilling to take his ecological thinking far enough to question the status of the slave, Vergil omits slavery altogether.

victims as a stepping-stone to a human crisis, Vergil devotes his attention to the plague's effects on nonhuman animals:[345]

> hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est
> tempestas totoque autumni incanduit aestu
> et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum, 480
> corrupitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo.
>
> Here once miserable weather arose from the sickness of the sky
> and it burned hot with all the heat of autumn and it gave
> every kind of herd animal to death, every kind of wild beast,
> and it tainted the lakes, and infected pasturage with plague. (*G.* 3.478-81).

Arising out of the air, the plague offers a darker version of the interconnectedness this poem tends to trace: every animal is embedded in an environment through numerous vectors of relation that are here carriers of disease and destruction instead of nourishment and benefit.

Vergil specifies how the plague affects a wide variety of animals, including cows, dogs, horses, and sheep, in a macabre summation of the various creatures he has spent all of book three describing. Without oxen, plowing cannot continue:

> ecce autem duro fumans sub vomere Taurus 515
> concidit et mixtum spumis vomit ore cruorem
> extremosque ciet gemitus. it tristis arator
> maerentem abiungens fraterna morte iuvencum,
> atque opere in medio defixa reliquit aratra.
>
> See, even the bull falls, steaming beneath the hard plow,
> and spits from his mouth blood mixed with foam,
> and he makes his dying groans. The miserable plow-man goes,
> unyoking the ox who is mourning his brother's death,
> and in the middle of the task he leaves his plow stuck. (*G.* 3.515-19)

[345] Indeed, it is precisely when the plague is about to be transferred from nonhuman animals to humans that the book abruptly ends (3.563-6), as if the poem is only interested in the plague among nonhuman animals. See Gale (2000) 45-8 on the intertextual relationship between Lucretius' and Vergil's plagues. Vergil also transfers what are human symptoms in Lucretius to the bodies of animals; see Thomas (1988b) ad 3.496-7.

And without healthy animal victims, sacrifice and divination fail:

> saepe in honore deum medio stans hostia ad aram,
> lanea dum nivea circumdatur infula vitta,
> inter cunctantis cecidit moribunda ministros;
> aut si quam ferro mactaverat ante sacerdos,
> inde neque impositis ardent altaria fibris,
> nec responsa potest consultus reddere vates,
> ac vix suppositi tinguntur sanguine cultri
> summaque ieiuna sanie infuscatur harena.
>
> Often the victim, standing at the altar in the middle of the rite
> of the gods, while the white wool band is tied around it,
> fell, about to die, among the hesitating attendants. Or if a priest
> had sacrificed it with iron blade beforehand, then neither do the altars
> blaze when the entrails are put on them, nor can the seer who was consulted
> give back any answers, and the knives put under are barely stained with blood,
> and the top of the sand is darkened with barren gore. (*G.* 3.486-93)

Moreover, wool and animal hides can no longer be worn for fear of contagion, and meat cannot even be eaten (3.561-6). Critics usually interpret the plague as an undoing of human civilization, forestalling "the cultivation of the earth, the very basis of all other civilized activity."[346] This is true, but misses the significant point that human civilization fails here specifically because it relies on the various animals the plague eradicates. Human civilization is only possible because of nonhuman animals. The failure of sacrifice, for example, shows the impossibility of religious ritual—of communication with the gods—without suitable nonhuman companions.

After the failure of plowing with diseased oxen, Vergil remarks pitifully, *quid labor aut benefacta iuvant* ("what help is labor or good deeds?" 3.525). Importantly, Vergil does not specify whose toil and good deeds are of no avail here. Labor, that key word of the *Georgics*, is not exclusively human. The human farmer performs labor but also enlists animal labor, and the hard work of both animals is undone by Vergil's

[346] Miles (1980) 216. Similarly Thomas (1988b) ad 3.519.

plague.[347] The disease destroys the work, achievement, and civilization that human and nonhuman animals have made together.

Without animals to work, Vergil describes how humans attempt to plant and plow on their own:

> ergo aegre rastris terram rimantur, et ipsis
> unguibus infodiunt fruges, montisque per altos
> contenta cervice trahunt stridentia plaustra.
>
> And so with difficulty they turn up the ground with mattocks,
> and dig in the crops with their own nails, and they drag the creaking wagons
> through the tall mountains by their strained necks. (*G.* 3.534-6)

It is common to see here humans reduced to the level of beasts.[348] However, the point of these lines seems to be more that humans in fact *cannot* replace their nonhuman partners. A man is a poor substitute for an ox, as the difficulty of digging with one's fingernails and straining to pull wagons underscores. Humans do not descend to the level of animals in this scene. Rather, we are shown what human exceptionalism and individuality would truly be: this is the human at its most demarcated and detached from animal cooperation and co-living. It is not human become animal but human deprived of animals.

Although Vergil lays the greatest emphasis in his plague description on straightforwardly useful or beneficial animals, it is not only these that the plague touches. Wild wolves and deer are affected by the disease (3.537-40), while strange fish and seals wash up dead on the shore (3.541-43). Birds fall from the sky and snakes die in their nests (3.544-47). The plague emphasizes all the ways in which humans rely on domesticated animals, but it also suggests that the world simply is not the world without

[347] Thomas (1988b) ad 3.478-566 notes the important failure of labor in the plague scene, but only considers how "man's works have been swept away by disease."
[348] See, e.g., Miles (1980) 216, Gale (1991) 423, Thomas (1988b) ad 3.536, and Gale (2000) 47.

its full spectrum of animal life. The plague threatens to reduce the animal world to humans alone, a nightmarish thought for this ecologically minded poem. The *Georgics* often delights in listing and categorizing the various species and kinds of animals and plants in the world. Book three in particular expends much energy in how to classify and tell apart certain kinds of animals. It is with a perverse care, then, that Vergil specifies how the plague kills both vipers and water snakes (3.544-5), every kind of swimming creature (*genus omne,* 3.541), every kind of herd animal, and every kind of wild beast (*genus omne . . . omne*, 3.480). The Noric plague undoes, creature by creature, the biodiversity that is the bedrock of this poem, the fuel for its descriptive drive.

While book three focuses on humans' enmeshment with nonhuman animals, and book two explores the entanglement of human and plant life, the poem as a whole shows how these different practices are related, and necessarily tied to the management of soil in book one. Farming in the *Georgics* is much more than the knowledge of a list of precepts. It demands that the farmer oversee and maintain a whole local environment, strategically managing all the relations between various animals, plants, soils, and environmental features—whether between the moisture of the soil and the growth of a particular plant or between the grapevines and the goats who must be kept from eating them (2.376-9). Nowhere is this ecological task of farming clearer than in Vergil's discussion of apiculture.

Throughout book four, caring for bees means establishing and maintaining a miniature environment. Vergil's instructions begin with where to locate a hive:

> principio sedes apibus statioque petenda,
> quo neque sit ventis aditus (nam pabula venti
> ferre domum prohibent) neque oves haedique petulci
> floribus insultent, aut errans bucula campo

decutiat rorem et surgentis atterat herbas.
absint et picti squalentia terga lacerti
pinguibus a stabulis, meropesque aliaeque volucres
et manibus Procne pectus signata cruentis;
omnia nam late vastant ipsasque volantis
ore ferunt dulcem nidis immitibus escam.
at liquidi fontes et stagna virentia musco
adsint et tenuis fugiens per gramina rivus,
palmaque vestibulum aut ingens oleaster inumbret,
ut, cum prima novi ducent examina reges
vere suo ludetque favis emissa iuventus,
vicina invitet decedere ripa calori
obviaque hospitiis teneat frondentibus arbos.

First of all a home and abode must be sought for the bees,
where there is neither a way in for winds (for the winds prevent
them from carrying their food home), nor sheep and head-butting goat-kids
trample the flowers, nor a wandering heifer shakes the dew from the field
and destroys the growing grasses. And may colored lizards with scaly backs
be gone from the rich dwellings, and the bee-eater and other birds, and Procne
who marked her breast with bloody hands; for they ravage everything all over
and take the bees, themselves in flight, in their beaks, a sweet treat
for their fierce young. But let there be watery springs and pools green with moss,
and a thin stream running through the grass, and may a palm tree or great big
wild olive cast its shade over the entrance, so that, when the new kings
lead the first swarms in their springtime and the youth play, sent out
from the combs, the neighboring bank may entreat them to leave the heat, and
the tree in their path may hold them in its welcoming leafy branches. (*G.* 4.8-24)

The beekeeper has to establish a habitat with the proper protection from wind, the proper water sources, and the proper kinds of trees; he must also keep away certain animals whether because they may prey on the bees or because they may trample on the dewy grasses the bees also require. Relations of elements, animals, and plants dictate the farmer's maintenance of a local ecology here. This is why Vergil's account of beekeeping is not complete without at least mentioning gardening (4.109-15). One of the reasons why the *Georgics* concludes its wide-ranging examination of agriculture with the practice of beekeeping is because apiculture encapsulates the farmer's task throughout the *Georgics*:

maintaining the local environment of his farm on which all different forms of life are interrelated.

Vergil represents farming as a practice of attending to and managing the complex ecological relations between beings with different specific natures. Each book's topic looks at a particular set of ecological relationships, and the poem as a whole shows how these different spheres of activity are also connected to each other: animals rely on and affect plants, which rely on and affect the soil—all of which humans rely on and affect. For Vergil, the topic of agriculture is a way to broach the human's participation in the ecological mesh of coexistence. In a variety of ways that refuse to resolve into any neat binary between human and nature or nature and culture, the *Georgics* explores how human and nonhuman forms of life become together, and shape each other in particular encounters and relationships. Such relatedness means that individual human life is never all that individual. It depends on, is inextricably enmeshed with, and is necessarily shaped by the various nonhuman beings that make up its environments.

Ecological connection, however, does not mean ease. While the *Georgics* posits a golden age in which humans' relationship with their environment was simpler and perhaps unproblematic, in the iron age world of the poem coexistence is hard work. It takes toil and knowledge to survive and prosper in this entangled world. Farming—the activity that traditionally demarcates the iron age from the golden age[349]—is the ecological labor of surviving and prospering in such a world.

[349] See e.g. Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.16.

Part 2: The Place of the Human and the Knowledge of the Poem

Anthropomorphism, Similarity, and Difference

While the *Georgics* embeds humans in webs of ecological relations, the position and status of the human within them is uncertain. Amid all the endless relations that make up the world, how special or exceptional is the human? What is our particular place in the mesh of living-with that the poem contextualizes humanity within? Having explored the ecological thinking of the *Georgics*, I proceed in this second half of the chapter to examine the unstable position of the human in a world of ecological connection. The poem strives to represent the human as one comparable being among many beings living together, but also recognizes in important ways the exceptionality of humankind. Ultimately, I will suggest that the human's ambiguous position within the wider world is the motivating problem behind the didactic fantasy of the poem, which offers to connect humans into the semiotic relations of a more-than-human world.

One key way in which the *Georgics* problematizes human exceptionality is through its use of anthropomorphism, which becomes especially prevalent in book three. Sometimes Vergil will refer to a nonhuman animal with a particular word that is more typically used of humans, such as mother, father, or spouse.[350] Similarly, in a discussion of horses Vergil makes a general remark about mortal beings and includes the horses under a term normally used for human beings:

> interea, superat gregibus dum laeta iuventas,
> solve mares; mitte in Venerem pecuaria primus,

[350] For example, see Thomas (1988b) ad 3.125 and Mynors (1990) ad 3.123-37. In a particularly notable example, on which see Putnam (1979) 191-2 and Thomas (1988b) ad 3.215, Vergil refers to a female cow with the noun *femina*, which earlier Latin authors only use of nonhuman animals as an adjective modifying a noun. In other words, Vergil's bold usage calls the creature not a female cow but simply a female, a woman.

atque aliam ex alia generando suffice prolem. 65
optima quaeque dies miseris mortalibus aevi
prima fugit; subeunt morbi tristisque senectus
et labor, et durae rapit inclementia mortis.

Meanwhile, while happy youth lasts among the herds,
release the males. Send the cattle into love first,
and by breeding make offspring one from another.
Every best day of life is the first to flee for miserable mortals.
Diseases and grim old age come upon them, as does toil,
and the harshness of unyielding death snatches them away. (*G.* 3.63-68)

The phrase *miseris mortalibus* follows Lucretius in adapting into Latin a Homeric formula referring to men. But Vergil here expands it to include all mortal animals.[351] Moreover, in addition to these particular examples, epic language and Homeric simile throughout book three more generally apply to nonhuman animals the poetic touches normally reserved for humans.[352]

It is easy to read these examples as a simple humanization, a projection of human concerns and concepts onto the nonhuman world. So, for example, both Thomas and Mynors claim that with *miseris mortalibus* Vergil transitions from animals to a consideration of humans.[353] But the jarring use of a human formula applied to nonhuman animals in fact asks us to reevaluate how human such a sentiment is in the first place. Our fleeting mortality is not unique, these lines suggest. Time flies imperceptibly and old age rushes on for horses as for humans. Understood this way, anthropomorphism gestures toward shared qualities, capacities, and experiences between human and nonhuman animals. It does not project human terms onto the nonhuman world, but questions how exclusively human such terms actually are. Referring, for example, to an animal's

[351] See Otis (1963) 171, Wilkinson (1969) 94, and Mynors (1990) ad 3.66-68.
[352] See Putnam (1979) 189, 194.
[353] Thomas (1988b) ad 3.66; Mynors (1990) ad 66-68.

"husband" (*maritum*, 3.125) does not necessarily humanize that animal, but rather asks us to think whether certain animals also have mates or spouses of sorts, and more broadly to contextualize human erotic relations within a larger frame of different species' differing experiences of desire and companionship. By so bluntly declaring likeness, Vergil's anthropomorphic language raises similarity as an open and ongoing question.

There are also moments in book three where animals are not spoken of with apparently human terminology, but engage in activities that seem more properly human to many readers. The most famous example is the rivalry of two bulls over a desired mate (3.215-41). After they fight each other, the losing bull goes off into a kind of exile until he has recovered enough strength to return and best his rival:

> ergo omni cura viris exercet et inter
> dura iacet pernox instrato saxa cubili
> frondibus hirsutis et carice pastus acuta,
> et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit
> arboris obnixus trunco, ventosque lacessit
> ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.
> post ubi collectum robur viresque refectae,
> signa movet praecepsque oblitum fertur in hostem.
>
> And so with all his care he practices his strength
> and lies all night on a sleeping ground among the hard stones,
> feeding on bristly leaves and pointed reeds, and he tests himself
> and learns to vent his rage into his horns, charging at the trunk of a tree;
> he strikes the winds with blows, and he practices for the fight, kicking up sand.
> After his strength is collected and his vigor recovered, he makes his advance
> and is borne headlong into his heedless enemy. (*G.* 3.229-36)

To many this miniature narrative seems too human for the bulls it describes.[354] However, Vergil takes this episode directly from Aristotle's *Historia Animalium*.[355] While there is a

[354] Wilkinson (1969) 126, Putnam (1979) 192-3, Thomas (1988b) ad 3.236, and Gale (1991) 420.

lacuna in the relevant part of Aristotle's text, he refers like Vergil to a defeated bull who returns to overthrow his antagonist: ὀχεύει δ' ὁ νικῶν τῶν ταύρων· ὅταν δ' ἐξαδυνατήσῃ διὰ τὴν λαγνείαν, ἐπιτίθεται ὁ ἡττώμενος, καὶ κρατεῖ πολλάκις ("the victorious bull mates. But when his strength is exhausted from sex, the defeated one attacks him and often is victorious," (*Hist. an.* 6.21). To be sure, Vergil adds more elaborate anthropomorphic imagery—*signa movet* calls to mind organized military action—but the narrative itself is still taken from Aristotle's account of bull behavior. This seemingly human narrative is an attempt to imagine nonhuman experience, drawing on the zoological authority of Aristotle. Just as with the use of apparently human terminology applied to nonhuman animals, Vergil's heroic feud of bulls forces us to question what we define as human and animal, raises the comparison between human and nonhuman conflicts as a question, and presents human and animal behaviors as different, but not incommensurable.

Importantly, this understanding of anthropomorphism does not collapse the differences between humans and nonhumans entirely. Such is the reading of Christopher Nappa, for whom "the very human-seeming animals of the *Georgics* help Vergil further elaborate the idea that man is not essentially different from animals or even plants in his relationship to the wider world."[356] Nappa goes on to suggest, "human and animal are no different for Vergil."[357] However, the alternative to anthropomorphism as a projection of the human need not be the denial of any difference between humans and other animals. Differences between species persist and matter. In fact, such differences form the basis

---

[355] See Mynors (1990) ad 3.215-41. As Mynors notes, there is a lengthy tradition of this account being used in epic similes, in Apollonius' *Argonautica*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Statius' *Thebaid*.
[356] Nappa (2005) 115.
[357] Nappa (2005) 128.

for the animal types, particularized instructions, and hierarchies of care and control that book three is organized around. What Vergil's anthropomorphic language suggests is that these differences do not create an insuperable gulf between human and animal. Instead of the human and the animal quarantined from each other by a barrier of unbridgeable difference, Vergil shows lines of similarity amid difference—of comparability—between humans and particular animals.

In book three of the *Georgics*, then, humans are different from other animals, but retain shared capacities, qualities, behaviors, and tendencies with their various animal cohabitants and companions. Book four expands on this by examining nonhuman animals from a communal, rather than individual, perspective. Vergil's treatment of bees shows that humans are not the only animals with a complex society, indeed with a politics. Behind Vergil in book four are the important remarks of Aristotle and Varro on bees.[358] For Aristotle, bees are one of a handful of animals that are classed as political, and Varro follows in this tradition. In the *De Re Rustica*, his character Appius claims that bees are like humans since they are by nature not solitary, and since they have community in work and building (*societas operis et aedificiorum, Rust.* 3.16.3). He goes so far as to say that bees have political states just as humans do: *haec ut hominum civitates, quod hic est et rex et imperium et societas* ("these states are like those of men, because here there is a king, and dominion, and community," 3.16.6).

[358] See Arist., *Hist. an.* 5.21-23 and Varro, *Rust.* 3.16.3 and 3.16.6. Kronenberg (2009) 125-26 shows a larger history of comparison of human affairs to bee states, but Varro and Aristotle are the most important.

This background to Vergil's examination of bees is often noted, but the importance of the material is just as often overlooked.[359] The history of modern interpretations of Vergil's bees has largely centered on whether and to what degree the bees are a figure for the Roman state, an ideal model of society, or a negative model of a flawed human community.[360] This entire debate, though, neglects the zoological foundations of the book. There may be lessons to learn from bee society, but the fundamental lesson is that bees have a society. Human politics and society are not unique, but rather unfold on a continuum of animal sociality.[361] It is true that Vergil revises Aristotle and Varro by claiming that *only* bees have social complexity equal to that of humans (4.153-5). However, while this means that only bees rise to the level of human social complexity, it implicitly places human society on a relative spectrum with other forms of living-with found among nonhuman animals.

Vergil begins book four by announcing that he will describe the bees' *mores et studia et populos et proelia* ("customs and pursuits and peoples and wars," 4.5). While the book will proceed to describe beekeeping, as well, it begins as though it will concern itself not, like book three, with human practices of caring for animals, but with the bees'

---

[359] For example, see Thomas (1988b) ad 4.146: "the technical impulse for V.'s treatment comes from Aristotle, *H.A.* 553a17-554b22, and especially Varro, *R.R.* 3.16, but more than with any other subject of the poem, the technical tradition, although constantly visible, retreats in importance." Critics have tended to assume that the ethnographic, social, and political language describing the bees simply makes them symbols for humans. See for example Ross (1987) 189. Jenkyns (1998) 312 sees Vergil's use of terms of human political and social organization applied to bees as merely "an amusing thought."

[360] See Griffin (2008) 228-29 for an overview. A good example is Perkell (1989) 124-30. Kronenberg (2009) 152-55 unpersuasively reads Vergil as parodying the tradition of using bees as an ideal model for society.

[361] Brill (2019) makes a similar argument in elucidating the zoological foundations of Aristotle's *Politics*, showing that for Aristotle human politics derives from a capacity for shared life that some nonhuman animals also have to varying degrees.

remarkable practices of caring for themselves.[362] Vergil later asserts more forcefully that bees have a real political community:

> solae communis natos, consortia tecta
> urbis habent magnisque agitant sub legibus aevum,
> et patriam solae et certos novere penatis;
> venturaeque hiemis memores aestate laborem
> experiuntur et in medium quaesita reponunt.
>
> They alone have children common to a community, and the shared
> dwellings of a city, and they pass their lives under great laws,
> and they alone know a fatherland and the gods of a specific home.
> And mindful of the winter to come, they expend labor in the summer
> and store away what they have acquired for public use. (*G.* 4.153-57)

And Vergil's bees have more than even these remarkable habits and traits. They have technical skill (4.178-9) and construct their own dwellings (4.159-61). They can use tools of a sort, carrying tiny pebbles to stabilize their flight during a windy storm (4.194-6). They even engage in a form of agriculture when they gather honey from flowers (*exercentur agris,* 4.159). In this poem about human agriculture, a nonhuman animal, too, is seen gathering from the environment and storing away its harvest.[363] Here is another place where a binary of nature and culture makes little sense: what might seem like hallmarks of human culture (*ars*, agriculture, and complex social relations) are all found in nonhuman animals. Living in their own complex society, but within the constraints of (and with the help of) human keepers, bees exemplify neither nature nor culture but rather the way nonhuman life and human-nonhuman interactions fail to respect any such distinction.

[362] Wormell (1971) 429 notes the importance of this line, but assumes that it suggests the bees are to be seen in human terms.
[363] The mice at *G.* 1.181-2 and the ant at 1.186 also store food for future use.

All of these characteristics of bees are the reason for the many ethnographic touches of book four.[364] It is worth emphasizing the boldness and radical implications of Vergil's choice to apply tropes of ethnography—the tradition of comparing various human cultures to each other—to nonhuman animals. It is only if bees have an *ethnos* comparable to human ones that their society can be compared to Egyptians, Lydians, Parthians, and Medes (as well as, implicitly, Romans):

> praeterea regem non sic Aegyptus et ingens
> Lydia nec populi Parthorum aut Medus Hydaspes
> observant. . .
>
> Moreover, Egypt does not adore its king as much [as bees],
> nor does great Lydia and the peoples of the Parthians
> or Median Hydaspes. . . (*G.* 4.210-12)

This ethnographic comparison does not mean that the bees are "treated progressively more like human beings."[365] On the contrary, they are treated just like bees, because bees as a species are understood to have their own forms of social organization directly comparable to human societies.[366]

Along with social complexity and political organization comes the potential for civil strife and discord:

> sin autem ad pugnam exierint—nam saepe duobus
> regibus incessit magno discordia motu,
> continuoque animos vulgi et trepidantia bello
> corda licet longe praesciscere; namque morantis
> Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat, et vox
> auditur fractos sonitus imitata tubarum.

[364] On the presence of ethnographic tropes in Vergil's treatment of the bees, see Thomas (1982) 70-88, building on the claims of Dahlmann (1954).
[365] Nappa (2005) 162.
[366] Similarly, Vergil's use of apparently human terms like *sedes* and *castra* in book four can be read—as in book three—as suggesting that apparently human concepts are in fact shared with these nonhuman animals.

> But if they have exited the hive for a battle—for often
> strife has come between two kings with much commotion,
> and straightaway one can know from afar the minds
> of the crowd and their hearts trembling for war; for the harsh
> bronze sound of Mars admonishes those lingering,
> and a tune is heard just like the abrupt notes of trumpets. (*G.* 4.67-72)

There are certainly implications here for the Roman civil discord that already overshadowed the close of book one, but the bees are not a mere stand-in for human politics. Any implications for Rome are the result of bees' having a society of their own, complex enough to compare with that of humans. Again, even if bees are the only animals for Vergil to match the social complexity of humans, the very existence of bee society means that human political life is not unique.

Vergil's exploration of bee society erodes human exceptionality, just as more broadly his poetic strategy of anthropomorphism stresses comparison, commonality, and commensurability between humans and nonhumans. While maintaining differences between all sorts of beings living together on the farm, the poem often prevents us from seeing the human as categorically different from all other life, instead asking us to view humanity as one different being among many different beings.

The Human Difference

Nonetheless, while much of the *Georgics* questions human exceptionality, there is a significant strain of the poem that does emphasize humanity's uniqueness**.** Most of all, the exceptionality of humans in the *Georgics* is shown through their alteration of the environment. The human difference is in the difference the human makes. To be sure, other beings create changes in their environments—birds nest, animals graze, and plants

act upon their soils—but the human seems to do so on a unique scale and with uniquely large consequences.

Both Lucretius and Cicero before Vergil are acutely conscious in their own ways of humanity's transformative impact on their environments. In chapter one, I briefly noted the changes wrought by human agriculture and pastoralism upon the land, and referred to Lucretius' account of deforestation. It is worth quoting Lucretius' description of humanity's adoption of agriculture in full:

> at specimen sationis et insitionis origo
> ipsa fuit rerum primum Natura creatrix,
> arboribus quoniam bacae glandesque caducae
> tempestiva dabant pullorum examina subter;
> unde etiam libitumst stirpis commitere ramis
> et nova defodere in terram virgulta per agros.
> inde aliam atque aliam culturam dulcis agelli
> temptabant fructusque feros mansuescere terra
> cernebant indulgendo blandeque colendo.
> inque dies magis in montem succedere silvas
> cogebant infraque locum concedere cultis,
> prata lacus rivos segetes vinetaque laeta
> collibus et campis ut haberent, atque olearum
> caerula distinguens inter plaga currere posset
> per tumulos et convallis camposque profusa;
> ut nunc esse vides vario distincta lepore
> omnia, quae pomis intersita dulcibus ornant
> arbustisque tenent felicibus opsita circum.
>
> But the model of sowing and the origin of grafting
> was originally Nature herself, the creator of things,
> since berries and acorns falling from trees produced
> in time masses of shoots below. From this it even became
> pleasing to entrust shoots to branches, and to dig
> new slips into the ground throughout the fields.
> Then they tried this and that form of cultivation
> of their sweet little land; and they noticed the wild fruits
> became more gentle in the earth through careful handling.
> And day by day they forced the forests to withdraw up
> into the mountain and to yield the area below to cultivation,
> so that they would have on hills and plains their meadows
> and lakes and rivers and crops and flourishing vineyards,

> and so there might run a line of olive trees making its mark, stretching all throughout the hillocks and valleys. Just like this you now see colored with a variety of ornament all that they adorn, planted amid sweet apples, and all they surround with lovely orchards. (Lucr. 5.1361-78)

The agricultural activities of humankind gradually transform the environment, erasing forests and constructing whole new variegated landscapes of growth. And yet, these very practices are learned from Nature (1362): human cultivation here is an extension of or cooperation with *Natura*.[367] Nonetheless, there is a tension in this passage: what humans learn to do from Nature transforms the world in ways no other creature does.

We find similar complexity in a passage of Cicero's *De Natura Deorum,* when the Stoic Balbus describes how much mankind has been able to accomplish:

> terrenorum item commodorum omnis est in homine dominatus: nos campis nos montibus fruimur, nostri sunt amnes nostri lacus, nos fruges serimus nos arbores, nos aquarum inductionibus terris fecunditatem damus, nos flumina arcemus derigimus avertimus, nostris denique manibus in rerum natura quasi alteram naturam efficere conamur.
>
> Similarly the control over the commodities of the earth is entirely mankind's: we derive benefit from fields and from mountains; rivers and lakes are ours; we plant crops and tees; we give fertility to the lands by irrigation of waters; we block, divert, and direct rivers; in short, with our own hands we attempt to fashion a second nature, as it were, within the natural world. (*Nat. D.* 2.152)

Humans' ability to alter their environments is so great that they nearly create their own world, a second or alternative nature (*alteram naturam*).[368] However, humans only attempt

[367] Compare how humans take on the protective role of *Natura* in domesticating animals in Lucr. 5.855-70.

[368] See Purcell (2017) 163-4 on how archaeological evidence supports this broad statement of Roman impact on the environment: "Romans, looking optimistically at the impact of human activities on watery environments above all others, were able to feel that something analogous to the dispositions of Nature was theirs to produce, to generally beneficial effect. Archaeology shows that the frequency and impact of these interventions was not exaggerated by statements of this kind [i.e. like Cic., *Nat. D.* 2.152], and the

(*conamur*) to effect this second nature, suggesting that perhaps they cannot make anything that is beyond nature. *Quasi* ("as it were") further qualifies the idea. Indeed, this passage appears in the context of Balbus arguing that human beings have been made so perfectly and with such tremendous capabilities that they could only have been created by a provident Nature. The human's construction of an *altera natura* is actually a testament to the original *Natura* of which it is a product. Both Cicero and Lucretius explore the human's unique and tremendous ability to shape and transform the world. However—each in their own way—they both also show that this is not necessarily a violation of Nature, but can be understood as an extension or furthering of *Natura*.

Like Cicero and Lucretius, Vergil in the *Georgics* is also very aware of how human practices alter the environment. In planting particular plants in particular fields, burning shrubs, creating irrigation channels, breeding certain animals and grazing them in certain areas, planting and felling trees, and a host of other activities, Vergil's imagined farmer constantly transforms his surroundings. The presence and influence of Rome, though, enacts this human alteration of the environment on a much grander scale. At the simplest level, Rome's power allows it to redraw political geography, and to organize space and delineate boundaries as it sees fit. A discussion of soil types in book two, for example, leads to a reference to *qualem infelix amisit Mantua campum* ("the sort of field unfortunate Mantua lost," 2.198), pointing us back to the world of the *Eclogues* with its land dispossessions and boundary disputes. A similar power is displayed when Rome encloses her seven hills within a single wall (2.535). In both cases, Roman political

---

Roman's miraculous power over water . . . was certainly manifest in the normal and the frequent and the widespread as much as it was in the really grandiose, 'one-off' projects."

power has the ability to reorganize existing environments and change how humans will dwell in them.

Beyond this, though, Vergil explores in the *Laudes Italiae* how Rome has actually physically transformed the topography of Italy. Vergil's glowing description of Italy moves smoothly from the region's climate and geography to manmade features like cities and walls. It "passes easily from nature to man," as Mynors puts it, and the implication seems to be that human and nonhuman cannot be disentangled in what makes up *Italia.*[369] The ethnographic tradition from which this passage derives is precisely interested in how particular climates and geographies give rise to particular human societies. So too is Vergil:

> haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam
> adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volscosque verutos
> extulit, haec Decios Marios magnosque Camillos,
> Scipiadas duros bello et te, maxime Caesar. 170
>
> This land has brought forth a tough race of men, Marsians
> and Sabellan youth and the Ligurian accustomed to adversity
> and the javelin-bearing Volscians. This land bore Decii and Marii,
> great Camilli, Scipios strong in war, and you, greatest Caesar. (*G.* 2.167-70)

In this case, however, humans proceed to alter drastically the environment that gave rise to them. Following a description of the animals and plants of Italy, Vergil adds to the region's bounty its marvels of human construction:

> adde tot egregias urbes operumque laborem, 155
> tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis
> fluminaque antiquos subter labentia muros
> an mare quod supra memorem, quodque adfluit infra?
> anne lacus tantos? te, Lari maxime, teque,
> fluctibus et fremitu adsurgens Benace marino? 160
> an memorem portus Lucrinoque addita claustra
> atque indignatum magnis stridoribus aequor,

[369] Mynors (1990) ad 136-76.

> Iulia qua ponto longe sonat unda refuso
> Tyrrhenusque fretis immittitur aestus Avernis?
>
> And add to that so many preeminent cities and the labor of their works,
> so many towns heaped up by human hand on sheer rock-cliffs
> and rivers sliding underneath ancient walls. Or should I recall
> the sea that flows above, and the one that flows below? Or so many lakes?
> You, Larius most great, and you, Benacus, surging with waves
> and the roar of the sea? Or should I bring to mind the ports and the bulwarks
> added to the Lucrine and the sea offended with its great crashing sounds,
> where the Julian water resounds far and wide, with the sea kept out, and where
> the tide of the Tyrrhenus is guided into the straits of Avernus? (*G.* 2.155-64)

Here human construction merges with the rest of the environment: hill towns gain grandeur from the sheer elevation which is not the work of man as well as from their walls built by hand (*manu*, 156), while the word order of line 157 weaves together flowing rivers and manmade walls. Human and nonhuman are literally entwined in the line, and the ancient walls seem as much a longstanding feature of the environment as the rivers.[370]

This blending continues as Vergil mentions first two Italian lakes and then the Portus Iulius recently engineered by Agrippa. Mynors summarizes what seem to have been the feats of construction involved:

> the shallow Lucrine was separated from the sea by a long low natural dyke . . . On the landward side of this . . . was Avernus . . . Agrippa raised the dyke (*addita claustra*) . . . He also provided a navigable entrance through it at one end or both, and having thus made the lagoon stormproof and accessible from the sea, he cut a channel to connect it with the deeper water of Avernus further in.[371]

The Portus Iulius strategically restrains (*claustra*), but also channels and directs (*immittitur*) the movement of water. The construction of the port is like a farmer's creation of irrigation channels—breaking up earth and digging trenches—but on a

[370] Cf. Miles (1980) 125.
[371] Mynors (1990) ad 2.161-4.

massive scale. For some readers, these lines continue to exemplify a harmony between human construction and nonhuman environment, constituting rather straightforward praise of "one of the marvels of contemporary engineering."[372] Others see the port as an example of human hubris, with the sea *indignatum* at its construction.[373] This conflict of interpretation is already latent in the passages of Cicero and Lucretius seen earlier, and indeed is part of a wider pattern of ambivalence in Augustan representations of such human constructions.[374] There is a celebration of Roman accomplishment in these lines, alongside suggestions of hubris—but the larger fact both these readings recognize is that humans have a unique ability to transform the world around them, for good or for ill, and that Rome in particular can exercise this ability to a tremendous extent. Humans are one part of a more-than-human world, but have an outsized role in shaping the world that exceeds them.

The ability of Rome to alter the world finds expression elsewhere in the poem through the representation of the young Caesar who appears first near the beginning of the work. The proem of book one culminates, after the invocation of various deities great and small, with an address to this young leader:

---

[372] Putnam (1979) 125. See Putnam (1979) 101 and 126; Miles (1980) 125; and Cramer (1998) 91-100.

[373] See e.g. Thomas (1982) 43-4, Ross (1987) 118, Thomas (1988a) ad 2.161-4, and Perkell (1989) 105.

[374] Armstrong (2009) demonstrates a range of ambivalent and contradictory stances in Augustan authors toward human achievements that could be seen as "against nature." See especially Armstong (2009) 91-2 on human construction in Vergil's *Laudes Italiae*. See also Edwards (1993) 137-72 on the related tradition of Roman moralizing against luxurious and excessive construction. Such moralizing texts often appeal to a concept of nature, and decry human construction as contrary to nature, but this transgression does not consist of altering or tampering with the environment per se (cf. Thomas [1988a] ad 2.161-4). Rather, it has to do with humans going beyond natural limits, and exceeding what humans by their own nature require.

tuque adeo, quem mox quae sint habitura deorum
concilia incertum est, urbisne invisere, Caesar,
terrarumque velis curam, et te maximus orbis
auctorem frugum tempestatumque potentem
accipiat cingens materna tempora myrto;
an deus immensi venias maris ac tua nautae
numina sola colant, tibi serviat ultima Thule,
teque sibi generum Tethys emat omnibus undis;
anne novum tardis sidus te mensibus addas,
qua locus Erigonen inter Chelasque sequentis
panditur (ipse tibi iam bracchia contrahit ardens
Scorpius et caeli iusta plus parte reliquit);
quidquid eris (nam te nec sperant Tartara regem,
nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido,
quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos
nec repetita sequi curet Proserpina matrem),
da facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis,
ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis
ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.

And you, Caesar—which company of gods it is that will soon have you
is uncertain—whether you should wish to look over cities, or care for lands
and the great earth accept you as bringer of crops and master of storms,
wreathing your temples with your mother's myrtle; or whether you come
as god of the vast sea and sailors worship your powers alone,
and farthest Thule serve you, Tethys receive you as son-in-law
with all her waves; or whether you add yourself as a new star
to the slow-moving months, where a space opens up between Erigone
and the claws that follow (just now Scorpio himself, ablaze, draws in
his arms for you and leaves open more than a just portion of the sky)—
whatever you will be (for Tartarus does not hope for you as king,
and may the dread desire of its kingship not come to you, though Greece
wonder at the Elysian fields and Proserpina cares not to follow her mother
though she is sought for), grant a smooth course and nod to our bold undertakings,
having pity on those rustics, along with me, who are ignorant of the way.
Approach, and now ready yourself to be called by prayers. (*G.* 1.24-42)

Octavian has emerged victorious from civil war with unparalleled power, but just where that power will take him (and Rome) remains uncertain in this moment immediately following Actium. Accordingly, Octavian is heralded as on his way to divinity, but what form his divinity will take is unclear. What is clear, though, is that Octavian's godlike

status comes with a godlike ability to influence the world—to give rise to crops and control weather (27) or to give good sailing to sailors (29-30).[375]

Ultimately, Vergil directs him to the sky, where he may assume a place among the signs of the zodiac and other constellations. And indeed, when we last see Octavian at the end of book four, he is well on his way to the heavens (4.562). This praise must be contextualized within the agricultural world of the *Georgics*, where the movements and positions of constellations and stars are how farmers are told to tell time, in order to synchronize their agricultural labor with the larger seasonal and daily cycles of the world. Even beyond the human sphere, movements and behaviors of all sorts of beings, as well as weather patterns, are linked to the regular movements of the heavens. When Vergil suggests that Octavian may add himself to the months (*tardis sidus te mensibus addas*, 32) he is thus imagined as altering not just the calendar but also the regular sequence of the stars, whereby man determines the timing of life in all its variety and intricate relations.

Octavian's rise to power quite literally promises to transform the world. And the cosmocratic rhetoric here is not pure fantasy or empty praise: Caesar is now at the helm of an imperial power that, as we have seen, really can and does alter the physical world. He is, to be sure, a unique example for humankind, well on his way to transcending the human and becoming a god. Nonetheless, he represents in the poem only an intensification of the human's more general power to change the environment. Altering the environment and rewriting geography is what Rome has done with Italy, and what

[375] Cf. the emphasis of Boyle (1986) 41-2 on Octavian as a fecundating agricultural deity in these lines.

Caesar now does with the cosmos. But it is also what, on a smaller scale, every farmer does with his plot of land.

The *Georgics* thus grants humans an ambiguous status in the world: they are one non-exceptional species in a world of varied beings living with one another and shaping each other. And yet, they also wield the power to change the world in ways other creatures cannot and on scales that impact entire lands, regions, and ecologies—even the whole world. In a dilemma we are well positioned to appreciate from the perspective of the newly heralded anthropocene, the world of the *Georgics* is fundamentally more-than-human, and yet profoundly shaped by the human.

Humans in the Mesh

The endings of the first and fourth books of the *Georgics* are two particular places in the poem where this unresolved question of human exceptionality comes to the fore. Book one ends with an accelerating conclusion that soon speeds out of control, in which the place of human politics within a wider world becomes a pressing problem. Vergil's discussion of weather signs transitions into a survey of portents and omens attending the death of Julius Caesar and the more general civil strife of late Republican Rome. The sense of crisis worsens and expands until Mars is raging all over the world, compared in the last words of the book to a charioteer unable to control his chariot (1.511-14).

From one perspective, Roman political turmoil is seen as one more storm in a world that gives signs of impending weather. After all, Vergil introduces the theme of civil discord as one example in support of the general proposition that the sun gives true signs regarding meteorological phenomena:

denique, quid Vesper serus vehat, unde serenas
ventus agat nubes, quid cogitet umidus Auster,
sol tibi signa dabit. 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.
tempore quamquam illo tellus quoque et aequora ponti,
obscenaeque canes importunaeque volucres
signa dabant. quotiens Cyclopum effervere in agros
vidimus undantem ruptis fornacibus Aetnam,
flammarumque globos liquefactaque volvere saxa!
armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo
audiit, insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes.

And lastly the sun will give you signs as to what the late evening
is bringing, from where the wind drives on peaceful clouds,
and what a rainy Auster means. Who would dare say the sun is false?
He often gives warning even of unseen disturbances that threaten
and that deception and hidden wars are on the rise. He pitied Rome
at the death of Caesar, when he covered his gleaming head in dark dusk,
and impious ages feared an eternal night. At that time the earth
and the waters of the sea, and ill-boding dogs and ominous birds
gave signs. How many times we saw Aetna seethe over into the fields
of the Cyclopes, as it flowed from its burst furnaces and rolled forth
balls of flames and melted rocks! Germany heard the clash of arms
in all the sky, and the Alps trembled with unaccustomed shaking. (*G.* 1.461-75)

Human political affairs here are one part of a larger world encompassing storms and civil war alike, shifting clouds and slain generals.[376] Comparable to this are lines from Cicero's poem *De Consulatu Suo* quoted by his brother Quintus in the first book of *De Divinatione*. Defending the validity of divination, Quintus cites Cicero's poetic description of portents and omens—including celestial phenomena and an earthquake—attending the Catilinarian conspiracy (*Div.* 1.18-19). Underlying both Cicero's and Vergil's passages is the broader Roman idea that affairs of the state are plugged into a

[376] Cf. Nappa (2005) 59: "natural signs seem to indicate even hidden aspects of purely human activity," such that "humanity forms part of the natural system." And see also Putnam (1979) 68 and Miles (1980) 252.

larger system encompassing human and nonhuman matters. Indeed, more generally it is the basic task of state-controlled augury and divination at Rome to maintain a political and social order with respect to a larger cosmic and divine order. The contextualization of human affairs within a more-than-human world is fundamental to Roman politics and religion.

At the same time, though, Vergil also suggests in this passage that human politics can alter and transform the larger world that frames it. Fights between other animals do not warp and transform the world as Roman civil war does. Vergil here elevates an internal conflict between groups of Romans into cosmic disorder. Moreover, the tremors shaking the Alps are described as unusual (*insolitis*, 475). These are not the regular and predictable occurrences of weather signs, whose regularity is the basis of their predictive value, but atypical and extraordinary portents. Human politics seems to pervert the larger system into which it is incorporated. And yet, these effects still imply that Roman politics is embedded in the more-than-human world. Human politics does not represent a distinct sphere apart from what modern readers might be tempted to call nature; and yet, there remains something potentially exceptional about the human's place in the world that makes human political affairs qualitatively different from activities of other creatures and disturbances of weather.

At the end of the *Georgics*, the narrative of Aristaeus and Orpheus raises a different set of questions that similarly revolve around the ambiguous status and position of human life within the broader world. At the end of a poem that constantly contextualizes the human in relation to other life, Vergil's epyllion confronts readers with the question of how to value individual human life within an ecological mesh. The farmer

of the *Georgics* often uses violence, and must often purchase one being's flourishing at the cost of another's decline or even death. The practice of bugonia is the most straightforward example of this in book four, where the corpse of a slaughtered ox gives rise to a swarm of bees, but Vergil's entire epyllion is built on uneasy pairings of death and fertility.[377] This combination is emphasized all the more by the fact that Vergil concludes his narrative of death and loss with an uncanny comparison of Aristaeus' swarming bees—newly emerged from an ox's corpse—to a cluster of grapes (*G.* 4.557-8). So how does one weigh the life or death of Orpheus and Eurydice against that of Aristaeus' bees, or the birth of many creatures against the death of one?

Regardless of whether the death and tragedy of the epyllion are somehow redeemed by the success of Aristaeus, the broader point of the narrative seems to be that this exchange of life and death is simply how the world works, for all beings.[378] Even the most particular, individual loss is part of a larger web of relations in which some deaths foster other life, and some lives lead to other deaths. To be a farmer, and perhaps to be in

---

[377] On the combination of birth and death in the bugonia see Miles (1980) 254, 284; Morgan (1999) 89, 106; and Gale (2000) 269. In a similar pattern, after Orpheus' death his dismembered limbs are scattered by Bacchants in a way that eerily evokes fertility ritual: see Miles (1980) 280 and Morgan (1999) 197-200.

[378] Griffin (2008) 225-7 offers a sweeping survey of the mass of scholarship that has attempted to reconcile and make sense of the combination of Aristaeus' success and Orpheus' failure with which the *Georgics* ends. For more positive, redemptive readings, see Klingner (1967) 326-63, Cramer (1998) 239-54, and Morgan (1999). Boyle (1986), esp. 68-75, gives an avowedly pessimistic reading, and Thomas (1988a) 22-24 doubts the redemptive potential of Aristaeus' bugonia. Griffin (2008) 241 himself suggests, "for my part I cannot feel that the restoration of bees outweighs the suffering and death of Orpheus and Eurydice . . . An exquisite ambivalence surely prevails." Gale (2000) 57 and Nappa (2005) 212-16 read the epyllion as an example of qualified success balanced against loss. Habinek (1990) sees in the bugonia a sacrificial rite that gives a kind of redemptive closure to the poem, a reading vigorously denied by Thomas (1991). On the debate between Habinek and Thomas in the context of different disciplinary models for understanding sacrificial ritual in literature, see Feeney (2004).

the world at all, is to fashion an existence amid the ties of life and death that bind all creatures—not as members of some interconnected cosmic whole—but in specific relations of power, use and abuse, love, mutual benefit, cooperation, and competition. If Orpheus mourns movingly, so too does the nightingale to which he is compared:

> qualis populea maerens philomela sub umbra
> amissos queritur fetus, quos durus arator
> observans nido implumis detraxit; at illa
> flet noctem, ramoque sedens miserabile carmen
> integrat, et maestis late loca questibus implet. 515
>
> So the mourning nightingale, beneath the shade of a poplar,
> bewails its lost young, whom a harsh plowman has pulled
> out of their nest, unfledged, upon noticing them. But she cries
> all night and, perched on a branch, she renews her pitiable song
> and fills the area all around with her mournful complaints. (*G.* 4.511-15)

With this remarkable simile, at the moment the poem is most concerned with the individual human—with Orpheus' singular love and grief for Eurydice—Vergil suddenly asks us to compare that grief to that of a nonhuman animal, a nightingale who has lost her particular children.[379] The poem asks us to see Eurydice's death as one among many in a world made up of beings living and dying together and at each other's expense. And moreover, it suggests that mourning for a particular loved one is an experience that nonhuman animals also undergo.[380] The reference to a *durus arator* explicitly challenges us to see this kind of loss as embedded in the activities of farming the poem has been instructing us in all along: Vergil's farmer comfortably exchanges death for life all the

[379] For the Homeric passages behind this simile, see Thomas (1988b) ad 4.511-15, Mynors (1990) ad 4.511-15, and Farrell (1991) 323-34. The allusion to the myth of Philomela and her metamorphosis heightens the passage's probing of the status of humans and other animals, though the primary reference of the simile remains to an actual nightingale.
[380] See also Verg., *G.* 3.518.

time.[381] This simile is one of the pinnacles of the poem's attempts to think beyond a narrow anthropocentrism, and yet it is, at the same time, the moment when such thinking becomes most difficult. Are we truly prepared to let go of the exceptionality of Eurydice's death, as Orpheus cannot? Are we to regard Eurydice as the farmer views the nightingale, or see the nightingale as we see Eurydice? What forms of attachment and mourning are proper or available to us in our relations with different forms of life?

The Orpheus narrative with which Vergil concludes his ecological poem offers a closing challenge to his readers: are we really able to decenter human life and loss in a meaningful way? Would we even want to? The poem offers no simple answers to the deaths of Eurydice and Orpheus, but leaves us with the open question of how we value human life in relation to the other forms of life from which it is inextricable. This is a fitting conclusion for a poem that continually puts into question the status of the human. As we have seen, on the one hand, recurrent use of anthropomorphism insists on similarity and comparability between humans and other beings, while on the other hand the poem shows the human's unique ability to transform the environment of which it is one part. This ambiguity also underlies Vergil's treatment of weather signs in book one, which has crucial importance for the poem as a whole. As I will argue, this section on weather signs is where we can see how the poem's probing of human exceptionality, its interest in ecological relationships, and its very status as a didactic poem are all connected.

[381] The line specifically points to *G.* 2.207-11, where a farmer uproots trees and disturbs nests.

The Signs of the World and the Knowledge of the Poem

Vergil's instructions on weather signs follow the model of Aratus, whose *Phaenomena* Varro Atacinus and Cicero had earlier translated and adapted.[382] The popularity of Aratus fit into a wider cultural fascination with the topic of signs of various sorts, including divinatory signs and portents. What does the existence of reliable signs in the world imply about the human's relation to the rest of the world, or about the existence and nature of the divine? What can be inferred about the structure, design, and intelligibility of the cosmos from the observable fact of certain signs? Questions like these formed a major discourse of cultural debate in late Republican Rome, expressed most obviously in Cicero's *De Divinatione*. Vergil's section on weather signs responds to and participates in this wider conversation, and he too is interested in what the existence of reliable *signa* implies about the world and the human's standing within it.

Late in book one, among a variety of signs foretelling various changes in weather, Vergil describes how one can know that rain is coming:

> numquam imprudentibus imber
> obfuit: aut illum surgentem vallibus imis
> aëriae fugere grues, aut bucula caelum
> suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras,
> aut arguta lacus circumvolitavit hirundo
> et veterem in limo ranae cecinere querelam.
> saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova
> angustum formica terens iter, et bibit ingens
> arcus, et e pastu decedens agmine magno
> corvorum increpuit densis exercitus alis.
> iam variae pelagi volucres et quae Asia circum
> dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri—
> certatim largos umeris infundere rores,
> nunc caput obiectare fretis, nunc currere in undas
> et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi.

[382] See Gee (2013) 36-147 on the influence of Aratus in a range of Latin texts from the late Republic to Statius.

tum cornix plena pluviam vocat improba voce
et sola in sicca secum spatiatur harena.

Never has rain come upon people without warning:
either high-flying cranes have fled from it as it rises
in the bottom of the valleys, or a young cow
looking askance at the sky has taken in the air
through flaring nostrils, or the shrill swallow
has circled around the lakes and frogs have sung
their old complaint in the mud. Often, too, an ant,
wearing away its narrow path, has brought its eggs
out from its inner dwellings, and an enormous
rainbow drinks its fill, and the troop of rooks
departing their pasture in a great formation
has made a rustling with dense-packed wings.
And now the various sea birds and those that rummage
around the Asian meadows in the sweet waters of the Cayster—
they pour the plentiful waters over their shoulders zealously;
now you may see them dunking their heads in the streams
and now rushing into the waves and delighting in the frivolous exertion
of bathing. Then the bold rook cries for rain with all its voice
and alone walks over the dry sand, all by itself. (*G.* 1.373-89)

The animals described here are interpreted as signs by humans, but they themselves are engaged in semiotic activity: they interpret something as a sign of rain to come. Crucially, the animals seem simply to know how to interpret and react to environmental conditions without instruction. The remarkable extent of this knowledge gains emphasis from the shifting distances and scales of this passage: cranes high in the air react to the depths of the valleys, while a cow takes note of the sky. Birds in the sky and the tiniest ant on the ground alike interpret something as foretelling rain, and react accordingly.[383]

The world evinced by this passage is a system of living signs. Already in Aratus, as Katharina Volk emphasizes, "nature is an infinite divine sign system."[384] Importantly,

[383] Cf. Otis (1963) 162: "Nature is supremely sensitive: all parts of it are 'members of one another.'" While he couches his reading in an idea of Nature Vergil resists formulating, he captures the sense of interconnection in these lines.
[384] Volk (2010) 203.

though, in this passage of the *Georgics* the world is not merely a set of signs to be read by humans. Vergil does not describe only signs to be read by human observers, but rather chains of semiotic activity, as animals sense and react to changes in their environment. Rejecting a quasi-Stoic perspective that would claim these animals are all interfused with the same divine Nature, Vergil suggests that they react to perceived changes in the air:

> verum ubi tempestas et caeli mobilis umor
> mutavere vias et Iuppiter uvidus Austris
> denset erant quae rara modo, et quae densa relaxat,
> vertuntur species animorum, et pectora motus
> nunc alios, alios dum nubila ventus agebat,
> concipiunt: hinc ille avium concentus in agris,
> et laetae pecudes et ovantes gutture corvi.
>
> But when the weather and the shifting moisture of the sky
> have changed their ways and rainy weather with winds compacts
> what was just now dispersed, and loosens what was dense,
> the aspects of their mind change, and their chests feel different movements,
> different from when the wind was driving clouds; from this arises
> that singing of birds together in the fields, the glad cows,
> and the rooks sounding triumphant cries from their throats. (*G.* 1.417-23)

The seemingly automatic knowledge of the birds is in fact a process involving felt changes in the creatures' bodies and a change in their *animi*.[385] The bird feels a change in the air and knows what this means. And this intuitive knowledge underlies the behavior of herd animals, as well (422-3). All these animals can be interpreted as signs by humans because they themselves are interpreting signs: sensing and reacting to changes in the environment they perceive to be significant. Much more than a list of discrete weather

[385] Nonetheless, this naturalizing account is in tension with the prevalence in this same book of portents and of a provident Jupiter who has organized an intelligible world. See Gale (2000) 83-4 and 206.

signs, this section of the *Georgics* discloses a world alive and enmeshed together through semiotic activity.[386]

But where do humans fit in this interlinked system? The list of rain signs seen above culminates with one final example that is importantly different from the rest:

> ne nocturna quidem carpentes pensa puellae 390
> nescivere hiemem, testa cum ardente viderent
> scintillare oleum et putris concrescere fungos.
>
> Not even girls gathering wool by night
> have failed to notice a storm, when they saw the oil
> glint in a burning lantern and putrid mold grow on it. (*G.* 1.390-92)

Into his list of animal signs portending rain, Vergil introduces one human example. In fact, Vergil has borrowed the example of the lantern from Aratus, but has crucially added the mention of the girls, who are absent in his model.[387] The addition of the *puellae* might suggest that humans, too, are part of the semiotic chains of life that include all sorts of creatures large and small. However, Vergil's phrasing, which emphasizes that *even* girls can foretell rain, suggests that this example stands out as somehow different from the others. And indeed, the way that these humans foretell rain does differ significantly from the reactions of birds, ants, and cows discussed above. Crucially, the girls' knowledge of impending weather is not an innate, embodied knowledge, but rather a learned observation. Rather than feeling a shift in the air, the girls see this shift in the lantern, which acts as a kind of barometer. It observably registers atmospheric changes in a way the human's body (unlike a bird's) cannot. There is, in short, a gap between

---

[386] Kohn (2013) is helpful in arguing for the semiotic activities of nonhuman life. As he explains, "significance is not the exclusive province of humans because we are not the only ones who interpret signs," (31) and "signs are not exclusively human affairs. All living beings sign," (42).

[387] On this difference see Klingner (1967) 216, Wilkinson (1969) 186, Putnam (1979) 59, and Thomas (1987) 70.

humans and other animals, who are intuitively plugged in to the semiotic chains of the world in a way we are not.

This does not mean, though, that humans can never participate in this semiotic activity at all. They can, just like the *puellae*, but they must first learn how. They need teaching in order to enter fully into the semiosis of their environment, and it is this teaching that Vergil's poem offers. Vergil's didaxis translates the *signa* of the world into linguistic signs for his readers. In a later context, Brooke Holmes has argued that Pliny the Elder's collection of natural historical knowledge is imagined as compensating for the human's lack of other animals' innate intuitions.[388] Similarly, in the *Georgics*, humans may be the one animal estranged from the semiotic networks of the world, but this gap between human and nonhuman can be bridged by the knowledge offered by this didactic poem.

This relationship between Vergil's instruction and the *signa* occurring in the world emerges most clearly from the weather signs of book one, but has repercussions for the *Georgics* as a whole. Signs of various kinds are crucial to every topic the *Georgics* covers. All throughout the poem, humans are told to observe signs and act appropriately.[389] The ideal farmer must know not only what sign portends what kind of weather, but also what signs suggest a good and healthy animal, and what to observe to know the quality of a field's soil, or the nature of a plant. All throughout the poem, Vergil translates the signs of the world, relaying the chains of signification by which the world functions to his readers. The strange position of the human—not categorically unique in

[388] Holmes (2017).
[389] As Perkell (1989) 157 notes, "the conception of the reliability of signs and of the predictability of routine, seasonal, or annual events forms the very basis of the assumption of a knowable world and of georgic endeavors." See also Schiesaro (1997) 68.

the world and yet somehow distinct—thus underlies the entire poem's didactic project. The *Georgics* does not simply teach its human readers that they are embedded in webs of ecological relation; it promises to actually do the work of embedding them.

It is worth stressing that there is an element of fiction and fantasy to this. A reader of the *Georgics* of course does not come away from the poem able to interpret every detail and change in the world. But in reading the instructions and knowledge that Vergil puts on display, the reader imagines what it would be like to know what every shift in weather means and how to react, to know what certain animal behaviors indicate, to know from the sun and stars what to expect in the fields. *Quid faciat laetas segetes. . .* The *Georgics* begins with a series of indirect questions, holding out the promise of answers to come. And the imaginative appeal of the poem is that knowing enough of these answers can compensate for the human's separation from other interconnected forms of life, that by learning more and more about the webs of relation in the world, we can better make our lives plugged into these relations.

Conclusion

What begins with a seemingly prosaic statement of purpose—to instruct in the ways of farming—becomes, by the end of its four books, a poem that takes its readers up to the stars in the heavens and down into the soil of the earth. Along the way, it explores life in its varied forms, human and nonhuman, and the ways in which these different forms of life are always entangled together, living and becoming only with and through one another. Vergil's imagined farmer does not struggle against Nature, but struggles with and against the particular natures of specific beings, managing and intervening in

relationships between specific soils and plants, between particular animals and their environments, and between all these and the gods. The farmer is creative, coaxing life from the soil, but is also violent and destructive. He lives with animals in mutual interdependence, but also presses them into forms of servitude and forced labor. All the variety of relationships in the poem of cooperation, manipulation, violence, struggle, cultivation, and care play out in ecological webs, in the networks of coexistence that make up local environments. This understanding of farming leads to the ultimate lesson of the *Georgics*, that any account of human life must necessarily take into account the nonhuman life without which it is unthinkable.

In his second major work, then, Vergil continues and expands on his interest in the nonhuman world. The *Eclogues* are concerned with how its human herdsmen are parts of more-than-human local environments, and how nonhuman beings contribute to bucolic music and to a sense of local place. It is a poetry that valorizes pleasant dwelling and song, and the nonhuman world plays a major role in both. The *Georgics*, Vergil's poem of labor, looks in more granular detail at the difficulty of being part of a more-than-human environment, the specific ways in which humans and nonhumans live, toil, struggle, and (sometimes) flourish together. Just as the *Georgics* and *Eclogues* are complementary views of rural life, so Vergilian pastoral and georgic offer two different ways of conceptualizing human coexistence in more-than-human environments and ecologies.

The *Georgics* is a powerfully ecological poem that always contextualizes the human in relation to nonhumans. Nevertheless, it still maintains that the human occupies a unique place within the ecological mesh of the world. While anthropomorphism and an

attention to the complexities of nonhuman life probe commonality and comparability between humans and nonhumans, Vergil stresses the human's unique ability to alter the world—expressed especially through the tremendous power of the imperial center of Rome and the young Caesar at its helm. Moreover, while the human is embedded in a web of relations, it is not always (and not innately) connected to the semiotic activities of the nonhuman world. Humans have to be taught to recognize the *signa* of the world and to know how to react to them. The *Georgics* arises from the problem of the human's particular status, and seeks to re-embed its reader in the webs of more-than-human semiosis both by offering the instructions other animals seem not to need, and more generally by teaching how human life is always bound up with the nonhuman. While many critics have debated the degree to which the *Georgics* actually teaches farming, a broader way of thinking about the poem's didactic form is asking what fantasy of knowledge agricultural instruction offers. This is a poem that offers knowledge in order to connect the human to the nonhuman world it is enmeshed with and yet distinct from. The didactic promise of Vergil's *Georgics* is that the ecological knowledge of agriculture can make us more at home in the webs of more-than-human relation within which we live.

However, the *Georgics* is also uncertain as to whether this project of reparative knowing can succeed. It is, as critics of recent decades have emphasized, a poem as much of failure and doubt as of confident success. In particular, the poem is unsure as to what form this knowledge ought to take—whether it is a localized knowledge of one's particular environment or a comprehension of the world or cosmos as a whole. If the central lesson of this didactic poem is that humans are constitutively embedded in

ecological relations with nonhuman beings, how far do these relations extend? Are we enmeshed in a specific local environment, in a region, or in a world or universe? The *Georgics* varies tremendously in the scale at which it thinks the place of the human in the world, and in the following chapter I examine this issue of scale in the poem. I will trace the variety of ways in which the poem places humans in entangled communities of place and planet, of sprawling and shifting scale, and show how the poem ultimately rethinks locality itself.

Chapter 4

Poetry of Place and Planet: Fractal Locality in Vergil's *Georgics*

Introduction

We have seen that the *Georgics* embeds humans in ecological relation to nonhumans, but the environments in which we are embedded are of uncertain scale. When tracing the relationships to other beings by which humans live, where can one stop? In the midst of formulating his idea of the ecological thought, Timothy Morton pauses to ask a similar question:

> At what point do we stop, if at all, drawing the line between *environment* and *non-environment:* the atmosphere? Earth's gravitational field? Earth's magnetic field, without which everything would be scorched by solar winds? The sun, without which we wouldn't be alive at all? The Galaxy?[390]

Much like the agriculture of Varro's Agrasius seen in the previous chapter, Morton's environment threatens to expand ever outward. He responds to this dilemma of environmental imagination by attempting to find a way of "thinking big" while maintaining "concern for minute particulars."[391] In its own way, Vergil's *Georgics* confronts a similar problem, attempting to conceptualize humans' place in their local environments—epitomized by the bounded space of the farm—while also imagining life at larger scales and attempting to think the world as a coherent whole.

For Vergil, this question of the appropriate scale for thinking humans' shared life with nonhumans involves also political questions of local communities and global empire, as well as geographical questions of regional demarcation. Vergil shifts between local

---

[390] Morton (2010) 10.
[391] See Morton (2010) 20-58, and cf. Buell (2005) 62-96 and Heise (2008), esp. 3-67. On scale as a major issue for ecocriticism, see Clark (2011) 136-9.

and global perspectives in an attempt to account for the complexity of the world, even as the availability of those perspectives is variously enabled, altered, and eradicated by Roman imperial power and worldwide conquest. In addition, this shifting between local and global reflects tensions between agricultural thinking and various philosophical perspectives on the cosmos. When Varro's character Scrofa in *De Re Rustica* defends the scientific bona fides of agriculture, he refers to a remark of Ennius that the fundamental elements of farming are the fundamental elements of the universe: water, earth, air, and heat.[392] Farming for Roman authors and readers is not just about what it means to be a Cincinnatus or a Cato; it is also about the cosmos. And indeed, the *Georgics* is concerned with the world on a grand scale. It is, as Monica Gale has thoroughly argued, Vergil's own poem on the nature of things.[393] The first half of this chapter examines tensions between these cosmic interests of the poem and its focus on the local, bounded environment of the farmer.

The *Eclogues,* as we have seen, places great stress on local place, and individuals' ability or inability to stay in such a location. The *Georgics* similarly places importance on the particularities of local environments, while putting pressure on the viability of local dwelling. But whereas the *Eclogues* shows the shifting and unstable boundaries of local place, the *Georgics* more deeply interrogates the very concept of locality. In the second part of this chapter, I examine how the concept of the local is itself deeply complicated by the global perspectives with which it is necessarily linked. Over the course of the

---

[392] *Rust.* 1.4: *eius principia sunt eadem, quae mundi esse Ennius scribit, aqua, terra, anima et sol* ("its fundamental elements are the same as those Ennius writes are the elements of the universe: water, earth, air, and heat.")

[393] Gale (2000). See also Pigeaud (1977) 431, for whom the *Georgics* is simultaneously "un *de rerum natura* et un *art poétique*," and Ross (1987) 30, who describes Vergil's attempt in the *Georgics* "to understand rationally the workings of the universe."

poem, a simple concept of locality as a bounded space immured from the outside world and straightforwardly opposed to more global or cosmic perspectives ceases to be tenable. Arising from a particular political situation, but also from tensions within and between the various discourses and traditions Vergil's poem subsumes, the *Georgics* rethinks a more nuanced concept of locality that is intertwined with the global, and is of shifting, unpredictable scale: what I term fractal locality. The poem embeds humans not simply in a local place or in the world at large, but in concentric and overlapping environments, communities, and localities of varying sizes.

This probing of locality offers another way of understanding the *Georgics* as a didactic text. In addition to teaching readers of their enmeshment in more-than-human ecologies (and actually connecting readers to those ecologies by relaying to them the world's signs), the poem offers the fantasy of knowing one's place in a complicated world, marked by movement and resettlement following civil war. The poem's agricultural instructions begin with a farmer confronting a previously unknown field (*ignotum . . . aequor*, 1.50). The *Georgics* stresses knowledge of one's local place, and how that place fits into the structures of a larger world, in part because it imagines readers moving to, adapting to, and resettling in new lands within a post-Actium world reorganized under Roman—and Caesarian—power. The poem professes to offer a knowledge of place that is flexible and shifting enough to negotiate this complex, fractally local world, imaginatively placing individuals in communities of place, region, empire, and planet.

Part 1: The Local and the Global

Farmers and Philosophers

The *Georgics* blends together a remarkable range of discourses from ethnography and natural philosophy to agriculture and geography—not to mention its broad intertextual palette including Hesiod, Homer, Aratus, and Lucretius, to name only a few. It also reflects on the contemporary political context in which it was written, and on its own nature as a poetic creation. As we will see, all these varied interests and aspects of the poem revolve around tensions between the local and global. Agriculture demands attention to locality and the particularities of local environments, and Vergil's poem of farming is accordingly attentive to local place. However, the poem also has more global and even cosmic perspectives and aims, which which make the *Georgics* a poem as concerned with the world and the cosmos as with particular fields and farms.

In chapter one, we saw the importance of local boundaries and bounded place to the world of the *Eclogues*. A similar stress on boundaries appears in the *Georgics* and the agricultural tradition it takes up. Instructions for a *lustratio* included in Cato's *De Agri Cultura* show an idea of the farm as a bounded space of agricultural activity cordoned off from a larger world:

> agrum lustrare sic oportet. impera suovitaurilia circumagi: "cum divis volentibus quodque bene eveniat, mando tibi, Mani, ut ilace suovitaurilia fundum agrum terramque meam quota ex parte sive circumagi sive circumferenda censeas, uti cures lustrare." Ianum Iovemque vino praefamino, sic dicito, "Mars pater, te precor quaesoque uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiaeque nostrae, quoius rei ergo agrum terram fundumque meum suovitaurilia circumagi iussi, uti tu morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiasque prohibessis defendas averruncesque; utique tu fruges, frumenta, vineta virgultaque grandire beneque evenire siris, pastores pecuaque salva servassis duisque bonam salutem valetudinemque mihi domo familiaeque nostrae; harumce rerum ergo, fundi terrae agrique mei lustrandi lustrique

faciendi ergo, sicuti dixi, macte hisce suovitaurilibus lactentibus inmolandis esto.

This is the way to perform a *lustratio.* Order a pig, ram, and bull to be led around the border: "With gods willing, that it may turn out well, I call on you, Manius, to take care to purify my farm and field and land, from whichever part you deem they should be either led around or carried around." Pray with wine to Janus and Jupiter, and speak thus: "Father Mars, I pray to you and seek that you may be willing and favorable to me, my home, and my household, for which reason I have therefore ordered the pig, ram, and bull to be lead around my farm, field, and land, that you may prevent, repel, and turn away diseases seen and unseen, barrenness and ruin, disasters and unseasonable things; and that you may let fruits, grain, vines, and bushes grow large and turn out well, and keep my herdsmen and herd animals healthy, and give good health and fitness to me, my home, and my household. For these things then, for purifying my land, field, and farm, for carrying out a *lustratio*, as I have said, be honored with this pig, ram, and bull, suckling sacrifices. (*Agr.* 141)

The repetition of verbs with the *circum-* prefix emphasizes the prayer's focus on the boundary line circumscribing the farmer's particular plot of land.[394] In the *Eclogues*, I briefly noted a reference to the *ambarvalia* as an example of religiously defined locality, and here too the *lustratio* shows how religious ritual can reinforce boundaries between farms and properties.

We see something similar in book one of the *Georgics*, with a description of leading a sacrificial animal around one's crops:

cuncta tibi Cererem pubes agrestis adoret:
cui tu lacte favos et miti dilue Baccho,
terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges,
omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes.

May you have all the rustic youth worship Ceres:
for her pour over the honey combs milk and gentle wine,
and let the favorable victim go around the new crops three times,

[394] Cf. Ross (1987) 20 on this prayer: "The farm itself became an island of security in a hostile environment . . . outside the farm's *termini* existed not only the visible wolves and wild growth, but forces unseen and nameless."

accompanied by the whole band of rejoicing friends. (*G.* 1.343-6)[395]

Beyond the drawn lines of boundaries traced out in this ritual, specific locality is crucial to the thinking of Roman agricultural texts. At the foundation of treatises like those of Cato and Varro is the underlying fact that different lands—both different geographical regions and different kinds of land or soil—produce different things. In Varro, Agrasius defines agriculture as not only an *ars*, but also a *scientia*, which teaches *quae sint in quoque agro serenda ac facienda* ("what things are to be sown and what things are to be done in each kind of field," *Rust.* 1.3). Knowing what the particularities of each local environment require is the basic knowledge of agriculture, and the observations of Varro's characters continue to be linked to local particularity throughout the work. This is why the first real task for a farmer is to get to know the specific plot of land that is his: this is the first matter of instruction in Cato (*Agr.* 1) and the first practical issue treated after various preliminaries in Varro (*Rust.* 1.6). Such an instruction appears early in Vergil's *Georgics*, as well, only seven lines into the book's first didactic section:[396]

> ac prius ignotum ferro quam scindimus aequor, 50
> ventos et varium caeli praediscere morem
> cura sit ac patrios cultusque habitusque locorum,
> et quid quaeque ferat regio et quid quaeque recuset.
>
> And before we embark on an unknown expanse with the plow,
> take care to learn in advance the winds and the various habits of the sky
> as well as the local cultivations and the conditions of the places,
> and what each area may bear and what each area refuses to grow. (*G.* 1.50-3)

At the foundation of farming is knowledge of one's local environment. Importantly, here this is knowledge of a new, unknown (*ignotum*) place. Indeed, one only needs to take care to learn the character of a local environment if one has not already lived and farmed

[395] Thomas (1988a) ad 1.345 associates this scene with Cato's ritual seen above.
[396] Mynors (1990) ad 1.50-53 notes that with these lines "logically should come first."

there in the past. The broader context of the poem's interest in locality is a world attempting to resettle into place after the upheaval and uprooting of civil war.

This agricultural emphasis on locality follows from the stress on proper habitats in the biological and botanical works of Aristotle and Theophrastus. One of the ways Aristotle categorizes animals in the *Historia Animalium* is by their relation to their particular habitats.[397] And Theophrastus' *Historia Plantarum* shows a great interest in the specific locations suited to different plans.[398] This is most apparent in book four, which is devoted to *oikeioi topoi*, the proper places for particular plants, but remains important throughout the work. For Theophrastus, the proper *topos* for a plant can mean anything from a shady versus a sunny spot, to a particular type of soil, to a plot's location relative to mountains or rivers, to a specific region of the world. Vergil shares Theophrastus' emphasis on where to place particular plants, devoting attention in book two to different soil types and what plants grow in what regions.[399] As he summarizes, *nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt* ("nor in truth can all lands bear all things," 2.109), and *divisae arboribus patriae* ("the native homes of trees are various," 2.116). Strikingly, the *topos* of Theophrastus is here assimilated to the emotionally laden Roman concept of a *patria*: different trees, Vergil tells us, have their different homelands.

This use of *patria* encourages us to compare the sited lives of plants to the relations between human life and particular places. If plants and animals have specific

---

[397] On the close connection between animals and their habitats in Aristotle, see Gelber (2015).

[398] Theophrastus is Vergil's more immediate source, but the Hippocratics are already interested in the particular habitats of particular plants. See the discussion of silphium (which grows in Libya, but not in the comparatively dry soils of Ionia or the Peloponnese) in Hippoc., *Morb.* 4.34.3.

[399] See esp. *G.* 2.109-35.

habitats in which they prosper, what about humans? Unlike plants and some animals, humans can live in a wide variety of places all over the world.[400] But if human mobility is not restricted by local and regional environmental differences, these differences still impact and determine human life in significant ways. The idea that local and regional environmental particularities shape the lives of the humans that live in those environments is a widespread and longstanding one in Greek intellectual traditions. In Epicurus' account of the origins of language, for example, the experience of different environments with their different stimuli lead to various human communities developing different words and languages.[401] Another excellent example of this kind of thinking is the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*, which stresses how the particularities of specific environments shape human health and life. In fact, Vergil's instruction to learn first about a place's winds and the character of the sky it is under resemble exactly the kind of instruction the Hippocratic treatise gives to a doctor.[402]

The ethnographic tradition takes this fundamental relationship between human life and particular local environment further. The diversity of human cultures in ancient ethnography is an epiphenomenal result of the diversity of local environments in the world. All of the cultural differences between human communities that ethnography concerns itself with exist because of a fundamental differentiation of the world and its regions. This insight is behind Vergil's survey in book three of pastoral life in Africa and Scythia: the Libyan shepherd lives as a nomad, carrying everything with him, while the Scythian keeps his animals penned in, and remains in one dwelling place, due to the very

[400] As Buell (2005) 71 puts it, humans are "creatures without fixed habitat who can locate ourselves pretty much anywhere."
[401] See Epicurus, *Ep. Hdt.* 75-6 with Long and Sedley (1987) 100-1.
[402] See Ross (1987) 44-45 and 54-74.

different environments in which they live (3.339-83). Humans are not as rooted to particular soils as plants, and flourish in a wider array of environments than many animal species, but human life is still profoundly shaped and determined by locality, by the particular qualities of the regions and places in which they live.

In the *Georgics*, Vergil places this fact in a mythic timeframe, postulating that local particularity is a condition of iron-age existence, in contrast to the lost golden age. Before the reign of Jupiter, not only were fields not divided up into private, bounded farms (1.125-8), but also every field could grow every sort of crop. In the fourth eclogue, Vergil looks forward to this miraculous aspect of the returned golden age, when *omnis feret omnia tellus* ("every land will bear all things," *Ecl*. 4.39). But this is impossible in the world of the *Georgics*. Vergil directly reverses this image with the aphorism seen earlier*, nec vero terrae ferre omnes omnia possunt* (*G.* 2.109).[403] According to Vergil, this has been the law of nature ever since Deucalion and Pyrrha repopulated the earth with mankind:

> continuo has leges aeternaque foedera certis
> imposuit natura locis, quo tempore primuum
> Deucalion vacuum lapides iactavit in orbem,
> unde homines nati, durum genus.
>
> Immediately nature imposed these laws and everlasting rules
> on sure locations, at the moment Deucalion first tossed stones
> onto the empty earth, from which men were born, a rugged race. (*G.* 1.60-3)

Perhaps in some mythical, prehistoric time all land was equally and uniformly fertile for all kinds of growth, but in the present world the *Georgics* teaches its readers how to live in, a farmer must be aware of the particular qualities of different environments. Likewise,

[403] See Thomas (1988a) ad 2.109 on the importance of this line.

the agricultural precepts and lessons that the poem offers must be suited to particular localities, for which different farming practices are appropriate.

This would seem to make the poem itself localized, offering instructions for specific lands, perhaps for the particular region of Italy**.** In fact, this is the kind of text Servius imagines the *Georgics* to be, when he comments, *sane agriculturae huius praecepta non ad omnes pertinent terras, sed ad solum situm Italiae* ("clearly the precepts of this agriculture do not pertain to all lands, but only to the situation of Italy," *Praef. in G.*).[404] For a reader like Servius, the agricultural instructions and environmental particularities of the poem make it a quintessentially Italian didactic poem. Similarly, Martial refers to the whole poem not as *Georgikon Libri* (and not by any *incipit*) but as *Italia*.[405] Italy does in fact play a significant role in the *Georgics*, especially in book two. But this is a poem that also has more global, totalizing ambitions. While Varro's *De Re Rustica* focuses on Italy, as signaled by the painting of Italy (possibly a kind of map) in the temple of Tellus where the work's dialogue takes place,[406] the *Georgics*, by contrast, takes in the whole world, from the Euphrates to Scythia to Africa. On the one hand, the local particularity of agricultural instruction and the importance of such locality to discourses of ethnography and geography make this poem attuned to and focused on local particulars. But on the other hand, the poem rises in specific moments to a kind of cosmological poetry concerned with the whole earth, and even the heavens.

---

[404] Cf. a similar remark at Servius ad *Geo*. 1.2.
[405] Mart. 8.55(56).19. On this reference in the context of the early reception of the *Georgics*, see Goodfellow (2015) 47.
[406] On the image of *picta Italia* in the *De Re Rustica* see Leach (1988) 159 and Roth (2007).

This tension especially comes to the fore in Vergil's deployment of various philosophical systems in the poem, including the Epicurean worldview of Lucretius. Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* was the preeminent Latin didactic poem that stood before Vergil as he composed the *Georgics*, and it is a poem that constitutes a totalizing epistemic project: for Lucretius, knowledge of invisibly small atoms discloses the truth of the world on the largest cosmic scale.[407] Lucretius' influence on Vergil's *Georgics* is enormous, and Vergil's poem aspires at times to be his own answer to the didactic challenge of the *De Rerum Natura*.[408] But a Lucretian Epicureanism is not the only global or cosmic perspective in the poem, which also considers and plays with elements of Stoicism. In fact, Monica Gale has helpfully shown how Vergil plays various philosophical systems against each other in the *Georgics*, without siding with any particular one.[409] The poem brings together Lucretian Epicureanism, Aratean Stoicism, and Hesiodic religion, showing how these systems are irreconcilable but refusing to opt for any one over the others.[410]

I share Gale's view of the *Georgics* as a profoundly open poem that refuses to subscribe to any one account of the world. And yet, as much as Vergil shows the irreconcilable differences between the major worldviews identified by Gale, it is worth

---

[407] Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* is also a cosmic, universal poem in that it purports to teach universal truths that hold wherever one is in the universe, in contrast to the locally specific truths of agricultural writing.

[408] Sellar (1897) 199 famously remarks, "the influence, direct and indirect, exercised by Lucretius on the thought, composition, and even the diction of the *Georgics* was perhaps stronger than that ever exercised, before or since, by one poet on the work of another." See further Gale (2000) 1-3.

[409] Gale (2000).

[410] See esp. Gale (2000) 15, 58, 66-67, 111-12, and 270. Gale (2000) 270-73 briefly suggests an affinity between this openness of the *Georgics* and the Skeptic suspension of judgment.

emphasizing that they all share a significant similarity. They all posit an overarching or universal principle that ensures that the world in all its local particulars functions as a coherent whole, whether Hesiod's Zeus, Aratus' Stoic reason, or Lucretius' Nature. Complicating Gale's reading of the tensions between these worldviews, we may see that all three are also aligned as global or cosmic systems in tension with the more localized perspective of the farmer, master of his bounded space.

Which of these perspectives offers a better account of the world: the philosopher who contemplates the entire cosmos, or the farmer who knows his particular place? This question runs throughout the *Georgics*, but surfaces especially near the end of book two, where Vergil pronounces as fortunate both the Lucretian thinker with an account of the world and the farmer familiar with his local rustic gods:

me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae,
quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore,
accipiant caelique vias et sidera monstrent,
defectus solis varios lunaeque labores;
unde tremor terris, qua vi maria alta tumescent
obicibus ruptis rursusque in se ipsa resident,
quid tantum Oceano properent se tingere soles
hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet.
sin has ne possim naturae accedere partis
frigidus obstiterit circum praecordia sanguis,
rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
flumina amem silvasque inglorius. o ubi campi
Spercheosque et virginibus bacchata Lacaenis
Taygeta! o qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi
sistat, et ingenti ramorum protegat umbra!
felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas
atque metus omnis et inexorabile fatum
subiecit pedibus strepitumque Acherontis avari:
fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis
Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores.

But first may the Muses, sweet above all else, accept me,
I who bear their sacred vessels, stricken with a great love,
and may they show me the stars and paths of the sky,

> the settings of the sun and the various phases of the moon;
> from where earthquakes come, and by what force deep seas swell
> when its barriers are burst and again settles down of its own accord.
> May they show me why winter suns hurry so much to dip themselves
> in Ocean, or what hindrance stands in the way of slow-coming nights.
> But if the cold blood around my heart stops me so I cannot approach
> these parts of nature, let the countryside and watering streams in valleys
> please me; may I adore rivers and forests without renown. Oh,
> where those meadows are and Spercheus and Taygetus where Spartan
> aidens revel! May someone set me in the cool vales of Haemus,
> and cover me over with a generous shade of branches!
> Happy is he who has been able to understand the causes of things and has
> trampled under foot all fears, unavoidable doom, and Acheron's greedy cry.
> Fortunate too is that man who knows the rustic deities:
> Pan and old Silvanus, and the sister Nymphs. (*G.* 2.475-94)

These lines consider alternative options for Vergil's poetry: he imagines a cosmological poetry highly associated with Lucretius that would soar to the heavens and reveal larger mysteries like earthquakes or the workings of the tides, but then suggests as an alternative a grounded poetry of fields and streams.[411] The latter is associated with far-flung Greek places, but still idealizes local place. In a Roman context of movement and resettlement, Vergil's imagination of locality here means not staying put, but finding somewhere to retreat to.[412] Directly after these lines, Vergil goes on to idealize the farmer as one not troubled by affairs outside of his local place of dwelling (2.495-513), culminating in an emphatic repetition of deictic words that emphasizes his focus on this land here: *hic anni*

---

[411] The latter option has pastoral resonances, such that some see these lines as weighing Vergil's current poetic project against his earlier *Eclogues.* See Thomas (1988a) 249-50. But see Nappa (2005) 106 on these lines as referring to the fusion in the *Georgics* of pastoral and agricultural material. On the presence of Lucretius in these lines, (regardless of whether he is to be identified as the *felix* in line 490), see Gale (2000) 9-10. Nelis (2004) also emphasizes the influence of Empedocles (potentially via Lucretius) on this passage. Of the many studies of these lines, see Buchheit (1972) 60-77, Clay (1976), Putnam (1979) 150, Hardie (1986) 33-51, and Kronenberg (2000).

[412] In other words, the local is contemplated here in a context of pan-Mediterranean empire even as it is opposed to the global—something the second half of this chapter explores in greater depth.

labor, hinc patriam parvosque nepotes | sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvencos ("here is his year's work, from here he supports his homeland and his little grandchildren, and from here his herds of cattle and well-serving oxen," 2.514-15).

Associated with this opposition is a contrast between local and global forms of knowledge. To know the causes of things is to have an account of the world as a whole, to gain an understanding of the parts of nature (*naturae . . . partis*), understood either as a universal principle or as the totality of the world. By contrast, the farmer is familiar with the rustic gods of his particular countryside. As Philip Hardie notes, *cognoscere* and *novit* seem to point to two very different forms of knowing.[413] The Lucretian thinker comprehends causes, while the rustic knows—is familiar with—his local surroundings.[414] Vergil's emphasis on the local deities of the rustic's environment reinforces this sense of locality from a religious perspective, and also heightens the anti-Lucretian contrast here.[415]

The invocation of *natura* in line 483 points to another way of understanding this tension between the local farmer's perspective and the cosmic ambitions of philosophy. The quasi-Lucretian philosopher inquires after nature as a universal principle structuring the whole world, while the farmer, as we saw in the previous chapter, must know the individual, particular natures of specific plants, soils, and creatures. In these lines, Vergil weighs these different senses of *natura* against each other, and implicitly wonders which form of nature his poetry should attend to. It may appear that Vergil rejects the lofty

---

[413] Hardie (1986) 44.
[414] Buchheit (1972) 73 sees behind the *fortunatus* here Tityrus of Eclogue 1, whom Meliboeus addresses as *fortunate senex* (*Ecl* 1.47, 52). Such a reference would emphasize the sense of locality associated with the unnamed rustic in these lines.
[415] Gale (2000) 11 notes that with the rustic gods here, "Lucretian rationalism is juxtaposed with a nostalgic longing for simple rustic piety, more reminiscent of Hesiod."

philosophical poetry of the skies, but he in fact valorizes both forms of poetry and knowledge. He presents the poetry of the countryside as an alternative to cosmological poetry, but only *if* he is unable to ascend to the stars. And the double makarismos of lines 490-4 genuinely extols both endeavors.[416] Moreover, as Hardie has emphasized, this poem has already touched upon some of the astronomical and scientific topics Vergil claims he may not be able to sing of.[417] This passage purports to consider alternatives for what kind of poetry Vergil may go on to sing, but it in fact elaborates central tensions within this present poem. Will the *Georgics* be a localized poetry of particular fields and forests, or a soaring cosmological and scientific work that sets its sights on the workings of the entire universe? Characteristically, Vergil does not decide between the two, and this tension remains unresolved throughout the poem, which wants to be faithful to local particularities while also offering a synthetic account of the world as a whole.

The Garden and the World

This opposition between the global or cosmic perspective of philosophical understanding and the more local knowledge of the farmer finds expression also in book four, with Vergil's description of an old Corycian gardener and his mythic narrative of Aristaeus. His discussion of bees in book four naturally leads him to consider also the flowers and gardens that good beekeeping requires. With an elaborate *praeteritio*, Vergil claims that if he were not already hastening toward his poem's conclusion, he would describe all the details of gardening, remembering that once he had seen a particular gardener who was almost impossibly successful:

[416] Hardie (1986) 43-5; Gale (2000) 10-11.
[417] Hardie (1986) 45.

namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus arcis,
qua niger umectat flaventia culta Galaesus,
Corycium vidisse senem, cui pauca relicti
iugera ruris erant, nec fertilis illa iuvencis
nec pecori opportuna seges nec commoda Baccho.
hic rarum tamen in dumis olus albaque circum
lilia verbenasque premens vescumque papaver
regum aequabat opes animis, seraque revertens
nocte domum dapibus mensas onerabat inemptis.
primus vere rosam atque autumno carpere poma,
et cum tristis hiems etiamnum frigore saxa
rumperet et glacie cursus frenaret aquarum,
ille comam mollis iam tondebat hyacinthi
aestatem increpitans seram Zephyros morantis.
ergo apibus fetis idem atque examine multo
primus abundare et spumantia cogere pressis
mella favis; illi tiliae atque uberrima tinus,
quotque in flore novo pomis se fertilis arbos
induerat, totidem autumno matura tenebat.
ille etiam seras in versum distulit ulmos
duramque pirum et spinos iam pruna ferentis
iamque ministrantem platanum potantibus umbras.
verum haec ipse equidem spatiis exclusus iniquis
praetereo atque aliis post me memoranda relinquo.

For I remember having seen, beneath the towers of the Oebalian citadel,
where the dark Galaesus waters the golden crops, an old Corycian man
who had a few acres of unoccupied land, neither fertile for plow-oxen
nor a field ideal for a herd, nor well-suited to the vine.
But this man, planting greens and white lilies and herbs
and the little poppy sporadically among the brambles, equaled
in his mind the riches of kings, and turning back home late at night
he loaded his tables with unbought banquets. First he was to pluck the rose
in spring and the apples in autumn, and when grim winter
was still breaking rocks with cold and holding back the courses of streams
with ice, he was already trimming the foliage of the gentle hyacinth,
chiding the late-coming summer and the Zephyrs slow to arrive.
Thus he was the first to abound in productive bees and a great swarm,
and to squeeze foaming honey from the pressed combs. His linden trees
and laurustinus were the most flourishing, and as many fruits as the fertile tree
covered itself in at first bloom, so many did it hold when ripe in autumn.
And that man arranged elms late into a line, and the hardy pear tree,
and blackthorns already bearing sloes, and even a plane tree that already offered
shade to drinkers. But these things I pass over and leave to others after me
to recall, hemmed in as I am by constraints of space. (*G.* 4.125-48)

Readers have often treated this tantalizingly specified but unnamed man as a riddle to be solved, and a bewildering variety of answers have been offered, emphasizing metapoetic associations, allusion to the Epicurean garden, reference to Nicander's *Georgika* (which dealt with gardening), and the figure's possible background in the poetry of Philetas—to sample only a few interpretations.[418] What is clear, though, is that however one wants to trace out the poetic and philosophical associations of the gardener, he is an example of a secluded, circumscribed life. His designation as Corycian has been variously explained since at least Servius (for whom the gardener is a former Cilician pirate), but regardless he has somehow come to Tarentum, where he has withdrawn from the wider world.[419] Once again, locality is considered in the context of persons moving and resettling into new places. While not entirely separated from the world beyond his few *iugera*, the gardener fashions a successful existence within the bounds of his land.[420] He is perfectly at home within his boundaries, expertly able to plant and to harvest, to create a miniature environment in which bees, flowers, plants, and trees can all flourish together. The *senex* is a figure of local dwelling, local knowledge, and local success. In his harmonious relationship to his surrounding environment and in his circumscribed locality he recalls the world of the *Eclogues*; he enjoys something like the life Meliboeus imagines Tityrus will enjoy in *Eclogue* 1.[421]

---

[418] Perkell (1989) 130-8 and Thibodeau (2001) stress the passage's metapoetic associations, La Penna (1977) and Gale (2000) 181-3 its philosophical and Epicurean associations. See Harrison (2004) on the potential allusion to Nicander. Thomas (1992) traces the *senex* back to Philetas. For summaries of the abundant scholarship on this passage, see Thibodeau (2001) 175 n. 1, and Kronenberg (2009) 168.
[419] On *Corycius* see Thomas (1988b) ad 4.127.
[420] Thomas (1982) 58 judges the Corycian's life the only success "in real terms" in the *Georgics*.
[421] On reminiscences of the *Eclogues* in this passage see Gale (2000) 180-1.

But the Corycian's withdrawal into a localized world mostly immured from larger concerns is something Vergil remembers having seen in the past, embedded in a *praeteritio* about what he cannot sing of now. If the description echoes the attachments between singers and particular environments in the *Eclogues*, the availability of this localized model of life and poetics is in doubt and under pressure in this poem. The simple localism of the old man is seemingly unavailable, perhaps an impossible dream in the globally connected world the *Georgics* elsewhere represents. This is further borne out by the narrative that Vergil has to leave the *senex* behind for. Vergil hastens past his miniature portrait of the gardener to tell the epyllion of Aristaeus, another farmer-figure who attains knowledge of the world, but in a very different form.

Aristaeus' story begins in a particular place, but he soon leaves his surroundings behind for a more expansive mythic world:

> pastor Aristaeus fugiens Peneia Tempe,
> amissis, ut fama, apibus morboque fameque,
> tristis ad extremi sacrum caput astitit amnis
> multa querens, atque hac adfatus voce parentem. . .

> The shepherd Aristaeus, fleeing Peneian Tempe
> when his bees, as the story goes, were lost from sickness and hunger,
> disease, stopped at the sacred source at the edge of the stream crying
> many complaints, and addressed his mother with this speech. . . (*G.* 4.317-20)

After the death of his bees, Aristaeus goes to the source of his local river to call upon his mother. From there, though, he journeys to an otherworldly place, as his nymph mother Cyrene invites him into her subterranean, riverine dwelling:

> huic percussa nova mentem formidine mater
> "duc, age, duc ad nos; fas illi limina divum
> tangere" ait. simul alta iubet discedere late
> flumina, qua iuvenis gressus inferret. at illum
> curvata in montis faciem circumstetit unda
> accepitque sinu vasto misitque sub amnem.

iamque domum mirans genetricis et umida regna
speluncisque lacus clausos lucosque sonantis
ibat et ingenti motu stupefactus aquarum
omnia sub magna labentia flumina terra
spectabat diversa locis, Phasimque Lycumque,
et caput unde altus primum se erumpit Enipeus
unde pater Tiberinus et unde Aniena fluenta
saxosusque sonans Hypanis Mysusque Caicus
gemina auratus taurino cornua vultu
Eridanus, quo non alius per pinguia culta
in mare purpureum violentior effluit amnis.

His mother, her mind struck with new fear, says to the nymph,
"Go, lead him to us; it is allowed for him to touch the threshold
of the gods." Just then she bids the deep streams to withdraw all around,
by which the youth could carry his steps forward. And the water,
bent into the shape of a mountain, surrounded him and took him
within its vast curve, and sent him underneath the river.
And now, marveling at the home of his mother and the watery kingdoms
and lakes enclosed in caverns, and resounding groves, he went forth.
Stunned by the enormous movement of the waters, he gazed
at all the rivers beneath the earth, each distinct in their locations:
the Phasis and Lycus, and the source from which deep Enipeus
first bursts forth, where father Tiber is from, and the flowing Anio,
and rocky, echoing Hypanis, and Mysian Caicus, and Eridanus,
whose bull's face is golden in its twin horns, than whom no other river flows
more forcefully through rich fields of crops, into the dark-blue ocean. (*G.* 357-73)

When Aristaeus goes beneath the river, he is able to see the hidden sources of all the rivers of the world, each in their own place (*diversa locis*). As rivers often stand in as figures for the local places and communities they support, what Aristaeus glimpses is a kind of mythic map of the Mediterranean world. Indeed, as Nicholas Purcell has explored, rivers were crucial to ancient geographical thinking and Augustan imperial ideology, demarcating regions but also joining together localities in a "topography of relative distance."[422] Aristaeus' journey affords him a view of the arterial underpinnings of

[422] Purcell (2012) 377. As he summarizes, "the ten thousand children of Okeanos and Tethys punctuated an enormous world, establishing its scale and texture with their

worldly locality, the riverine infrastructure of a locally differentiated world. He gains a synoptic, almost global perspective of how the world's different regions link together. Beginning from his local Thessaly, he is ultimately able to see rivers that stretch west to Italy, east to Asia, north to Scythia, and south to central Greece.[423]

This miniature catalogue of rivers that Aristaeus sees echoes the catalogue of nymphs surrounding his mother Cyrene, described just before this scene (4.334-47). As nymphs are also often associated with local places and regions, both catalogues suggest that the marvelous dwelling of Cyrene is a place where localities converge into a divine center.[424] This sense of a center toward which localities converge, and in which knowledge of the whole of the world in all its local parts can be found, is reinforced by the fact that Cyrene tells Aristaeus to pour a libation and make a prayer to Ocean:

> et mater "cape Maeonii carchesia Bacchi:
> Oceano libemus" ait. simul ipsa precatur
> Oceanumque patrem rerum Nymphasque sorores,
> centum quae silvas, centum quae flumina servant.
>
> And his mother said, "take up the cup of Maeonian wine:
> let us pour a libation to Ocean." At the same time she prayed
> to Ocean the father of all things and her sister Nymphs,
> who look after a hundred forests, and a hundred streams. (*G.* 4.380-3)

As in the earlier catalogue of nymphs, Cyrene's sisters here stand in for the many localities they tend to. But encompassing all these stewards of local places is Ocean,

---

enormous number. They also joined it up conceptually," (375). On the significance of rivers as focal points of local identity, see Larson (2001) 98 and Jones (2005) 37-47.

[423] On the identifications and literary resonances of these rivers see Thomas (1988b) 213-4 and Mynors (1990) ad 4.367, 4.368-9, 4.370, 4.371-3. Jones (2005) 88 suggests that the Eridanus could refer not only to the Po, but also to a mythical river at the western edge of the world, which would heighten the sense of Aristaeus' globally extended view.

[424] See Jones (2005) 86-8 on the identities of these nymphs and some of their associations with particular places. Vergil's deployment of the catalogue form here is indebted to Callimachus, and his works *On Rivers* and *On Nymphs*. See Thomas (1988b) ad 4.207 and 4.363-73, and Jones (2005) 85-8.

the father of all things and the ultimate source of all rivers.[425] Aristaeus' libation and prayer makes his quest a seeking after knowledge of the world. As Putnam notes, Aristaeus approaches "the source of universal being and of mythic divine power behind nature's superficies."[426] From here, he goes on to wrestle with the shapeshifting Proteus, and it is easy to see in this—as many have—a figure for georgic man's struggle with a changing, recalcitrant world.[427] Aristaeus' epistemological quest begins as an attempt merely to regain his bees, but becomes a journey that penetrates into the hidden workings of the world and seeks after a more universal or cosmological form of knowledge.[428] The Aristaeus narrative is about achieving a higher comprehension of the world than the bounded and localized knowledge of the Corycian gardener. The Corycian man knows his plot of land, but Aristaeus glimpses the system of which every locality is a part.

While Vergil leaves behind the memory of the Corycian gardener for the story of Aristaeus, Aristaeus does not totally supersede the *senex*. The *Georgics* admires both kinds of knowledge, and idealizes both the gardener perfectly at home on his circumscribed plot of land and Aristaeus beholding all the rivers of the world in their

[425] Thomas (1988b) ad 4.382 notes that here Vergil "also alludes to the theory of water as the original element."
[426] Putnam (1979) 208.
[427] See Conte (2007) 123-49 on Aristaeus as the paradigmatic farmer of the *Georgics.* For such interpretations of the struggle with Proteus, see Segal (1966) 316, Miles (1980) 267, Gale (2000) 54, and Nappa (2005) 216. Gale (2000) 54 n. 106 notes similar interpretations of Proteus already in Homeric allegoresis.
[428] This is heightened on an intertextual level, as the epyllion engages with a tradition of reading Homer as a natural-philosophical writer, whose narratives reveal truths about the world. See Farrell (1991) 256-72 and Morgan (1999) 50-101.

respective places. As at the end of book two, the *Georgics* constantly attempts to be a poem both of localized expertise and of global understanding.

Part 2: Fractal Locality and Vergil's Poetics of Scale

Scales of Locality

Vergil's poem is thus caught between a local agricultural and environmental focus and a global or cosmic perspective associated with philosophical ambitions. However, this opposition risks oversimplifying matters; in fact, the agricultural and environmental focus on locality is itself fraught with problems of scale. Moreover, local place is not simply opposed to the larger world, but is transformed by its participation in a world reorganized and overseen by the imperial power of Rome. In the remainder of this chapter, I examine how the *Georgics* explores different scales of the local, ultimately arriving at a concept of fractal locality. The poem recognizes the instability and flexibility of what counts as a local place, but nonetheless maintains the importance of a qualified, complex attention to locality.

A focus on locality is already related to global or supra-local perspectives in the agricultural, ethnographic, and scientific traditions that the *Georgics* blends together. Both the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places* and the related traditions of ethnography stress local particularity, but in the context of a comparative frame that sees each locality as part of a variegated world. Similarly, the particularities of specific regions, environments, and soils in agricultural texts only make sense as parts of a larger world comprehended as an aggregate of distinct regions and zones.

This is precisely what we find in the first book of the *Georgics*, when Vergil describes how the earth is separated into five *zonae*:

> idcirco certis dimensum partibus orbem
> per duodena regit mundi sol aureus astra.
> quinque tenent caelum zonae: quarum una corusco
> semper sole rubens et torrida semper ab igni;
> quam circum extremae dextra laevaque trahuntur
> caeruleae, glacie concretae atque imbribus atris;
> has inter mediamque duae mortalibus aegris
> munere concessae divum, et via secta per ambas,
> obliquus qua se signorum verteret ordo.
> mundus, ut ad Scythiam Riphaeasque arduus arces
> consurgit, premitur Libyae devexus in Austros.
> hic vertex nobis semper sublimis; at illum
> sub pedibus Styx atra videt Manesque profundi.
>
> Therefore the golden sun rules its ecliptic path divided in definite parts
> through the twelve stars of the world. Five zones hold the sky: of which
> one is always reddening from the shining sun and always torrid from its heat.
> Around it are stretched zones at the ends of the sky, on the right and left,
> thick with ice and dark rains. Between these and the middle, two zones
> have been yielded to weak mortals, by a gift of the gods, and there is a path
> cut through both, by which the slanted cycle of signs may revolve itself.
> The world, just as it rises steeply toward Scythia and the Riphaean peaks,
> is curved back and sinks down toward Libya's southerly winds.
> One pole is always high above us, while the other, beneath our feet,
> is looked upon by black Styx and the spirits deep below. (*G.* 1.231-43)

The sky is divided into five zones, which in turn determine the character of the five earthly regions below them.[429] These lines are another expression of regional division and local particularity, but as a whole the passage gives a synoptic global view of the earth. Indeed this imagined view is remarkable for being written at a time when such a vantage point toward our planet was impossible to achieve, though not to imagine.[430] What these lines demonstrate is that, while the local and the global may seem opposed, locality often

[429] See Thomas (1988a) 107 and Mynors (1990) ad 1.233 on the intellectual traditions behind these lines.
[430] An important precedent for this imagined view of earth from the heavens in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. See Cic, *Rep.* 6.16

(if not always) implies a sense of a global whole.[431] The local perspective of the farmer is, on the one hand, opposed to the cosmological visions of philosophy, but on the other hand relies on at least some larger global understanding of the world. Indeed, the many ecological relations that the poem traces often require thinking at multiple scales and seeing how local and distant phenomena are related.

But it is not merely the case that local particularity is dependent on and implicated in ideas of the larger world to which it is opposed. More pressingly, there is ambiguity as to what the local even means. Already in this chapter, I have spoken of local particularity in terms of parts of the world, regional areas, and particular fields and soils. This reflects a diversity in the kinds of locality in the *Georgics* itself. Indeed, the inconsistency of the imagined farm in the *Georgics*—which at times seems like a small holding and at other times like an enormous estate—reflects this instability in what counts as local. The small piece of land worked by the Corycian *senex* in book four is local, but so too can the whole area of Mantua or Tarentum be local in the context of Italy, while Italy itself can be local to a Roman audience in comparison to far-flung India and Tmolus. In the above passage visualizing the earth and its zones, as the perspective widens to that of the universe and the sun moving through the stars, even the entire earth becomes in a sense local.

Moreover, what is local depends also on species—that which is local to one creature is not necessarily local to another. Vergil's treatment of bees in book four takes great advantage of this, playing with seeing the world from a bee's point of view.[432] In one example, Vergil describes a small stream over which the bees fly as the great open

[431] Cf. Whitmarsh (2010) 2.
[432] See Jenkyns (1998) 312-3.

sea.[433] For a bee, a local home might be a single hive in a single grove, one small part of the piece of land that is local to the human beekeeper. And what appears large to the bee might be miniscule to a human. Vergil's attention to different forms of life in the *Georgics* implies different conceptions of a local environment.

Vergil thus shifts between different scales of locality over the course of the poem. But he can also juggle multiple scales all at once:

> hic segetes, illic veniunt felicius uvae,
> arborei fetus alibi atque iniussa virescunt
> gramina. nonne vides, croceos ut Tmolus odores,
> India mittit ebur, molles sua tura Sabaei,
> at Chalybes nudi ferrum virosaque Pontus
> castorea, Eliadum palmas Epiros equarum?
>
> Here crops, and there grapes grow more favorably.
> Elsewhere the fruits of trees grow, and grasses thrive unbidden.
> Do you not see how Tmolus sends forth saffron scents,
> and India produces ivory, the soft Sabaeans their incense,
> but the naked Chalybes send iron and Pontus pungent castor,
> while Epiros produces the victory-palms of horses from Elis? (*G.* 1.54-9)

These lines expound the fundamental natural law of local variation. But in line 56 what counts as local suddenly shifts. From contrasting different areas of one farm, Vergil suddenly expands outward to consider different regions of the whole world,[434] seen from the vantage point of an implied imperial center into which these foreign goods are flowing. Such sudden shifting of scale can be momentarily disorienting, and even shocking. In book four, for example, Vergil's description of warring bees moves between imagining the bees from their own perspective, so that their feuds seem like immense wars, and seeing them as miniscule creatures, their battles subdued by a mere handful of

[433] See Jenkyns (1998) 313, Mynors (1990) ad 4.25-29, and Thomas (1988b) ad 4.29.
[434] As noted by Ross (1987) 41. Servius ad 1.56 already remarks upon the shift in perspective.

dust tossed over the swarm (4.86-7). And his jarring simile comparing the furious labor of bees to the work of the gigantic Cyclopes produces a kind of scalar vertigo (4.170-9). Perhaps most dramatic is a sudden shift in perspective in book one, among the weather signs attending rain:

> saepius et tectis penetralibus extulit ova
> angustum formica terens iter, et bibit ingens 380
> arcus . . .
>
> Often, too, an ant, wearing away its narrow path, has brought
> its eggs out from its inner dwellings, and an enormous
> rainbow drinks its fill. . . (*G.* 1.379-81)

The reader here sees the world through the eyes of an ant for nearly two lines, and first assumes the ant is still the subject of *bibit*, perhaps drinking something that seems *ingens* to it. But with the startling enjambment of *arcus*, Vergil suddenly shifts scale to an image of a gigantic rainbow in the sky, rupturing the stable perspective of the ant.

Both in particular moments like these and over the course of the whole poem more generally, Vergil shifts between different scales of vision. In this, he doubtless draws on Lucretius, and the frequent movements between microscopic and macrocosmic perspectives in the *De Rerum Natura*. While the *Georgics* places a great deal of stress on the importance of locality, at the same time it leaves readers unsure as to what even counts as local. As the world of the *Eclogues* has already demonstrated, the delineation or definition of locality is not automatic and unchanging, but contingent and contested. Moreover, as we saw in the previous chapter, the *Georgics* is deeply interested in how humans in general—and Rome in particular—radically transform the world, physically altering environments and reorganizing the shifting boundaries of local communities and environments. But more fundamentally, locality is an unstable concept in the *Georgics*

not—or not only—because boundaries and borders change, but because what seems local is utterly dependent on perspective, in a poem that refuses to settle for any one view of the world.

Vergil's Italy

To follow further this flexibility and ambiguity of the local in the *Georgics*, it is helpful to see how Vergil's interest in locality not only is geographical, agricultural, and philosophical, but also intersects with issues of cultural identity and Roman imperialism. Both the status of Rome as the capital of a global empire and the uneasy relationship between Rome, Italian communities, and an idea of Italy as a whole complicate any simple sense of locality in the *Georgics*. Italy in particular becomes for Vergil a central concept though which he can explore these problems of scale. As mentioned earlier, Martial and Servius testify to a tradition of reading the *Georgics* as primarily a poem of *Italia.* Italy, though, is a fraught concept for Vergil. Before his time, *Italia* seems to have been a somewhat fluid geographical term: as Daniel Gargola summarizes, "it once designated only a region in southern Italy, but through obscure stages it eventually came to denote first peninsular Italy and then the mainland to the Alps."[435] Recently, in the Social War, the term had been used to designate a political community in opposition to Rome.[436] As Vergil wrote the *Georgics*, the ways in which local Italian communities now fit into a larger Roman whole was still fraught with some tension, even as Augustus

[435] Gargola (2017) 83, noting also that such expansion of *Italia* was "certainly linked to the expansion of Roman power." As mentioned below, Cato the Elder already uses *Italia* to refer to the geographical region of the Italian peninsula stretching up to the Alps. See Cornell (2016) 211-2.
[436] See Ando (2002) 124-7.

would later boast of having all of Italy (*tota Italia*) behind him in his fight against Antony (*RG* 25).

The concept of Italy is also complex for the *Georgics* because it is caught somewhere in the middle amid the poem's vacillations between local and global. Vergil cultivates—especially in book two—a fond attachment to Italy as to one's native land, but Italy stretches the bounds of how large a local homeland can be. Can a region as large as Italy be a source of the same kind of place attachment that Vergil's Meliboeus holds for his particular bit of land in *Eclogue* 1? As the geographer Yi-Fu Tuan notes in his discussion of affective bonds between humans and particular places, "topophilia rings false when it is claimed for a large territory. A compact size scaled down to man's biologic needs and sense-bound capacities seems necessary."[437] One of Vergil's tasks, and perhaps achievements, in the *Laudes Italiae* is thus to fashion a sense of attachment to Italy as a coherent place—in other words, to transform a supra-local concept, formerly used to organize local places together, into a local place itself.[438]

In doing so, Vergil gives voice to a sense of a unified Italy, held together under the power and control of Rome. While Cato the Elder already used *Italia* to refer to the Italian peninsula up to the Alps, the political concept of an Italy unified under Roman rule (rather than conceptually opposed to Rome) is recent.[439] As Mynors puts it, "it was not long since Italy as a political appellation had been extended to the Alps, its natural northern boundary; and of this new Italian patriotism [Vergil] is the great exponent."[440]

---

[437] Tuan ([1974] 1990) 101, on which see Buell (2005) 68-9 and Heise (2008) 36-7.
[438] Cf. Jenkyns (1998) 371.
[439] On Cato's conception of Italy, see Cornell (2016) 211-2.
[440] Mynors (1990) ad 2.136-76. See also Wilkinson (1969) 156. On the prominence of northern Italian rivers and lakes in the *Georgics* see Goodfellow (1981).

This "patriotism" blends together geography and politics, as the *Italia* the poem cherishes is not merely a political community, but an environmental region defined by a particular climate and its environmental characteristics. After reiterating that different lands grow different plants, Vergil surveys some of the characteristics of different regions of the world, before asserting that they all fail to match Italy:

> sed neque Medorum silvae ditissima terra
> nec pulcher Ganges atque auro turbidus Hermus
> laudibus Italiae certent, non Bactra neque Indi
> totaque turiferis Panchaia pinguis harenis.
>
> But neither the richest land of the Medes, their forests,
> nor beautiful Ganges and Hermus flowing with gold
> can rival Italy in praises. Nor Bactra, nor the Indians
> and all of Panchaea rich in incense-bearing sands. (*G.* 2.136-39)

By comparing Italy to other localities and regions of the world, Vergil bolsters the sense of Italy as a local whole.[441]

On one reading, the *Laudes Italiae* might be seen as naturalizing the recent formation of Roman Italy: Rome has apparently brought together what should by nature be a unified, coherent region. Mynors, quoted just above, falls into this ideology in describing Rome as extending Italy to its "natural" northern boundary. In fact, Italy is not a given or natural concept, and different environmental boundaries could be used to create different ideas of what is "naturally" a coherent place or region. For example, in his own praise of Italy, Strabo delineates Italy as a peninsula naturally bordered by mountains to the north and the sea around its other sides. And yet, he also wants to include Sicily as part of the region (Strab. 6.4.1). While climate and environmental

[441] On the importance of the ethnographic tradition to these lines, see Thomas (1982) 38-49.

features go a long way in defining Italy, a boundary still has to be drawn, and a cut has to be made.

With his emphasis on Rome's alteration of Italian lands and on the plurality of environments and communities that make up Italy, Vergil arguably makes visible the contentious processes whereby the seemingly natural fact of Italy is created. For while Vergil fosters a powerful sense of Italy as a coherent whole, he crucially does not lose sight of the particular individual communities that make up Italy. One of the features commonly remarked upon in descriptions of Italy comparable to Vergil's is the area's internal diversity, simultaneously environmental and cultural.[442] As Clifford Ando describes Cicero's view of the region, Italians could not unite "through a shared ethnicity or even through inherently shared *mores*. The geography of Italy demanded diversity."[443]

Ando has argued that Vergil reverses this longstanding emphasis on the multiplicity of local Italian communities, "insisting on the unity of the Italian people."[444] But Vergil does not efface Italy's internal diversity. Among Italy's natural products in the *Laudes Italiae* are its various peoples:

> haec genus acre virum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam
> adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volscosque verutos
> extulit, haec Decios Marios magnosque Camillos,
> Scipiadas duros bello et te, maxime Caesar. 170
>
> This land has brought forth a tough race of men, Marsians
> and Sabellan youth and the Ligurian accustomed to adversity
> and the javelin-bearing Volscians. This land bore Decii and Marii,
> great Camilli, Scipios strong in war, and you, greatest Caesar. (*G.* 2.167-70)

[442] See Varro, *Rust.* 1.2.6; Dion. Hal., *Ant. Rom.* 1.37.1-2; and especially Strab. 6.4.1.
[443] Ando (2002) 133.
[444] Ando (2002) 138. Fitter (1995) 42 makes a similar claim: "to consolidate the emergent national rather than the old city-patriotism, no particularity of locale is allowed to obtrude above the generalized picture of the whole 'Saturnian land.'"

It is true that these Marsians, Sabines, Ligurians, and Volscians are subsumed into a list of Romans that culminates with Caesar.[445] But at the same time, in cataloguing them here, Vergil inscribes their multiplicity into the unity of Rome. And this variety of Italian peoples is matched later in book two by the variety of Italian soils. Italy contains the pastures of Tarentum (195-7), the marshy lands of Mantua (198-9), and the fertile earth of Campania (224-5). As Jenkyns puts it, Vergil "is particularly original . . . in showing unity in diversity, and finding the identity of Italy to be the product not of uniformity but of variety."[446]

Vergil marks this unity in diversity with a rather paradoxical formulation in the conclusion to his eulogy of Italy:

> salve, magna parens frugum, Saturnia tellus,
> magna virum: tibi res antiquae laudis et artem
> ingredior sanctos ausus recludere fontis,
> Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.
>
> Hail, great mother of crops, Saturnian land, great mother of men:
> for you I approach matters and art of ancient praise, daring to unseal
> sacred springs, and I sing an Ascraean song through Roman towns. (*G.* 2.173-6)

Vergil addresses the Saturnian land of Italy as the nurturing parent of its crops and peoples alike, but closes the section with a reference to *Romana oppida* ("Roman towns,"). As Mynors notes, this odd phrase "incorporates a paradox, for in one sense there were no *oppida Romana*, only *Urbs Roma*."[447] The two words encapsulate what Vergil does throughout the *Laudes Italiae*, fusing together the various local communities of Italy, while retaining their plurality. And the phrase crucially gestures toward the fact

[445] Putnam (1979) 102 observes that the list "reflects the historical process it adumbrates," showing the gradual concentration of Italic power into Rome, and Roman power into Caesar.
[446] Jenkyns (1998) 342.
[447] Mynors (1990) ad 2.176.

that it is political force that brings these communities together. It is by being made *Romana* that the *oppida* hold together as part of the singular *Saturnia tellus*.

In book two of the *Georgics*, Italy as a site of place attachment has to be made, built contingently out of particular localities. Vergil fashions an idea of Italy, and recognizes the importance of imagination in creating an emotional attachment to a place.[448] This, in fact, is the best way of understanding some of the clear fictions and imaginative flights of Vergil's praise: rather than subtly undercutting the ideal of Italy or exposing it as a lie, such moments acknowledge that "Italy" has to be an act of imagination.[449] At the same time, though, it is not simply an ideological construction. Italy is still a geographical region demarcated at least in part by environmental borders and marked by the particularities of its temperate climate. Cultural and political forces shape and rewrite geography, but the nonhuman environment participates in such processes. Vergil's Italy is a geographical fact that has to be fashioned through political contestation.

Vergil's treatment of Italy also has consequences for the poem's conception of locality, which may be summarized best as an idea of fractal locality. In the world of the *Georgics*, every larger whole is made up of smaller localities, each of which is its own

---

[448] Similarly, Jenkyns (1998) 370: "[Vergil] appreciates that sentiment and imagination are constituents of the national idea; in other words, that they are a political necessity."
[449] Some of these falsehoods include the claims that Italy has everlasting spring (2.149) and twice-bearing flocks and trees (2.150), and lacks aconite and snakes (2.152, 2.153-54). Ross (1987) 109-28 sees the *Laudes Italiae* as filled with deliberate "lies" that undercut Vergil's apparent praise. Thomas (1982) 38-49 and Thomas (1988a) 179-80 follow a similar approach. Cramer (1998) 70-114 disputes the falsehoods identified by Ross and Thomas. Gale (2000) 215-19 sees these as exaggerations meant to turn Italy into a land of wonders. For Nappa (2005) 80, "Vergil's exaggerations call to mind the Golden Age, while once again suggesting the impossibility of such an age outside of myth."

agglomeration of particular places. But these larger regions can themselves be localities on a broader scale. Italy is a compound of local communities, but is also itself a local region. This nesting of localities continues all the way up to the global level, where Vergil describes how the earth is divided into five zones, and all the way down to the level of different patches of soil on a single farm. The local becomes an unstable, flexible concept in the *Georgics*, taking shape at varying levels in ways determined by geographical distinctions and political struggle.

The *Georgics* and a Roman World

While Roman Italy is a significant focus of the *Georgics*, the poem is also interested in Rome as the capital of a world empire. By Vergil's time, Rome's far-reaching conquests had created and consolidated an empire understood to be global, an idea that would find its classical formulation in the *Aeneid*, with its vision of *imperium sine fine*.[450] And already in earlier texts, we find Roman authors thinking through and with the massive territorial extent of Roman rule. Catullus 11, for example, imagines Furius and Aurelius following Catullus, whether he should venture to India, Parthia, Egypt, Gaul, or Britain (11.1-12). His intensely personal poem on Lesbia is shaped by a particular context in which the whole world seems open to the movements of free Roman citizens (and the conquests of Rome). And if Catullus' poem offers a hodological perspective moving through these global spaces, Cicero imagines a god's-eye view that can compass all this

[450] Vergil, *Aen.* 1.278-279 (cf. *Aen.* 6.781-784). Consider also Ov., *Fast.* 2.130, where Augustus is the *pater orbis* and *Fast.* 5.93, with Rome as the *orbis caput*. Nicolet (1988) examines links between geography and Roman imperialism in the Augustan period, which he identifies as a watershed moment in Rome's conceptualization of its place at the center of a global empire managed as such.

in a single glance, in the *Somnium Scipionis*. In Scipio Aemilianus' dream, his ancestor Scipio Africanus first points out the city of Carthage from a lofty, aerial viewpoint, and then goes on to provide him with a celestial perspective on the earth itself, which appears miniscule in the context of the heavens (*Rep.* 6.16).

Vergil's *Georgics* inherits this interest in Rome's worldwide empire, and in conceptualizing the earth from a global perspective, only heightened in the early Augustan period. The poem casts its glance as far as India, Scythia, and Libya, and visualizes the earth as a whole divided into immense climatic zones. It also refers at key moments to Caesar pushing Roman power further and further with conquest at the ends of the world. The local perspective of the farmer is thus in tension not only with the global perspective of the philosopher but also with the conquering Caesar and a view of global empire.

If these perspectives are in tension with each other, though, they are also significantly intertwined. As Tim Whitmarsh and Simon Goldhill have stressed in a later imperial context, the local is always conceptualized in relation to a concept of the global or the supra-local.[451] An increased stress on global empire can go hand in hand with a renewed interest in the local, which becomes newly important precisely amid emphasis on the global with which it is contrasted. Moreover, a body of recent sociological work has questioned whether terms like local and global have any purchase at all in the modern world. The terms glocal and glocalization have been offered as a way of referring to the

[451] See Whitmarsh (2010) 2 and Goldhill (2010) 46.

interpenetration of local and global, and the fact that the two are more entwined and mutually reliant than opposed.[452]

This interpenetration of the local and the global becomes a fascination for Vergil in two key moments in the *Georgics*: the poem's second proem at the beginning of book three and the sphragis with which the entire poem ends. Book three's proem explores how the incorporation of local place into a global system transforms, but does not eradicate, the local. In this passage, Vergil vows a temple to Caesar by the banks of the Mincius, and in the process Mantua becomes a place that is seemingly local, regional, and global all at once:

primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit,
Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas;
primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas,
et viridi 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 victor 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 olivae
dona feram. Iam nunc sollemnis ducere pompas
ad delubra iuvat caesosque videre iuvencos,
vel scaena ut versis discedat frontibus utque
purpurea intexti tollant aulaea Britanni.
in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto
Gangaridum faciam victorisque arma Quirini,
atque hic undantem bello magnumque fluentem
Nilum ac navali surgentis aere columnas.
addam urbes Asiae domitas pulsumque Niphaten
fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis;
duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste tropaea
bisque triumphatas utroque ab litore gentis.
stabunt et Parii lapides, spirantia signa,

[452] See Roudometof (2016). Whitmarsh (2010) applies some of the thinking on glocalization to work on Greek communities under the Roman Empire.

Assaraci proles demissaeque ab Iove gentis 35
nomina, Trosque parens et Troiae Cynthius auctor.
invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum
Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis
immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.

I will be the first, if only my life remain, to lead the Muses
back with me to my homeland, returning from the Aonian peak;
I will be the first to bring back Idumaean palms to you, Mantua,
and in your green meadow I'll place a temple of marble by the water,
where the Mincius wanders with its lazy twists and turns
and has fringed the banks with delicate reeds. In the middle I will put
Caesar and he will possess the temple. For him I will drive a hundred
four-horse chariots to the waters, a victor outsanding in Tyrian purple.
All of Greece, leaving the Alpheus and the groves of Molorchus for me,
will compete in races and with the rawhide glove. I myself,
my head decorated with leaves of the shorn olive, will bear gifts.
Now already it delights me to lead stately processions to the shrine
and to see the slaughtered bullocks, or see how the stage recedes
as the front pieces revolve, and how the Britons lift up the purple tapestry
into which they are embroidered. On the doors I will fashion from gold
and solid ivory the battle of the Gangarides and the arms of victorious Quirinus,
and here the great flowing Nile, surging in war, and columns rising
with the bronze of ships. I will add the cities of Asia subdued, and Mt. Niphates
struck and the Parthian trusting in flight and arrows fired from behind.
I will add two trophies snatched by hand from differing enemies
and two triumphs over peoples from either edge of the world.
And there will stand there Parian stonework, sculptures that breathe,
the offspring of Assaracus and the names of the race descended from Jupiter,
and father Tros, and the founder of Troy, Cynthian Apollo. Miserable envy
will stand in fear of the Furies and the grim stream of Cocytus, the twisted snakes
and huge wheel of Ixion, and the stone not to be overcome. (*G.* 3.10-39)

This complex and key passage has garnered much attention for its intertextual engagement with metaphors of poetic construction from Pindar and Callimachus, and the way it blends together epinician imagery with that of the Roman *triumphator* drawn from Ennius.[453] Importantly, both these sets of imagery share a similar spatial movement. The

[453] On triumphal language here and Vergil as a poetic *triumphator* see Wilkinson (1969) 168 and Buchheit (1972) 99-103. On the presence of Pindar in these lines see Buchheit (1972) 99-103 and Wilkinson (2008). See Thomas (1983) 92-101 on the importance of Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* to the passage. Mynors (1990) ad 3.13 also stresses that

triumphator goes abroad and then returns, bringing spoils and signs of foreign conquest back to display in Rome. Similarly, the Olympic victor travels from his local home to win glory in Olympia, and then crucially brings the honor of that victory home, where the achievement can be commemorated by, for example, an epinician ode.[454]

This movement of bringing something foreign back home is what first motivates Vergil to adopt such imagery: he will be the first to lead the Muses to his *patria* (10-11) and the first to bring Mantua the Idumaean palms (12). He then promises to dedicate a temple to Caesar on the banks of the Mincius, commemorating his conquest at the far reaches of the inhabited world with representations of Parthians and Asian cities, Britons, and Indians.[455] In triumphal fashion, geographical features like the Nile and Mt. Niphates stand in for subjugated foreign regions and peoples. Vergil sums up the survey of foreign conquest with a reference to triumphs at either end of the world, and the extent of Roman conquest is also suggested by the very abundance of foreign proper names in these lines. Both *Idumaeas* and *Gangaridum* appear here for the first time in extant Latin, the rare and exoticizing words stressing the global extent of Roman rule under Caesar.[456]

Vergil's imagined structure commemorates and represents Caesar's global conquest, and is also itself a kind of conquest, a poetic triumph bringing the Muses to Vergil's local precinct of Italy. But the structure does not merely represent foreign

---

the poetic temple of Pindar is fused with the tradition of a victorious Roman general dedicating a temple.

[454] See Kurke (2013) 13-31 on the importance of the "nostos loop" to Pindar's epinician corpus.

[455] See Thomas (1988b) ad 3.24-25 and Mynors (1990) ad 3.25 on the Britons, one of the most distant peoples of the world to the Romans, as a particular example of the geographical extent of Roman power. Buchheit (1972) 118-33 suggests the catalogue of conquered foreign peoples here makes Octavian as world conqueror a second Alexander the Great.

[456] Thomas (1988b) ad 3.12, 3.27.

conquest—it is made out of the very materials of that conquest: the representation of the Gangarides is made with the ivory that book one of the *Georgics* tells us is the regional product of India (1.57). India sends forth ivory, as the geographical aphorism has it, but it now sends the ivory to Italy. Vergil's poetic temple is a global, cosmopolitan center built out of far-reaching conquest, a place where the whole world is on display. If Aristaeus' view of far-flung rivers is a mythic impossibility in the contemporary world, Caesar's conquest has made it, in a sense, possible again. Indeed, Agrippa's "map" (whatever precisely this display entailed) gives Romans that Aristaean view of the world from Rome.[457] Vergil imagines his Mantua becoming a center like this, from which not only the Mincius, but also the Nile can be seen. The whole world, subsumed under Roman power (and Vergilian poetry), is to be found by Mantua, as it is transformed into a worldly imperial center.

These global aspects of the place, however, do not erase the locality of Vergil's imagined *templum.* We are far from the simple locality of the Corycian gardener here, and yet the temple's local setting still matters. Indeed, one of the very points of the metaphor of a temple of poetry is that it allows the mobile medium of poetry to be thought of as specifically situated and located, lasting in one place. And this is a precisely situated structure, emphatically placed in Vergil's Mantua rather than Caesar's Rome. The idea of a *templum*, moreover, stresses a sense of bounded space, as it is fundamentally a demarcated zone "cut out" from ordinary space, a sacred precinct that then forms the site of a constructed temple. With the idea of a *templum*, Vergil stresses

[457] On Agrippa's geographical work, see Nicolet (1991) 95-122. For an overview of debates regarding the presence and use of pictorial maps in ancient Rome, see Brodersen (2004) 183-5 and more broadly Brodersen (2012) 99-110 on cartography in Greek and Roman antiquity, stressing our lack of evidence for any use of maps.

the bounded, local particularity of his imagined structure. And indeed these lines stress the particular environmental surroundings of this location, with the drifting current of the Mincius and its reed-covered banks, familiar from the *Eclogues*.[458]

Mantua becomes in this passage a complex kind of place: intensely local but global at the same time. Vergil's poetic temple is a specific bounded structure demarcated from the rest of the world, and located in a particularized environment, but also linked to and participating in circuits of imperial exchange and conquest that stretch to the ends of the earth. This elaborate metaphor is a promise of a future achievement, of a poem to come. But it already aptly figures the fusion of global and local that defines this poem, which stresses and valorizes locality while seeing how the local relates unstably to the global world into which it is incorporated.[459]

As we have seen, this imagined transformation of Mantua is intimately related to a particular political situation, with Rome remaking both Italy and the world. It is also, though, a profoundly poetological matter for Vergil, who uses this proem in the middle of his poem to think through the nature of his poetry.[460] Indeed, throughout the *Georgics*, the poem's sense of fractal locality and shifting scales leads to ambiguities regarding the nature of Vergil's poetry and his own poetic identity. He refers in book two to Hesiod's

---

[458] On the detailed specificity of Vergil's description of the Mincius here, see Jenkyns (1998) 147-8.

[459] For Thomas (1988b) 36-7 the proem looks forward to the *Aeneid* at "the moment at which the inevitability of the *Aeneid* must have come to him." Kraggerud (1998) 9 notes that few read the proem as about the *Georgics* anymore, but suggests the proem may simultaneously promise and deliver praise. It is, after all, possible for the proem to look ahead to a future work *while* elaborating central tensions and issues that the *Georgics* is already working through. See also Hardie (1986) 48-51, for whom the proem points toward a synthesis of political and cosmological poetry intimated and glimpsed in the *Georgics* but only finally accomplished in the *Aeneid*.

[460] See Conte (2007) 222-4 on this passage as an example of a "proem in the middle," concerned with questions of poetics.

poetry as *Ascraeum carmen* ("the song of Ascra," 2.176), and there was before him a longstanding tradition of associating poets with their particular places of origin.[461] For Vergil, this should mean that he is in a significant sense a Mantuan poet, who composes Mantuan song. We saw in the previous chapter the importance of Mantua and its surroundings to the environments of the *Eclogues*, and Mantua does make significant appearances in the *Georgics*, as it would later in the *Aeneid* (*Ecl*. 9.27-9, *G.* 2.198-9, *Aen.* 10.199-200). Indeed, later authors often refer to Vergil by reference to Mantua, just as Vergil alludes to Hesiod through Ascra.[462] But this simple identification is complicated by the shifting scales of the *Georgics*, the presence of Rome in the poem, and the way Mantua becomes a globalized place in the proem to book three. Is the creator of this poem that aspires to embrace the cosmos in all its complexity still a Mantuan poet? Is he a Roman poet, or an Italian one? Can he be a poet of the world?

This is not merely a question of poetic identity, and locating his poetry as Mantuan is not just ideological cultural positioning vis-à-vis Rome. It is a question of what relation Vergil's poetry has to its environment of origin. In the *Eclogues,* local environments participate in the creation of particular bucolic songs, and Mantua is imagined as contributing to the particularity of the *Eclogues* itself. And in the *Odes*, as we will see in chapter six, Horace's linking of his poetry to particular places suggests that those local environments help produce his poetry and him as a poet. While maintaining an Italian focus throughout the poem, the *Georgics* puts pressure on this model of local poetics. The second proem that begins book three is one place where Vergil reckons with

[461] Farrell (1991) 33-60 offers numerous examples in a sweeping survey of Greek and Roman poets' use of antonomasia in referring to Greek models by their places of origin. Especially notable is the use of such references in Ov., *Am.* 3.15.
[462] See Ov., *Am.* 3.15.7, Mart. 1.61.1, and Apul., *Apol.* 10**.**

this issue, trying to imagine a poetry that is of the world but still of a particular place. Another such moment is at the very end of the poem, in the sphragis with which the *Georgics* concludes:

> haec super arvorum cultu pecorumque canebam
> et super arboribus, Caesar dum magnus ad altum
> fulminat Euphraten bello victorque volentis
> per populos dat iura viamque adfectat Olympo.
> illo Vergilium me tempore dulcis alebat
> Parthenope studiis florentem ignobilis oti,
> carmina qui lusi pastorum audaxque iuventa,
> Tityre, te patulae cecini sub tegmine fagi.
>
> These things I sang on the care of fields and of herds
> and on trees, while the great Caesar was thundering in war
> at the deep Euphrates and, victorious, was giving laws
> throughout the willing peoples and hastening a path to Olympus.
> At that time sweet Parthenope was nourishing me, Vergil,
> as I flourished in the pursuit of leisure without renown,
> I who played at the songs of herdsmen, bold in my youth, and sang
> of you, Tityrus, underneath the shade of a spreading beech. (*G.* 4.559-66)

At the beginning of book three, Caesar and Vergil are parallel figures, both triumphing abroad and bringing the trappings of worldwide victory home to Italy. Here at the end of the poem, the poetic activity of Vergil and the military exploits of Caesar are also brought into relation, but more ambiguously. The simultaneity of *dum*, which merely tells us that Vergil wrote this work *while* Caesar was thundering by the Euphrates, leaves open-ended whether the two are complementary or opposed. Does Vergil's playful singing contrast with the military sphere of Caesar, or is it Caesar's victory that has allowed for Vergil's poetic study? The precise relationship between Caesar's work and Vergil's leisure is

unclear.[463] But one crucial way in which their pursuits differ is that Caesar is here a figure of global expansion, and Vergil one of local retreat.[464]

While Caesar is far from home, Vergil is supported in his endeavor by the locality of Naples. The language of nourishment (*alebat*) suggests that the particular place of Naples fosters Vergil much as particular soils and environments foster particular forms of life and growth. And the description of Vergil as *florentem* (flowering, flourishing) may further this idea. But at the same time, this sense of locality is complicated by the reference to Naples. Vergil's poetic activity has moved from its place in Mantua at the start of book three, and to the particularly Greek city of Naples.[465] As with the fantasy of Greek localities near the end of book two (2.486-9) and as with the Corycian gardener in Tarentum, the poem's ideals of locality are contextualized within a world of mobility and resettlement. Vergil is a localized figure here, but his localized poetics is qualified and complicated, while also contextualized within a larger, shifting world embodied by Caesar.

It is then Vergil's final move of the entire poem to juxtapose this globally and imperially inflected, qualified local poetics with the world of the *Eclogues*. With the last line of the *Georgics*, Vergil directs us back to the first line of the *Eclogues*, to Tityrus on his comfortable plot of land. *Eclogue* 1, as elaborated in the previous chapter, is

---

[463] On the relationship between Vergil and Caesar in these lines, see Buchheit (1972) 174-82, Perkell (1989) 188-9, Gale (2000) 244, Nappa (2005) 216-7, and Griffin (2008) 242-3.

[464] Leach (1988) 191 perceptively remarks, "in this final contrast of extremes—the broad sweep of eastern geography and the enclosed shade that surround conqueror and pastoral poet—we see still another version of the visual opposites that have formed the dialectic of the poem."

[465] Moreover, the allusion to the myth of Parthenope—one of the Sirens who, after being bested by Odysseus, drowned herself and washed up at the site of Naples—further links the city to Greek origins and a sense of widespread mobility.

concerned with who gets to enjoy a local dwelling and who does not, with who can stay within the boundaries of his *patria* and who must go elsewhere. But by the end of the *Georgics* even the comfortable locality of a Tityrus is questioned and transformed by its place in a world of overlapping regions and shifting scales. The fractal view of locality in the *Georgics* and the stress on Rome's alteration and reorganization of the world make the successful local dwelling of Tityrus seem like a distant memory, unattainable now, not unlike the impossible ideal of the Coryician gardener.

Locality still matters in the world of the *Georgics*, but it is a flexible concept dependent on perspective and scale, and local places are interfused with the wider world through processes of conquest, triumph, appropriation, and movement under Roman rule. The particular historical and political situation within which Vergil writes, combined with tensions within and between discourses of agriculture, geography, and philosophy, results in a searching exploration of what it means to be local, and whether such a thing is even possible in the age of Jupiter and the time of Caesar. Vergil does not provide any simple answers to these questions, but responds by showing how local places like his beloved Mantua become more than local, and by constantly shifting between levels of scale and perspective in order to offer different views of the world in all its interwoven complexity. With Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, there is a sense that one god's-eye view can encompass the entire cosmos in its glance. And similarly, shortly after Vergil's *Georgics*, the geographer Strabo contrasts his scientific geography to mere localism, which can only attain situated, partial views of the world.[466] By contrast, Vergil's *Georgics* constantly tacks between different scales in order to account for the intricacy of the world.

[466] Strab. 2.5, on which see Goldhill (2010) 54-5.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have traced vacillations and tensions between local and global perspectives throughout the *Georgics*. Agriculture requires knowledge of local particulars and specific environments, and the poem valorizes this kind of knowledge. It also, however, aspires to a larger comprehension of the world. In a variety of ways—political, cultural, geographical, agricultural, philosophical—the local perspective of a bounded farmer is questioned and problematized in the poem, even as it is held out as an ideal.

Moreover, the parameters of the local are problematized and rendered unstable. The consolidation of a quasi-global empire and the broader views of the world this invites lead to a vision of fractal locality, while Rome's global imperial system transforms Vergil's vision of himself as a Mantuan poet. These issues are in large part brought out by the particular political context of the poem. More important than the apparent optimism or pessimism of the poem's Augustan outlook is the fundamental recognition that Rome and its new leader have the power to change the world politically, geographically, and even ecologically.[467] However, these tensions are also latent in the very ecological thinking that I examined in the previous chapter. The poem traces specific relations within the ecological unit of the farm, but also recognizes that we are enmeshed in ecological webs of various scales, between which the poem shifts.

This shifting of perspective is demanded by the complexity of the world, but also becomes what Vergil's poem does best. In this, the *Georgics* is worth comparing with much more recent forms of environmental imagination. In her attempt to push

[467] See Volk (2008) 4-5 and 7 for a brief summary of optimistic and pessimistic readings of the *Georgics* and the shift toward ambivalent or open interpretations of the poem.

environmental thought beyond the local, Ursula Heise points toward forms of narrative and representation that draw on "the infinite possibilities of zooming into and out of local, regional, and global views enabled by, for example, the online tool Google Earth and the multiple databases, geographical positioning systems, and imaging techniques on which it draws."[468] Long before these kinds of imaging technology, Vergil is already pushing his poetry in the *Georgics* to represent and imagine the world with a similar fluidity and instability of perspective and scale. Moreover, the *Georgics* shows that this approach to imagining the world does not simply supersede localism: the local remains an important, if unstable, frame of reference even within this broader, more flexible form of environmental imagination.

In the *Eclogues*, the idea of local place is relatively stable, even as the experience of local dwelling is not. By contrast, any simple sense of locality straightforwardly contrasted to the world beyond its bounds is no longer possible in the world of the *Georgics*. And yet, local particularity, a locally grounded epistemology, and a form of local poetics remain important to the poem, which takes care to situate itself at two key moments in Mantua and in Naples. The *Georgics* thus moves beyond the local poetics of the *Eclogues*, but does not leave locality behind. While a variety of contemporary environmental thinkers have attempted to think beyond locality, reacting against environmental criticism's early tendency to valorize the local unquestioningly, the *Georgics* shows that the concept of local place can be nuanced, complex, and flexible enough to remain an important tool for worldly ecological thinking.[469]

---

[468] Heise (2008) 11.

[469] For environmental critics seeking to move beyond locality, see e.g. Heise (2008), Morton (2010) 20-58, and Clark (2013) 71-91.

This rethinking of locality will be a major concern also in chapter six, in which I examine Horace's *Odes*. Horace is not so much interested in the scalar problems of the *Georgics*, but explores what happens to specific localities when they are textualized, and written into a poetry that is globally disseminated. While the *Georgics* implies a world of people moving and retreating to new localities, Horace's more thoroughgoing emphasis on mobility and translation will in its own way put pressure on the ideal of local poetics upheld, if imperiled, in the *Eclogues*. Before examining the importance of local places to the *Odes*, however, the next chapter explores Horace's relationship to the nonhuman world that is a crucial part of such localities.

Chapter 5

Natures and the Nonhuman in Horace's *Odes*

Introduction

Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* both inaugurate lengthy poetic traditions, and concepts of the pastoral and the georgic deserve important roles in thinking deeply and historically about environmental literature. But Horace's *Odes* present us with something that—more than either of Vergil's early works—looks very much like more familiar concepts of nature poems or environmental poetry. Horace is famous for his spring odes, and for moving evocations of rural scenes. He offers short lyric poems that crystallize moments of environmental experience and perception, and link them to ethical imperatives. These poems are by no means all that Horace's *Odes* contains, but they are a major part of his lyric poetry and, as we will see, they are at the heart of both what it means for Horace to be a poet and what his poetry aims to accomplish. In the *Odes* Horace practices an environmental poetry that takes the human's relation to the nonhuman as a central concern, and indeed this chapter will claim that Horace is in important ways a nature poet—though this involves rethinking what such a designation means. The poems I examine in this chapter are not nature poems because they present pleasing views of beautiful scenery, but because they direct readers' attention to the nonhuman world in order to furnish insights into concepts of nature that serve as objects of ethical contemplation.

The *Odes* build on and differ from the environmental poetics of the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*. In addition to the acoustic ecopoetics of the former and the ecological thinking of the latter, Horace's lyrics offer another model of Augustan environmental

poetics. Horace links the nonhuman world to concepts of nature in a much more thorough way than Vergil, and stresses more explicitly his own special connection as a poet to the nonhuman world. As in both of Vergil's works examined earlier, Horace's interest in the nonhuman world is bound up with the importance of particular places, and the next chapter will examine Horace's own interests in local place in the context of both global Augustan empire and a lyric tradition recreated through translation and transport. This chapter, however, takes up the connections in Horace's lyric poetry between the nonhuman environment and various natures: universal Nature, the nature of the human, and the nature of Horace as a divinely inspired poet. Its aim is both to deepen our understanding of the importance of the nonhuman world to the *Odes*, and to use Horace's particular poetics of nature to broaden and complicate the concept of nature poetry.

To accomplish this, it is necessary to reckon with long entrenched assumptions about nature poetry. For some contemporary environmental literary critics, the "nature poem" is the simplistic foil to the more complex environmental or eco-poem.[470] The concept also inescapably conjures up Romanticism, and in fact one of the recurrent features of Horatian criticism is a wariness toward and disavowal of Romanticism, triggered precisely by apparent resonances of Horace with Romantic poetry.[471] By defamiliarizing what we mean by nature poetry, though, Horace can show a different, complex variety of the form. Drawing on Hellenistic philosophy (and especially Stoicism) Horace is concerned with how he and his readers can learn to live in

[470] See for example Gifford (1995) 3, Scigaj (1999) 7-13, Gilcrest (2002) 2-3, Bryson (2005) 2-3, Fisher-Wirth and Street (2013) xxviii-xxix, Street (2013) xxxviii, Cocola (2016) 10-12, and Keller (2017) 19-26.

[471] For examples of reactions to Horace's apparent resemblance to Romanticism see Wilkinson (1945) 56-8, La Penna (1963) 134, Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xx, Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 317, and Edmunds (1992) 25-6, 70-1, 74.

accordance with concepts of nature that are not identical with streams, mountains, trees, and fields, but can be learned of through these parts of the environment.

The first part of this chapter examines the Horatian nature poem, tracing the poetic logic linking the nonhuman environment to ethical norms of nature in the *Odes*. One of the major projects of Horatian lyric, as we will see, is to write about nature(s) through experience and perception of the nonhuman environment. Just as the *Georgics* has the didactic aim of helping humans make their lives within their ecological webs, Horace's poetry also aims to have an impact on readers' lives, directing them to contemplation of *natura* through attention to the nonhuman environment. The chapter's second half focuses on Horace as a nature poet, considering Horace's self-representation as a *vates* with a privileged relationship to the nonhuman. The nonhuman environment plays an important role in Horace's scenes of divine inspiration, and is involved in his conception of what it means to be a lyric *vates.* This status, while putting Horace into close and miraculous contact with his nonhuman surroundings, simultaneously makes Horace something other than human.

The Horace that emerges from this chapter is in some respects a familiar one, but it is important to see how some familiar aspects of the *Odes*—moralizing injunctions, acute observations of the nonhuman world, a fascination with his own vatic status—contribute to a distinctive and thoroughgoing environmental poetics in the *Odes.* The nonhuman world not only pervades this poetry, but is also linked to Horace's own identity as a divinely inspired poet and to what he aims to accomplish with his poetry. Elaborating Horace's poetics of nature helps us better understand the dynamics and interests of his poetry, and can also help us appreciate his place within an environmental

lyric tradition stretching to include both Romanticism and more recent forms of ecopoetry.

Part 1: Horatian Nature Poetry

Nature Poetry: Forms and Problems

What does it mean to read Horace as a poet of nature? For Friedrich Schiller, who has offered probably the most influential account of nature poetry, Horace is a paradigmatic example of the sentimental poet: severed from Nature, Horace looks back longingly on the natural world—the very fact that groves, streams, and mountains abound in his poetry is a symptom of his distance from them.[472] At the end of this chapter, we will return to Schiller when examining Horace's self-representation as a *vates*, but for now it is important to emphasize that Schiller's account is driven by a concept of Nature (as the nonhuman realm totally untouched by the human) that does not fit well with the multiple senses of *natura* at work in Horace's poetry. The abundance of nonhuman presences in the *Odes* does not constitute a sentimental look back at a Nature in which Horace and his readers are no longer embedded. Horace does not idealize or mourn the loss of a life at one with the natural world, but probes how to live as a human who, with its own particular nature, is different from the rest of the world, and yet is also part of that larger world organized by a universal Nature.

Before elaborating on this Horatian poetics of nature, however, it will be helpful to distinguish it further from a Romantic model of nature poetry that continues to inform

[472] Schiller [1795-6] (1985) 190-1.

contemporary assumptions about what nature poetry is or ought to be.[473] The meditative Romantic nature poem often underlies assumptions about Horace, both when it is assumed that Horace more or less fits this model and when it is reflexively asserted that he is the inverse of it, that he does not care about nature or in no way writes nature poetry.[474]

One of the clearest differences between Romantic nature poetry and Horace is in lyric form. Perhaps the most influential legacy of Romantic poetry is the distinctive poetic form that M.H. Abrams identified as the greater Romantic lyric. Such lyrics are fundamentally contemplative and meditative, and still form the baseline for many contemporary assumptions about nature poetry. Abrams summarizes such poems as follows:

> They present a determinate speaker in a particularized, and usually a localized, outdoor setting, whom we overhear as he carries on, in a fluent vernacular which rises easily to a more formal speech, a sustained colloquy, sometimes with himself or with the outer scene, but more frequently with a silent human auditor, present or absent. The speaker begins with a description of the landscape; an aspect or change of aspect in the landscape evokes a varied but integral process of memory, thought, anticipation, and feeling which remains closely intervolved with the outer scene. In the course of this meditation the lyric speaker achieves an insight, faces up to a tragic loss, comes to a moral decision, or resolves an emotional problem.[475]

The greater Romantic lyric is linked to a particular concept of lyric as subjective poetry, most fully elaborated by Hegel.[476] It is defined by what Abrams calls a "repeated out-in-out process, in which mind confronts nature and their interplay constitutes the poem."[477]

---

[473] Speaking of Romantic nature poetry as a single concept inevitably collapses important difference and plurality within Romanticism. Nonetheless, the meditative Romantic lyric I discuss here and attempt to differentiate Horatian lyric from is something broadly shared throughout European Romanticism.
[474] For the latter see Edmunds (1992) 70-4.
[475] Abrams (1965) 527-8.

This kind of lyric poem is alien to Horace's *Odes,* as Richard Heinze demonstrated in a classic article from 1923. Horatian lyric is fundamentally "an address to a person thought of as present."[478] Horace "does not sing to free himself from overwhelming feelings."[479] Rather, his poems are rhetorical gestures, not simply communicating but attempting to "prevail on the other's volition."[480] Mario Citroni has usefully queried Heinze's insistence on the fiction of a present addressee, but the broader point remains: Horace's poems are not outpourings of internal thought but, by and large, rhetorically targeted communications.[481] As Nisbet and Hubbard put it, Horace "does not meditate or introspect, but exhorts, questions, invites, consoles, prays, and orders."[482] This difference is crucial to the question of Horace as a nature poet. For in distinguishing Horace from modern lyric, Heinze is essentially reacting against the model that Abrams would later define as the greater Romantic lyric:

> the modern lyric poet repeatedly describes the landscape before him or the events taking place in nature around him, then the feelings it arouses in

---

[476] See Culler (2015) 92-107.
[477] Abrams (1965) 528.
[478] Heinze ([1923] 2009) 21. Heinze stresses the fictionality of this situation, and constructs an overly simple opposition between the genuine performance of Greek lyric and the fictional performance of Horace's lyric. Nonetheless, his fundamental insight into the rhetorical and performative, rather than contemplative character of Horatian lyric is still important. See Lowrie (2009) 63-97 on the performativity of Horatian lyric.
[479] Heinze ([1923] 2009) 24.
[480] Heinze ([1923] 2009) 21.
[481] Citroni (1995) 273-8. Citroni (2017) is an updated engagement with Heinze's contrast between Horatian and modern lyric, in which Citroni contests Heinze's characterization of modern lyric and nuances the contrasts between archaic Greek and Horatian lyric that underlie Heinze's argument. Heinze's deliberately generalizing remarks inevitably fit some poems better than others, and Syndikus (1972) 15 protests that Horace's *Odes* show a wider range than Heinze allows for. Quinn (1963) 84-109 (cf. 76-8 on *Carm.* 3.13) is largely unpersuasive in arguing for a form of dramatic monologue affording inward meditation in the *Odes*.
[482] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xxiv. See also Wilkinson (1945) 123, Johnson (1982) 1-5 and 7, and Lowrie (1997) 20-1.

> him . . . When Horace describes nature, it serves the purpose of justifying some demand: since it is spring, Sestius or Torquatus should open his heart to joy.[483]

Instead of a contemplative lyric that dramatizes lines of thought and inward meditation in response to a personal experience of place, Horace's *Odes* render environmental experience in order to impel his addressees to thought and action. Horace himself undergoes no Romantic realizations; he directs his addressees (and readers) toward the knowledge he has already arrived at.

This is not merely a formal distinction. The peculiar form of the Romantic nature poem is intimately related to a particular set of questions and issues that animate the poetry. As Abrams notes, "the central enterprise common to many post-Kantian German philosophers and poets, as well as to Coleridge and Wordsworth, was to join together the 'subject' and 'object' that modern intellection had put asunder."[484] The contemplative nature poem, with its back-and-forth movement between the solitary speaker's thoughts and external description, is the perfect vessel for probing tensions and movements between inner consciousness and outer world, things in themselves and the mind that comprehends them. Such poetry becomes "structured by an opposition between man and the world and tropological exchanges between inside and outside."[485] It is easy to see how a tradition of nature poetry taking Romanticism as paradigmatic would make the fundamental issue of such poetry whether or not humans are a part of nature, and would

---

[483] Heinze ([1923] 2009) 22. Cf. Heinze ([1923] 2009) 23 where he suggests, "the rarity of natural description in Horace should not suggest he was himself unresponsive to nature: describing the moods it aroused in him is not his lyric task, which excludes anything purely contemplative."

[484] Abrams (1965) 546. See also Van den Berg (1970).

[485] Culler (2015) 82, explicating De Man's reading of a particular kind of expressive lyric in his essay "Anthropomorphism and Trope in the Lyric." Cf. De Man (1970) 66.

desiderate a lost unity or oneness with nature. This basic aim is still the unifying project, for example, of Jonathan Bate's influential model of ecopoetics, drawn from Romanticism.[486]

These issues are not Horace's priorities in his nature poetry, though they have been recurrent features in readings of his poems. For John Fitch, Horace's overarching message is that humans are a part of nature, while for Commager nature in the *Odes* is an external realm made symbolic of human concerns.[487] Gregson Davis interprets the spring poem *Odes* 4.7 as founded on "the difference between human self and natural 'other.'"[488] Others debate the degree to which environmental descriptions in the *Odes* represent outer realities or inner states of mind.[489] But this framework is simply not how Horace is thinking through nature, humanity, and the nonhuman in the *Odes*. His poems, as we will see, rely both on human participation in a more-than-human world and on human difference from the rest of that world. Humans are part of a cosmos structured by Nature, and also have their own particular human nature. Horace's poetry is not concerned with how we might become one with Nature but rather with how humans might live their lives better through attention to the nonhuman world through which natures can be known. The nonhuman scenes to which Horace directs our attention do not have to be rough, unhewn nature, untouched by human culture. He turns his eye to the peak of Mt. Soracte (*Carm.* 1.9) and to rugged, distant cliffs (2.19), but also to the natural-cultural space of his Sabine estate. The nature he is concerned with is not the opposite of culture, nor the world other

[486] Bate (2000) 245; cf. Elder (1985) 2.
[487] Fitch (2009) 24; Commager (1962) 235-6. Comparable to Commager is Gold (1993) 26.
[488] Davis (1991) 157.
[489] See for example Pasquali ([1920] 1964) 81-2; Commager (1962) 271; Edmunds (1992) 14, 24, 98-103; and Hardie (1993) 122-4.

than the human, and for this reason it makes little sense to argue that Horace does not care for nature in its own right.[490] In short, the way in which Horace differs from Romantic and post-Romantic nature poetry is not that his poetry does not take nature or the nonhuman world as a major concern. Rather, as we will now turn to examine, his poems use a different lyric form to work through a different set of concerns arising from different concepts of nature.

Horace and Nature

From the very beginning of his poetic career, Horace is commenting on nature. His first book of the *Satires* is filled with instances of the term *natura*, and he continually refers to both human nature and a larger idea of Nature that serves as a norm and gauge for human behavior.[491] Drawing eclectically on Hellenistic philosophy, as well as the rhetorical strategies of Lucretius, Horatian satire delights in exposing behavior as not only irrational or ridiculous, but against nature—even as it pokes self-deprecating fun at this pose. The targets of his admonishments go beyond the limits that Nature has established, and tend to misrecognize what human nature truly requires, desiring what they do not actually need. It is important to emphasize, though, that all of these references to ideas of nature do not denote the nonhuman world: the concept of nature as the nonhuman is not the *natura* Horace is concerned with in the *Satires*.

---

[490] This is the claim of Commager (1962) 235, Lana (1993) 41, and Gold (1993) 17. Behind the claim is the assumption that nature must refer to something entirely distinct from humans and human culture.

[491] Hor., *Sat.* 1.1.49-50, 74-5, 88-9, 106-7; 1.2.73-4, 111-3; 1.3.34-6, 113-4; 1.5.101-3; 1.6.65-6, 93-5. This prevalence continues in Horace's second book of satires: *Sat.* 2.2.129-30, 2.3.177-8, 2.4.63-4, 2.7.47-8, 2.7.73-4. See Commager (1962) 236-7 on nature as "a standard for human behavior in the Satires and Epodes," as well as Lana (1993) 42-3.

Horace does, however, make such a connection in his *Epistles*. In *Epistles* 1.10, Horace teasingly plays with Stoic doctrine in order to convert the city-lover Fuscus to Horace's own love of the country:

> vivere Naturae si convenienter oportet,
> ponendaeque domo quarenda est area primum
> novistine locum potiorem rure beato?
> est ubi plus tepeant hiemes, ubi gratior aura
> leniat et rabiem Canis et momenta Leonis,
> cum semel accepit solem furibundus acutum?
> est ubi divellat somnos minus invida Cura?
> deterius Libycis olet aut nitet herba lapillis?
> purior in vicis aqua tendit rumpere plumbum,
> quam quae per pronum trepidat cum murmure rivum?
> nempe inter varias nutritur silva columnas,
> laudaturque domus longos quae prospicit agros.
> naturam expelles furca, tamen usque recurret,
> et mala perrumpet furtim fastidia victrix.
>
> If one ought to live in accordance with Nature
> and first a location is to be sought for establishing a home,
> do you know a better place than the blessed country?
> Is there anywhere where the winters are more mild?
> Where a more pleasant breeze calms the Dog Star's fervor
> and the time of raging Leo, when he has caught the piercing sun?
> Is there somewhere where hateful Care disturbs sleep less?
> Is the grass less shining than Libyan stones? Is it not more fragrant?
> Does purer water struggle to break through lead pipes in the streets
> than that which rushes and rumbles downhill through the stream?
> Indeed, among your multicolored columns a little wood is being grown,
> and a house is praised that looks out on long-stretching fields.
> You may drive Nature out with a pitchfork, but it will still come back, triumphant,
> and break down your ill-conceived pride before you realize it. (*Epist.* 1.10.12-25)

While part of Horace's argument here has to do with the countryside as a peaceful space of *otium*, in which philosophical contemplation—and therefore living in accordance with Nature—can more easily be pursued, the abundance of imagery of the nonhuman world suggests that there is some further connection between the grass and streams of the countryside and Stoic Nature. It is not the case that the woods and streams *are* Nature.

Rather, they offer a privileged site for the comprehension of Nature as a causal force and principle. The rural environment allows Horace to infer the workings of Nature.[492]

This link between a rural nonhuman environment and philosophical concepts of nature is crucial for understanding Horace's interest in both matters in the *Odes*. In fact, this epistle explicates what is already an implicit structure in the earlier collection of *Odes* 1-3. In the *Odes*, Horace modulates the satirist's jabs into more friendly admonitions, but the delivery of ethical injunctions remain a major part of his lyric persona.[493] While *natura* appears only once in Horace's lyric poetry (*Carm.* 1.28.15), ideas of nature are fundamental to it: he consistently advises others to reign in their ambitions and desires in accordance with human nature, and describes natural limits that ought to be observed and respected.[494] Importantly, this moralizing is consistently connected to representations of rural environments and of the nonhuman world. His urging Torquatus, in 4.7, not to hope for anything beyond the limits of human mortality (*immortalia ne speres*, 4.7.7) grows out of the observation of the shifting seasons and how spring affects plant life and the courses of rivers. When, in 2.9, Horace urges

---

[492] Fitch (2009) 28 comes close when he claims, "the sights and sounds of nature provide a context for living by nature's standards," but again the sights and sounds of the rural environment are not the sights and sounds of nature. Rather, the rural environment allows Horace to infer the workings of nature. Schmidt (1997) 149-50 stresses the importance of this passage for the history of nature as a concept, suggesting that *natura* here begins to refer to the nonhuman world. However, it more properly still refers in this passage to a philosophical concept connected to, but not identical with, the rural environment Horace describes.

[493] On Horace's interest in ethical matters throughout all his poetry, see Rudd (1993), esp. 72-7 on the *Odes*.

[494] Commager (1962) 255 suggests that by avoiding the word *natura*, Horace is "deliberately discouraging us from attempting to impose upon him any of the philosophical systems that took 'living according to nature' as an important tenet." But ideas of living according to nature and respecting natural limits pervade the poetry. Lana (1993) 42 suggests the word *natura,* while at home in Horatian satire, was simply not stylistically lofty enough for his lyric corpus.

Valgius to restrain his grief, he does so on the grounds that just as it does not rain without end, so Valgius should put a stop to his excessive tears. Readers of Horace have long recognized that, as Thomas Rosenmeyer puts it, "in Horace's lyrics, nature is the great paradigm."[495] But while the pairing of a concept of nature with streams, grasses, plants, and rains seems obvious to modern readers, the exact contours of this relationship between nature and the nonhuman need careful elaboration. Is the nonhuman world being used as a "moral metaphor"?[496] Is Horace's underlying message that humans are "part of nature"?[497]

To see precisely how and why Horace connects the nonhuman world to ideas of nature, we must examine what models Greek poetic traditions could offer him. The practice of using the nonhuman world to furnish insights into human life is as old as Greek poetry itself, with the similes of Homer, none more famous than the comparison of human generations to the leaves of a tree (*Il.* 6.146-9). Such comparisons abound in Horace's lyric models Alcaeus and Sappho, as well.[498] Hesiod goes beyond comparison and analogy, making a major theme of his *Works and Days* the measurement and evaluation of human action by reference to concepts and standards seen in the nonhuman world.[499] And one poem of Alcaeus provides a sort of lyric version of this Hesiodic theme:

> τέγγε πλεύμονας οἴνῳ, τὸ γὰρ ἄστρον περιτέλλεται,
> ἀ δ' ὥρα χαλέπα, πάντα δὲ δίψαισ' ὐπὰ καύματος,
> ἄχει δ' ἐκ πετάλων ἄδεα τέττιξ . . .
> ἄνθει δὲ σκόλυμος· νῦν δὲ γύναικες μιαρώταται,

[495] Rosenmeyer (1969) 182.
[496] Commager (1962) 235; similarly Gold (1993) 26.
[497] Fitch (2009) 24.
[498] For example: Sappho 96, 105 LP; Alc. 119 LP.
[499] See Slatkin (2004).

λέπτοι δ᾽ ἄνδρες, ἐπεὶ <δὴ> κεφάλαν καὶ γόνα Σείριος
ἄσδει. . .

Moisten your lungs with wine, for the star is coming around
and the season is harsh. Everything thirsts from the heat
and the cicada echoes sweetly from the leaves . . .
The artichoke is flowering. Now are women most unclean
and men the weakest, since Sirius burns their heads and knees. . . (Alc. 347a LP)

Alcaeus connects human temperament and behavior to the seasonal cycles of the more-than-human world. In these authors, what is at stake is not *physis* or "nature" with any of the philosophical weight such concepts would acquire in coming centuries. Nonetheless, they do bear witness to an archaic tradition of measuring human life both by comparison to the nonhuman world and by virtue of the human's participation in a more-than-human world.[500]

This archaic tradition is enhanced and transformed in Horace by another powerful influence, from the world of prose. As Nisbet and Hubbard note, one enormous difference between Horace and the archaic Greek lyric poetry he recreates is the intervening rise of a prose literature, including the developments of Hellenistic philosophy.[501] In particular, Horace is deeply influenced by Hellenistic ideas of nature. All schools of Hellenistic philosophy have a strong, normative concept of nature, which performs significant work in the realm of ethics.[502] In Epicureanism, for example, a correct understanding of *Natura* and its workings are the foundation of ethical action. If Lucretius can teach his readers the nature of things, the correct beliefs, actions, and

[500] Cf. Slatkin (2004) 28 and 49 on Hesiod.
[501] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xiv. In the *Odes* Horace eclectically mixes Peripatetic, Stoic, Epicurean, and other influences. See Moles (2007) 171-3 for a brief overview.
[502] Nussbaum (1994) 24, 31, 497-9.

decisions will follow. Above all, though, Horace draws on the ethical naturalism of Stoicism, which advises pupils to live in accordance with Nature.[503]

One key conduit for such ideas was Cicero. Drawing on the Stoic Panaetius and expanding on the notion of moral propriety in his *De Officiis,* Cicero relies heavily on notions of nature:

> Officium autem, quod ab eo ducitur, hanc primum habet viam, quae deducit ad convenientiam conservationemque naturae; quam si sequemur ducem, numquam aberrabimus [. . .] neque enim solum corporis, qui ad naturam apti sunt, sed multo etiam magis animi motus probandi, qui item ad naturam accommodati sunt.
>
> The duty, however, that comes from that [propriety] has this path first of all, which is to lead to agreement with and preservation of nature. If we follow nature as a guide, we will never go astray . . . And indeed those movements not only of the body, but even more so of the spirit, are to be approved which are suited to nature, and which have been accommodated to nature. (*Off.* 1.100)

Soon after this passage, Cicero also bases duty on one's particular nature:

> Sic enim est faciendum, ut contra universam naturam nihil contendamus, ea tamen conservata propriam nostram sequamur, ut, etiamsi sint alia graviora atque meliora, tamen nos studia nostra nostrae naturae regula metiamur.
>
> Thus we must act, so as not to strive at all against universal nature but, with that nature maintained, also to follow our own proper nature, so that, even if there are other more serious and better affairs, nonetheless we measure our pursuits by the standard of our own nature. (*Off.* 1.110)

As Cicero demonstrates, the "nature" at stake in Stoic thinking can be both the particular nature of humankind (or of an individual) and universal Nature.[504] The idea of taking

---

[503] On this important idea in Stoicism see Striker (1991); Long and Sedley (1987) 400-1, 406-8; and Schofield (2003) 239-46.

[504] Although the connection between the two can be a source of tension, there ought to be no contradiction between living in accordance with one's own nature and with the nature of the cosmos, properly understood: see Long and Sedley (1987) 352 and 400 and

these concepts of *natura* as a benchmark and guide for human behavior, exemplified here by Cicero, is a major theme of Horace's *Odes*.[505]

To be sure, the Nature that a good Stoic should live by and the Nature whose proper comprehension enables proper living for the Epicurean are not synonymous with the nonhuman world we might call nature. However, both Stoics and Epicureans often arrive at insights into their concepts of nature through the nonhuman world. Both schools avail themselves of the so-called cradle argument, using the behavior of human infants to argue that certain behaviors or tendencies are the result of nature, rather than other extraneous influences.[506] And such arguments commonly extend to the realm of animals, by the same logic.[507] Animal behaviors can show that certain human behaviors are the result of a shared natural impulse. As Long and Sedley explain, when Stoics justify a behavior by reference to nonhuman animals, "they are claiming that animals and humans alike are so structured that such behavior is natural and appropriate to them both."[508] Lucretius, in a different context, also uses animal behavior to suggest naturalistic explanations for similar human behavior.[509] Again, the nonhuman animals are not

---

Schofield (2003) 244 on both humans' specific natures and universal nature in this context.

[505] Cairns (1977) 541-2 suggests the influence, via Cicero, of Panaetius and his concept of propriety upon Horace in the *Odes*. For the influence of Panaetius on Horace's *Epistles* see McGann (1969) 10-15.

[506] See Brunschwig (1986).

[507] Brunschwig (1986) 113, 116 with n. 10, and *passim*; Nussbaum (1994) 31.

[508] Long and Sedley (1987) 352.

[509] See Nussbaum (1994) 160, who explains this as a method of deflationary argument: "the strategy of the deflationary argument is to place before us some behavior in animal nature that looks very similar to our behavior; to offer a convincing naturalistic explanation for the animal conduct; and then to imply that if we cling to the basic rational principle that similar things ought to have similar explanations (a principle explicitly endorsed by Lucretius, and used in many passages), we are led to apply the

identified with nature, but exhibit behaviors that provide insight into what is and is not attributable to the workings of nature.

In the *Odes*, Horace extends such arguments beyond animals, to the nonhuman world more generally. For example: plant growth, the tendencies of rivers, and the patterns of weather all observe seasonality and behave in accordance with the natural cycles of time—if this is what such things naturally do, shouldn't humans, as well? Of course, humans often do not behave in accordance with nature. As the poet of the *Satires* knows all too well, humans often exceed the limits of nature and fail to understand their own nature. This is why Horace's poetry must intervene in the lives of his addressees. By making his readers see and experience the nonhuman environment through his poetry, Horace aims to change their understanding of the world and of themselves.

The point here is not whether such argument would have made strict logical sense in the Stoa, but rather that Horace draws on the rhetorical moves of Hellenistic philosophy, and the general prevalence of ethical naturalism, in order to make the nonhuman world the premier site for affording insight into both human and universal natures. In fusing together this philosophical influence with longstanding traditions adumbrated in archaic Greek poetry, Horace creates something distinctive. He forges a connection between perceptions of the nonhuman world and transformative realizations about human nature and our place in the world, and it is worth emphasizing this fusion of ethics and poetics as a crucial breakthrough in the history of environmental poetry.[510] The idea that short lyric poems should represent particularized experiences of the nonhuman

---

straightforward naturalistic explanation to our own conduct, in preference to the complex or special non-natural explanation."

[510] Cf. Knickerbocker (2012) 3, who notes, "ecological poetry posits a relationship between ethics and aesthetics."

world in order to intervene directly in a reader's life, move his or her consciousness to a better realization of the human's place in the world, and change his or her actions accordingly is fundamental to the concept of environmental writing, and makes Horace an important precursor to much contemporary ecopoetry.

Natural Rhythms and Human Time: Horace's Spring Poems

Horace's best-known poems that fuse the nonhuman world with ethical precepts are his spring odes (*Carm.* 1.4, 4.7, and 4.12), which insist on the importance of realizing the nature of human life by reference to the temporal rhythms that structure the more-than-human world. This fascination with the temporalities of human life vis-à-vis those of the larger world is most obvious in these poems, but also underlies Horace's thoroughgoing emphasis on the fleetingness of human life and his famous, if often over-simplified, *carpe diem* ethic.[511] These are some of Horace's best known and most read poems, but we are now in a position to see how these familiar odes are built on the relationship between human and universal natures, rather than an opposition between humans and the natural world.

Horace's first spring poem occurs early in his lyric career, the fourth poem of his first book:

> Solvitur acris hiems grata vice veris et Favoni
> trahuntque siccas machinae carinas,
> ac neque iam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni,
> nec prata canis albicant pruinis.
> iam Cytherea choros ducit Venus imminente Luna, 5

[511] Commager (1962) 235-306 remains a valuable treatment of Horace's interest in time, change, and the nonhuman world. While Commager's account differs from mine, and imports some questionable assumptions about nature, the discussion that follows is indebted to many of his perceptive observations on "the world of nature" in the *Odes.*

iunctaeque Nymphis Gratiae decentes
alterno terram quatiunt pede, dum gravis Cyclopum
Vulcanus ardens versat officinas.
nunc decet aut viridi nitidum caput impedire myrto
aut flore terrae quem ferunt solutae;
nunc et in umbrosis Fauno decet immolare lucis,
seu poscat agna sive malit haedo.
pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas
regumque turris. o beate Sesti,
vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam.
iam te premet nox fabulaeque Manes
et domus exilis Plutonia; quo simul mearis,
nec regna vini sortiere talis,
nec tenerum Lycidan mirabere, quo calet iuventus
nunc omnis et mox virgines tepebunt.

Sharp winter loosens with the pleasant turn of spring and the West Wind,
and devices pull the dry ships along,
and now neither does the flock delight in the folds, nor the ploughman in his fire
nor do the meadows whiten with grey frost.
Now Cytherean Venus leads the choruses as the moon hangs overhead,
and the fitting Graces joined with Nymphs
strike the earth with alternating foot, while Vulcan ablaze tends to the grim
workshops of the Cyclopes.
Now it is fitting either to wreath your gleaming head with green myrtle
or the flower the loosened soils bring.
Now, too, it is fitting to make sacrifice to Faunus in shadowy groves,
whether he demands a lamb or prefers a kid.
Pale Death beats with impartial foot at the dwellings of the poor
and the towers of kings. O happy Sestius,
the brief sum of our life forbids us from starting on long hopes.
Now already night will press on you, and the Spirits
of tales and the paltry home of Pluto; once you have gone there
you won't be in charge of the drinking,
nor will you marvel at tender Lycidas, for whom all the youth now burns,
and for whom the girls will soon grow warm. (*Carm.* 1.4)

The poem begins by observing the effects of spring's arrival on all spheres of life: winter loosening into spring (1) calls to mind thawing and melting ice, an idea spelled out in line four with meadows losing their pale frost. The poem more immediately glances, however, at manmade *machinae* dragging boats to be used again at the onset of the sailing season. Sailing can be seen as disruptive of the natural order, and is often the paradigmatic

example of human hubris, going where humans by nature are not able to tread.[512] And yet, even this potentially transgressive activity operates on a seasonal rhythm, as sailing season now begins. The grasses of the fields and the voyaging and trading activities of humans operate according to the same temporal shift, as does the behavior of both ploughman and animal herd (3). Divine life, too, is orchestrated to align with the onset of the season, as Venus leads her chorus of nymphs, and Vulcan attends to his forges (5-8). The cosmos is naturally structured to operate in a fixed temporal rhythm, and this governs the lives of plants, animals, humans, and gods, as well as the general weather and appearance of the earth.[513] There are still all sorts of significant differences between these different beings, but all of them in their own ways live within the same seasonal temporality. The poem pivots when all these observations build to the declaration of *nunc decet* (9): looking to the more-than-human world, including both human and nonhuman life, offers insight into how humans should behave. Specifically, humans should behave in proper accordance—*decus*—with the natural revolution of the seasons.[514]

But if seasonal time is cyclical, the temporality of the world is also—for humans—linear.[515] The poem begins by stressing the present moment of spring's arrival (*iam … iam … nunc … nunc*) in the cycle of the seasons, implied with *vice* (1). But after

[512] See Feeney (2007) 120-2 on the human transgression of sailing, including in *Carm.* 1.3.
[513] Albrecht (1991) 149-50 sees specific allusion to each of the four elements in 1.4, suggesting that, on an elemental level, the entire cosmos is affected by the change of seasons.
[514] The emphatic *decet* also makes us reread the earlier *decentes* Graces as not just comely, but behaving appropriately to the season.
[515] Scholars have long seen that Horace's spring poems are founded on a tension between cyclical and linear time. See for example Rudd (1960) 379-83, Commager (1962) 268-9, Quinn (1963) 22-3, Lee (1969) 66, Syndikus (1973) 359, Putnam (1986) 134-5, Davis (1991) 156-7, Lana (1993) 69-70, Lowrie (1997) 50-2, and Thomas (2011) ad 4.7.1-4.

the pale frost of the meadow is replaced by pale Death, Horace subtly shifts *iam* (16) to refer to the "now" of linear human time: now, already, death is threatening Sestius. The tension between the cyclical rhythm of seasonal time and the linear time of human life is captured by the meter of the poem, with its alternating lines: as Nisbet and Hubbard perceive, "the ecstatic long lines are even livelier than hexameters, but are pulled up by the slow cataleptic iambics, whose closing cadence yet re-echoes that of the long lines."[516] In other words, the series of couplets replays in controlled miniature the back-and-forth cyclical movement of the seasons—even as to read the poem is to move in linear fashion from beginning to end. Reading the poem creates the sense of linear progression through cyclical repetition that Horace asks Sestius to realize.

Sestius is impelled to realization and action in this poem, based on insight into both his own human nature—his mortality—and the nature of the larger world, which progresses cyclically through the seasons. Horace urges him to make the most of the springtime moment, as it will not last in the ongoing cycle of the year, and also to rein in hopes for longevity in light of the linear temporality of individual human life. The fact that Sestius is addressed here suggests that he requires such instruction: while human life is determined by humans' own nature and by the nature of the cosmos, they do not necessarily live their lives based on this knowledge. Horace's poetry must direct Sestius' attention to the nonhuman world, so that he can live life according to nature—his own nature and the nature of the world.

[516] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 61. Similarly Lee (1969) 68.

Horace's treatment of spring near the start of his lyric oeuvre is matched by his return to the theme near the end of it, in his fourth book. *Odes* 4.7 begins with the same spring moment and the same image of loosening cold from 1.4:

Diffugere nives, redeunt iam gramina campis
arboribusque comae;
mutat terra vices et decrescentia ripas
flumina praetereunt;

Gratia cum Nymphis geminisque sororibus audit
ducere nuda choros:
immortalia ne speres, monet annus et almum
quae rapit hora diem.

frigora mitescunt Zephyris, ver proterit aestas
interitura simul
pomifer autumnus fruges effuderit; et mox
bruma recurrit iners.

damna tamen celeres reparant caelestia lunae:
nos ubi decidimus
quo pius Aeneas, quo Tullus dives et Ancus
pulvis et umbra sumus.

quis scit an adiciant hodiernae crastina summae
tempora di superi?
cuncta manus avidas fugient heredis, amico
quae dederis animo.

cum semel occideris et de te splendida Minos
fecerit arbitria
non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
restituet pietas.

infernis neque enim tenebris Diana pudicum
liberat Hippolytum
nec Lethaea valet Theseus abrumpere caro
vincula Pirithoo.

The snows have scattered and now the grasses return to the fields
and the leaves to the trees.
The earth changes through its turns and waning rivers
flow by their banks.

The Grace, with the nymphs and her two sisters, dares
to lead the choruses nude.
Do not hope for immortality, warns the year and the hour
that snatches away the kind day.

Frosts are softened by the west winds. Spring is worn away by summer
about to die as soon
as fruit-bearing autumn has poured forth its crops. And soon
sluggish winter hurries back.

Nonetheless, the swift moons can regain their losses in the heavens.
When we have fallen
to where dutiful Aeneas, to where rich Tullus and Ancus have gone
we are dust and shadow.

Who knows whether the gods above will add tomorrow's time
to the sum of today?
All things will escape the greedy hands of your heir, which you give
to your own friendly soul.

Once you have died and Minos has passed his distinguished judgment
on you, your lineage
will not save you, Torquatus, nor your eloquence. Your piety
won't restore you.

Neither does Diana set chaste Hippolytus free
from the infernal shades
nor is Theseus strong enough to break the Lethaean chains
from his dear Pirithous. (*Carm.* 4.7)

While 1.4 stays with the first moment of spring, 4.7 spends more time considering the succession of the seasons. *Mutat terra vices* (3) expands on *vice* (1.4.1), and lines 9-12 envision the movements of all four seasons. In a comparable passage, Lucretius spends ten lines describing the fixed cycle of the seasons (*Lucr.* 5.737-47). Here Horace condenses such a description into four masterful lines: the warm west wind thaws winter's frost, but just as soon as spring begins in line nine, it is swept away. *Ver* first looks as if it might be nominative, the subject of its own action, but *aestas* abruptly corrects this reading at the end of the line, making spring the object, rather than the

subject, of *proterit*. Before we have realized it, summer is already in control—but only for the briefest of moments, as after a forceful enjambment *interitura* signals summer's own fleetingness. Autumn holds for a whole line (11), before winter—whose very name connotes brevity—returns.[517] The four lines begin and conclude a single period, and the end-stopped strophe encourages us to see the lines as an enclosed, repeatable cycle.[518]

Nos, in line fourteen, marks a strong change, as Horace moves from the cyclical time of the seasons to human time. While 1.4 begins with spring affecting all beings, including humans, 4.7 starts by focusing on the nonhuman and divine worlds. Human difference then emerges more sharply, as the poem's temporal perspective broadens. With echoes of Catullus, Horace tells Torquatus that the moon and the seasons can go away and come back, but humans, after the end of their life, cannot return.[519] Not even the intervention of a hero or a god can change this fundamental fact about the nature of human life (25-8). Clearly, the same combination of linear and cyclical time from 1.4 is at work in this poem. Both the revolving cycle of the year (*annus*) and the single hour that never returns (*hora*) teach humans of their own mortality. Directing Torquatus' attention to the nonhuman world of regenerative plant life (1-2) illuminates by contrast the peculiar nature of the human.

This contrast, implicit in 1.4 and stressed more thoroughly in 4.7, underlies Horace's final tarrying with spring, in 4.12. In that poem the present spring moment (*iam*, 4.12.1, 3), along with the understanding that it will not last in the ongoing cycle of the

---

[517] *Bruma* is contracted from the superlative *brevissima* (referring to the shortest day in the middle of winter)*;* see TLL II.2.0.2206.73-7.
[518] Rudd (1960) 381 comments on this strophe, "few lines illustrate better the particular genius of the Latin language." See also the close reading of Commager (1962) 278.
[519] Cf. Catull. 5.4-6, and see Putnam (2008) 16-7.

year familiar from 4.7, lends urgency to a sympotic invitation to make the most of the present. But when we discover near the end of the poem that the addressee is the deceased Vergil, the tenor of the invitation changes.[520] With the coming of spring, the sails return to the sea, and rivers return to their course, but Vergil cannot return. The breezes, the *comites* of spring (4.12.1) make their appearance again, but Horace's *comes* will not. The temporality of individual human life is different from those of various nonhuman beings, even as humans and nonhumans alike experience the same larger temporal cycles of the world and its seasons. Human life is determined both by its own nature and by the nature of the cosmos.

Horace was far from the first lyric poet to write about spring, and a brief look at other ancient spring poems can elucidate what is particular about Horace. Fragments of Sappho, Alcaeus, Ibycus, and Simonides all take special note of the onset of spring, though at times it can be difficult to ascertain what they made of the occasion.[521] Closer in time to Horace, Catullus 46 links the arrival of spring to a general desire to travel.[522] Lucretius' invocation to Venus at the start of the *De Rerum Natura* includes a moving description of the world in springtime (1.10-20), and Vergil briefly mentions the changes of spring early in book one of the *Georgics* (1.43-6). A number of epigrams in the Greek anthology, like *Odes* 1.4, 4.7, and 4.12, connect the elusive moment of spring's arrival to

[520] On the deceased Vergil as the Vergilius addressed in this poem, see Clay (2002), Johnson (2004) 160-6, and Thomas (2011) 226-7.
[521] Alc. 115, 286, 367 LP; Sappho 136 LP; Ibyc. 5 PMG; Simon. 586 PMG. Cf. Cairns (2016) 403: "no indubitable archaic spring ode survives . . . but the existence of such odes and their influence on Hellenistic epigram and Roman lyric are unquestionable."
[522] See Woodman (1972) 761-3 and Putnam (2008) 16-23 and 96-9 on the influence of Catullus on Horace's spring poems.

an imperative to take action.[523] Meleager (*Anth. Pal.* 9.363) suggests that he should sing at the start of spring, just like the birds. More similarly to Horace's spring poems, an epigram of Leonidas links the arrival of spring to a command to set sail:

> Ὁ πλόος ὡραῖος· καὶ γὰρ λαλαγεῦσα χελιδὼν
> ἤδη μέμβλωκεν, χὠ χαρίεις Ζέφυρος·
> λειμῶνες δ' ἀνθεῦσι, σεσίγηκεν δὲ θάλασσα
> κύμασι καὶ τρηχεῖ πνεύματι βρασσομένη.
> ἀγκύρας ἀνέλοιο, καὶ ἐκλύσαιο γύαια,
> ναυτίλε, καὶ πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐφεὶς ὀθόνην.
> ταῦθ' ὁ Πρίηπος ἐγὼν ἐπιτέλλομαι ὁ λιμενίτας,
> ὥνθρωφ', ὡς πλώοις πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἐμπορίην.
>
> It is the season for sailing. The chirping swallow
> has already arrived, and the lovely West Wind.
> The meadows are in flower, and the sea with its waves
> has quieted, stricken by the rough wind.
> Raise up the anchors, and let loose the cables,
> seafarer, and put every sail to use in sailing.
> This, man, is what I, Priapus of the harbor,
> command: that you set sail for every trade. (*Anth. Pal.* 10.1; cf. 10.2)

Springtime is time for sailing; and the epigram offers a specific command for that activity.[524] It is arguably implicit here that human behavior should be timed in accordance with the seasonal time of the larger world, but this is not spelled out or emphasized in the poem. In *Odes* 1.4 and 4.7, Horace replaces this specific command with more general exhortations. Instead of connecting a particular moment in the year to a command to take particular action, spring for Horace becomes the impetus to a broader realization, a permanent truth about the workings of the world, the nature of the human, and the relation between the two.

---

[523] On the relevance of these poems to *Carm.* 1.4 see Syndikus (1972) 70, and on Horace's difference from them Syndikus (1972) 71-2 and 78.

[524] The epigram perhaps builds on Alc. 286 LP, which mentions spring and sailing together. Cairns (2016) 406 notes how the epigram "begins deceptively as a spring description," before revealing an urgent command spoken by the god Priapus.

This realization of human mortality in a world of seasonal renewal draws on and alters a comparison familiar from Homer:

> οἵη περ φύλλων γενεή, τοίη δὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.
> φύλλα τὰ μέν τ᾽ ἄνεμος χαμάδις χέει, ἄλλα δέ θ᾽ ὕλη
> τηλεθόωσα φύει, ἔαρος δ᾽ ἐπιγίγνεται ὥρη·
> ὣς ἀνδρῶν γενεὴ ἡ μὲν φύει ἡ δ᾽ ἀπολήγει.
>
> Just as the generation of leaves, so is that of men.
> Now the wind tosses the leaves to the ground, and now
> the flourishing forest grows forth, as the season of spring returns.
> So the generation of men: some grow forth while others die away. (*Il.* 6.146-9)

Homer's simile expresses likeness between human generations and plant regeneration, but the more one presses the comparison, the more difference emerges—while the same woods wax and wane in life, it is only humanity as a whole that follows a similar pattern. Homer's simile was later adapted by Simonides and Mimnermus, among others, and Horace likely draws on this as a long-standing traditional idea, rather than from any one author in particular.[525] In fusing this archaic wisdom with the tradition of spring epigrams, he links Homer's aphorism to the experience of a precise moment in time and place: the beginning of spring in the countryside. The evergreen archaic maxim becomes an urgent realization and a timely command.[526]

Ultimately, it is unclear just how new or distinctive this is compared to archaic Greek lyric, of which so little survives. But Horace's spring poems appear to mark a significant change. What gives the poems their distinctive character is their fusion of the naturalist commitments shared by Hellenistic philosophies with the aphoristic wisdom of

[525] See Syndikus (1973) 358, Barchiesi (1996) 33-7 and Thomas (2011) 175-6. On the widespread tradition of this comparison see Sider (2001).
[526] Cf. Commager (1962) 254, "Horace does not simply record that man's life is like that of a leaf, but insists that it should be."

archaic poetry and the occasionality of the spring epigram. Perhaps the closest comparandum is an epigram from Philodemus, Horace's own philosophical instructor.

> Ἤδη καὶ ῥόδον ἐστί, καὶ ἀκμάζων ἐρέβινθος,
> καὶ καυλοὶ κράμβης, Σωσύλε, πρωτοτόμου,
> καὶ μαίνη †ζαλαγεῦσα, καὶ ἀρτιπαγὴς ἁλίτυρος,
> καὶ θριδάκων οὔλων ἁβροφυῆ πέταλα.
> ἡμεῖς δ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἀκτῆς ἐπιβαίνομεν, οὔτ᾽ ἐν ἀπόψει
> γινόμεθ᾽, ὡς αἰεί, Σωσύλε, τὸ πρότερον;
> καὶ μὴν Ἀντιγένης καὶ Βάκχιος ἐχθὲς ἔπαιζον·
> νῦν δ᾽ αὐτοὺς θάψαι σήμερον ἐκφέρομεν.
>
> Already there is the rose, and the flourishing chickpea,
> and the stems of the first cut cabbage, Sosylus,
> there is fish and salted, freshly pressed cheese,
> and the soft leaves of curly lettuces.
> But we do not walk on the shore or go to the prospect,
> Sosylus, as we always used to. Indeed, Antigenes and Bacchius
> were playing yesterday. Today we carry them to be buried. (*Anth. Pal.* 9.412)

Philodemus contrasts the seasonal regeneration of plant life with the mortality of humans, and connects this general insight to the occasion of a particular moment.[527] In Epicurean fashion, the comprehension of human nature and the nature of the universe could perhaps lead to various ethical conclusions about human action, but Philodemus gives his readers no such command or instruction here. Horace, by contrast, tends to tether these realizations to a direct exhortation. Additionally, while Philodemus' poem works in a specifically Epicurean context, Horace broadens his observations to be amenable to both Stoic and Epicurean readings.[528] From an Epicurean perspective, his spring poems encourage a celebration of the present based on the blunt fact of human mortality and an understanding of the natural workings of the world. But these same poems can be read in

[527] For more on this epigram, see Cairns (2016) 399-403, who follows Sider (1997) in seeing a change of speaker in line 7.
[528] Cairns (2016) 405 also notes that while Philodemus emphasizes humble Epicurean pleasures, Horace's commands to enjoy the present often involve luxuries.

a more Stoic vein, urging humans to live in accordance with the limits and requirements of human nature and with the natural, rational structure of the world, in which seasons alternate and everything behaves appropriately to the time.

My interpretations of Horace's well-known spring poems are to some degree familiar, but importantly do not assume that Horace creates a simple or complete opposition between humans and nature. Human difference from other forms of life is clearly important to Horace's spring poems, but it is important to note that humans are still part of a larger world in these poems, and respond to the change in seasons just like plants, animals, and flows of water. Gregson Davis reads *Odes* 4.7 as about an opposition between humans and nature, and the "radical incompatibility of the two ontological domains."[529] But Horace's spring poems explore both human similarity to and difference from other beings, and the concepts of nature that drive the poems are different from the sense of nature invoked by Davis. Humans have a particular nature and are also part of a world with its own larger nature—humans, animals, plants, and even gods have their own particular temporalities, but also all react to the same seasonal temporality of the world. The poems are not about a rigid distinction between humans and the entire nonhuman world (Davis' "nature"), but rather concern the nature of the human, the nature of the cosmos that includes humans and others, and how those two natures relate.

Living in Time

Horace's spring poems concentrate and condense his thinking on the temporalities of human life in the context of a more-than-human world, but the same themes extend

[529] Davis (1991) 157. Lowrie (1997) 54 similarly summarizes the poem as "about the incommensurability of our individual lives with the cycles of the natural world."

throughout the *Odes.* Following soon after Horace's first spring poem is 1.9, which works on the assumed foundation of 1.4:

Vides ut alta stet nive candidum
Soracte, nec iam sustineant onus
silvae laborantes, geluque
flumina constiterint acuto.

dissolve frigus ligna super foco
large reponens atque benignius
deprome quadrimum Sabina,
o Thaliarche, merum diota:

permitte divis cetera, qui simul
stravere ventos aequore fervido
deproeliantis, nec cupressi
nec veteres agitantur orni.

quid sit futurum cras fuge quaerere et
quem Fors dierum cumque dabit lucro
appone, nec dulcis amores
sperne puer neque tu choreas,

donec virenti canities abest
morosa. nunc et campus et areae
lenesque sub noctem susurri
composita repetantur hora,

nunc et latentis proditor intimo
gratus puellae risus ab angulo
pignusque dereptum lacertis
aut digito male pertinaci.

Do you see how Soracte stands gleaming
with deep snow, and now the struggling trees
cannot hold their burdens, and the streams
have stopped with sharp frost?

Loosen away the cold as you place
more logs generously on the hearth,
and pour more freely, Thaliarchus,
the four-year wine from its Sabine jar.

Leave the rest to the gods. As soon
as they have laid low the winds that battle

on the violent sea, neither the cypresses
nor the old ash trees are disturbed.

Cease seeking after what will be tomorrow
and whatever days Fortune gives you,
count it as a gain, and do not spurn sweet loves
when you're a boy, nor choruses,

while fretful grey is still absent
from your green youth. Now the campus
and the piazzas should be sought.
and the soft nighttime whispers, at the arranged hour.

And now seek the pleasing laughter of the girl
hiding in the hidden corner, which betrays her,
and the pledge snatched from her arms
or from her finger not quite resisting. (*Carm.* 1.9)

An acutely observed seasonal moment (here in winter, rather than spring) leads to an exhortation to make the most of the present both within the cycle of the seasons and within the inevitable linear progression of human aging. Nisbet and Hubbard suggest that the advice Horace offers is confused, saying both "the storm will soon blow over, and with it our troubles," and "enjoy yourself while you can; you will not always be able to."[530] They conclude that Horace "has included two themes of Greek poetic moralizing which on close inspection seem inconsistent."[531] But this apparent inconsistency makes sense if one thinks of time in both cyclical and linear terms, as *Odes* 1.4 encourages us to. Neither the present winter moment nor storms last forever. However, winter will come back, while the seasons of human life fade away but do not return. In fact, 1.9 progresses like the inverse of 1.4.[532] Instead of moving from the "now" of springtime to the "now" of Sestius' impending death, this poem moves from the "now" of winter (*iam*, 2) to the

[530] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 117.
[531] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 117.
[532] Commager (1962) 269 makes a similar observation.

"now" of Thaliarchus' youth (*nunc,* 18).[533] As with the spring poems, both the similarity of human aging to seasonal time and the difference between the two are important, a tension condensed into the phrase *virenti canities* (17). The grey of old age and the green of youth liken human ages to winter and spring, even as the difference between individual human time and the revolving seasons is emphasized. This play of similarity and difference captures how human life is simultaneously determined by the nature of the world it is part of and by its own particular nature.

Vides, the first word of the poem, is crucial. Horace asks his addressee (and readers) to see and experience a specific moment in time and place, and then metabolizes this environmental experience into a realization, which itself calls for action. The winter scene with which the poem begins thus encourages thinking about human aging, but does not simplistically symbolize old age, as many readers have suggested.[534] The snow-covered mountain does not stand for the human experience of aging, but impels a sequence of thought that relates and contrasts human aging to the cycles of the seasons. Horace's primary Greek model for this poem is a poem of Alcaeus, in which a storm raging outside offsets a call to enjoy drinking indoors.[535] It is difficult to contrast Horace with Alcaeus when much of the latter's poem does not survive, but, especially in the context of Horace's spring poems, he appears to have turned a sympotic call to drink into

[533] On *nunc* as "now while you are young" see Rudd (1960) 387 and West (1967) 7.
[534] For summaries of the longstanding debate over the potential symbolism of the Mt. Soracte scene, see Edmunds (1992) 98-103, Nauta (1994) 226-7, and Mayer (2012) 113.
[535] Alc. 338 LP. See e.g. Nisbet and Hubbard 1970: 116-7 and Pöschl 1970: 34-5.

a more thorough consideration of human life and seasonality, and the approach to life necessitated by a recognition of the nature of both.[536]

As Steele Commager notes, *Odes* 1.11 "reads like an explication of the Soracte Ode."[537] The opening of the poem adjusts 1.9's *fuge quaerere:*

> Tu ne quaesieris, scire nefas, quem mihi, quem tibi
> finem di dederint, Leuconoe, nec Babylonios
> temptaris numeros ut melius, quidquid erit, pati,
> seu pluris hiemes seu tribuit Iuppiter ultimam,
> quae nunc oppositis debilitat pumicibus mare 5
> Tyrrhenum: sapias, vina liques, et spatio brevi
> spem longam reseces. dum loquimur, fugerit invida
> aetas: carpe diem, quam minimum credula postero.
>
> Do not seek—it's not right to know—what end the gods
> have given to me, and to you, Leuconoe, and do not try
> the Babylonian calculations. How much better to endure
> whatever will be, whether Jupiter has allotted more winters
> or this the last, which wears out the Tyrrhenian sea
> against the pumice-stones. Be wise, strain your wine, and prune back
> your long hope for a short lifetime. As we speak, spiteful time
> has fled. Pluck the day, entrusting as little as possible to tomorrow. (*Carm.* 1.11)

The poem's opening prohibition—like the commands of *Odes* 1.9 and 4.7—encourages a realization of what lies within human control and what is left to the gods. While the sentiment echoes long-standing archaic *gnomoi*, in the context of Hellenistic philosophy it also suggests a comprehension of human nature and its attendant limits, a familiar theme from Horatian satire. This realization of human nature is connected to inferences about the natural workings of the broader world. While seasonality is not front and center in this poem, the reference to winter—for the reader of *Odes* 1.4 and 1.9—recalls the continual succession of the seasons that so contrast with the linear time of our own

[536] As we now know after the most recently discovered fragment of Sappho (see Obbink [2014]), Horace adds to this model Sappho's image of the gods calming a storm, and advice to leave matters to them.
[537] Commager (1957) 73.

individual lives. The *carpe diem* ethic that Horace is famous for is thus founded on an exploration of more-than-human seasonality, of how the temporality and particular nature of human life relates to the nature of the broader world.[538]

The command *carpe diem* may not seem particularly ecological or environmentally conscious at first glance—especially when our contemporary climate crisis requires us to think at timescales far beyond the present. But in the context of Horace's lyric collection, *carpe diem* must be understood as part of a broader imperative to contemplate the nature of the human and the nature of the cosmos through attention to the nonhuman. While the maxim is often assimilated to a kind of vulgarized Epicurean hedonism, it is not in fact a call to disregard all but the immediate present, as we can see by attending to the imagery of viniculture in *Odes* 1.11. Horace tells Leuconoe to strain her wine and to prune back long hope. This imagery encourages us to take seriously the agricultural sense of *carpere,* which means to pluck, pick, or harvest.[539] And such harvesting can only be done at particular times in the year, as part of a broader pattern of planting, pruning, and plucking. *Carpe diem* is a command to seize the present moment, but only when the time is right. *Quam minimum credula postero* (1.11.8) does not mean that Horace wants Leuconoe to disregard the future *entirely*; rather, he is telling her (adjusting the vinicultural terms) to leave nothing ripe on the vine. While the poem focuses on one present moment, it must be understood as part of a broader set of advice offered by Horace. The real exhortation underlying the poem is to live life in accordance

[538] This is also true in *Carm.* 2.11, where *remittas quaerere* (3-4) marks the poem as a variant of *Carm.* 1.11. In that poem, observation of the brief flowering of spring (9-10) and the seasonality of the world underlies Horace's exhortation to focus on present concerns.

[539] See West (1967) 61. As West (1967) 58 notes, "we are brought up with *carpe diem* and cannot see what an astounding phrase it is."

with the seasonal and diurnal rhythms of the world, as well as the linear progression of individual human life.

Horace's interest in the temporal rhythms of human and nonhuman life underlies other recurrent stands of moralizing in the *Odes*.[540] Horace's interest in time is particularly relevant to his emphasis on moderation, and observing a *modus* in human behavior.[541] In *Odes* 2.9, Horace advises Plancus that just as bad weather does not last forever, so he should observe a limit to his sadness:

> Non semper imbres nubibus hispidos
> manant in agros aut mare Caspium
> vexant inaequales procellae
> usque nec Armeniis in oris,
>
> amice Valgi, stat glacies iners
> mensis per omnis aut Aquilonibus
> querqueta Gargani laborant
> et foliis viduantur orni:
>
> tu semper urges flebilibus modis
> Mysten ademptum nec tibi Vespero
> surgente decedunt amores
> nec rapidum fugiente solem.
>
> at non ter aevo functus amabilem
> ploravit omnis Antilochum senex
> annos nec inpubem parentes
> Troilon aut Phrygiae sorores

[540] For example: Horace's recurrent calls to live appropriately for one's age (e.g. *Carm.* 1.25, 3.15, 4.1, and 4.13). Following from the declaration *nunc decet* in 1.4, these poems continue to emphasize the importance of acting in a way befitting the time (though they also intersect with a larger misogynistic tendency of invective against aging women). Making the most of one's youth is only one part of this acting in accordance with the natural progression and cycles of seasonal and human time, which also involves knowing when to let go of the present that so much of Horace celebrates: Commager (1962) 247-54.

[541] It is recognition of the nature of mortal human life that undergirds Horace's insistence, in 1.24, that there should be a limit to grief. See also 1.7.15-21, which makes this point through description of weather. Horace also expresses a similar idea also at *Carm.* 2.10.15-8.

flevere semper. desine mollium
tandem querellarum et potius nova
    cantemus Augusti tropaea
        Caesaris et rigidum Niphaten

Medumque flumen gentibus additum
victis minores volvere vertices
    intraque praescriptum Gelonos
        exiguis equitare campis.

Not always do the rains stream
from the clouds into the bristly fields
    or do the uneven gusts trouble the Caspian Sea,
        and the solid ice does not stand on Armenian shores

through all the months, dear Valgius,
nor do the oaks of Garganus
    always struggle with North winds
        or are ashes always robbed of their leaves.

You always press on your lost Mystes
in tearful strains, and your loves
    do not leave you when evening rises
        nor when it flees from the quick sun.

But the old man who enjoyed three lifetimes
did not cry over his beloved Antilochus
    for all his years, nor did the boy Troilus' parents
        or his Phyrgian sisters shed tears for him

always. Put an end to your soft complaints
at last, and instead let us sing
    of the new trophies of Augustus
        Caesar and the tough Niphates

and the river of the Medes, now added
to the conquered peoples, unrolling lesser eddies,
    and the Gelonians riding within
        their limit in narrowed camps. (*Carm.* 2.9)

Horace attempts to steer Valgius from mournful poetry to political panegyric. The broader point of his rhetoric, though, is that Valgius should put an end to his excessive mourning, because it is out of sync with the way the world functions. More forceful than

the mythological exempla of Nestor and the family of Troilus is the example set by the nonhuman world at the start of the poem. Nisbet and Hubbard find plenty of examples of "the common analogy" whereby human emotions are compared to the weather, including from Pindar, Euripides, and Theocritus.[542] But Horace's use of weather here goes beyond a simple analogy. It is also, contrary to many readings, not an example of the pathetic fallacy.[543] While multivalent terms like *imbres* (rains, but also tears) hint at the human emotions to come later in the poem, Horace does not project human sadness onto rainy weather.[544] Rather, there is a implicit logical relationship between changeable weather and the changeability of human fortunes and emotions. Just as it is not natural for rain to fall ceaselessly throughout the year, it is not natural for Valgius to be perpetually in one state of mind, mourning and crying without end.

It is helpful to compare the rhetorical movement of 2.9 to the ethical naturalism of Stoicism. For a Stoic to live according to nature, as Gisela Striker has elucidated, means to recognize the rational organization of nature and use that as a guide for rationally selecting what accords with one's own human nature.[545] Similarly, in *Odes* 2.9, Horace shows Valgius how weather naturally changes, and then proceeds to use this as a norm by which to evaluate Valgius' behavior as reasonable or unreasonable. Again, the point is not that a Stoic would necessarily make such an argument in these terms, but rather that Horace borrows from Stoicism a rhetorical move from nonhuman to human, while

[542] Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 135 and ad 2.9.1. See also Pöschl (1970) 36-7 and Harrison (2017) 120-1.
[543] See, for example, Wilkinson (1945) 126-7, Syndikus (1972) 394, and West (1998) 62.
[544] See Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) ad 2.9.1 on *imbres*.
[545] See Striker (1991), esp. 229, 230, 238, 240, and 251.

expanding from examples of animal behavior to a broader variety of nonhuman beings and phenomena.

The Horatian Nature Poem

Horace's poems on spring, seasonality, and temporality exemplify what could be called the Horatian nature poem. These are nature poems not because they present aesthetically pleasing views of landscape or rural scenery, but because they probe human nature and the nature of the cosmos through experience of the nonhuman world. Perceptions and experiences of the nonhuman environment in Horace's *Odes* are not *only* steps in quasi-philosophical arguments. Indeed, as the next chapter will explore in greater detail, Horace's interest in the nonhuman world goes beyond finding insight into concepts of nature, and includes the creation of a sense of place and place attachment involving a general fondness for the nonhuman environment. There is a plethora of environmental description and nonhuman imagery in the *Odes*, aside from the particular poems examined here, and it is not always fitted into the naturalist scheme I have elaborated.[546] Nonetheless, taken as a whole these descriptions and images reinforce, and are reinforced by, the sense that the behaviors, workings, and patterns of the nonhuman world—above all in its seasonality and combination of linear and cyclical time—offer insight into how humans ought to live as part of a more-than-human world. One of Horace's distinctive and important achievements in the *Odes* is this creation of a poetics of nature, in which nonhuman description, concepts of nature, and ethical imperatives for human life are all intertwined.

[546] For example, Lee (1970) notes and discusses the abundance of water and vegetative imagery throughout the *Odes*.

The particular commands of some of Horace's *Odes* may seem far from environmental concerns, but the joining of environmental description to insights about nature, and the exhortation to put these insights into action in human life, make Horace an important model of nature poetry. There are limits, to be sure, to the utility of this model and its assumptions about natures—just as there are limits to Romantic models of nature poetry. Horace's imperatives are, in context, often linked to a political quietism—don't worry about what Caesar is doing in the east (*Carm.* 2.11.1-3)—but this does not mean they need to be.[547] Additionally, Horace's *carpe diem* can be seen as bolstering a humanism based around shared mortality and vulnerability: what could be more anthropocentric than an obsessive focus on *our* fleeting lives? But we can also read Horace's interest in the temporality of human life as a move away from anthropocentrism, a decentering of human life that demands we always contextualize it in relation to other life (animal, plant, divine) and the movements of a more-than-human world. The Horatian nature poem is not an unproblematic model for environmental writing and thinking, but holds an important place in the history of both. Moreover, as ideas of environmental poetics are still largely organized around returns to and re-readings of Romanticism, it is especially useful to appreciate Horatian lyric as an alternative model, allowing for a deeper historical sense of environmental and nature poetry and a wider variety of its possible forms and concerns.

[547] See Roman (2014) 207 on Horace's "quietist lyric realm."

Part 2: The Poet, the Divine, and the Nonhuman

The Poet's Grove

We now have a sense of the workings and aims of Horace's poetics of nature. But what is Horace's basis or authority for addressing his fellow humans on matters of human nature and the nature of the cosmos? Poetic authentication and authority are key concerns of Horace in the *Odes* and indeed throughout his entire literary career.[548] For Horace, this concerns not only becoming a poet with the authority to speak on public matters of political and cultural importance in a Rome without an established, traditional role for such a poet. It also means having the authority to speak on matters of human and universal nature. As we will see, this position of utterance is authenticated through Horace's claims about his own special relationship with the nonhuman environment and the gods. Horace's special connection to the divine allows him to enjoy a privileged relationship with his nonhuman surroundings. And it is because of this vatic status that he can command us with urgency and authority us to see Mt. Soracte or notice the melting snows, and draw ethical realizations from such perception.

Throughout his lyric poetry, Horace is particularly concerned with attaining, validating, and vaunting his status as a divinely inspired bard whose authority comes from his privileged relationship with the divine—in other words, as a *vates*.[549] The very first poem of the *Odes* presents this aspiration as Horace's path to glory and renown, in

[548] Oliensis (1998) analyzes Horace's construction of authority throughout his entire literary career. On the *Odes* in particular see Fraenkel (1957) 274-85, Troxler-Keller (1964) 15, and Davis (1991) 78-144.
[549] On the *vates* concept in Roman poetry see Newman (1967) and Hardie (1986) 17-22. On Horace in particular see Newman (1967) 43-50 and 53-81.

preference to all the other *bioi* the poem's lengthy priamel surveys. The poem culminates in a glimpse of what it would mean for Horace to reach this status:

> me doctarum hederae praemia frontium
> dis miscent superis, me gelidum nemus
> Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori
> secernunt populo, si neque tibias
> Euterpe cohibet nec Polyhymnia
> Lesboum refugit tendere barbiton.
> quod si me lyricis vatibus inseres,
> sublimi feriam sidera vertice.
>
> Me the ivy wreaths—prizes of the learned brows—will mingle
> with the gods above; a shady grove and nimble choruses
> of nymphs with satyrs sever me from the crowd,
> if Euterpe does not hold back the pipes and Polyhymnia
> does not refuse to hold out the Lesbian lyre.
> But if you will place me among the lyric bards,
> I will strike the stars with my lofty head. (*Carm.* 1.1.29-36)

Horace concludes his first ode with a bold bid to join the canon of Greek lyric masters.[550] *Inseres* translates the technical Greek term for inclusion in the canon, ἐνκρίνειν, while the designation *lyricus* follows the terminology of Hellenistic scholarship.[551] As Richard Tarrant has suggested, *inseres* may specifically visualize the act of placing a scroll in a library, perhaps the one in Augustus' recent Palatine complex.[552] But Horace is in two places in this passage. He imagines himself in the library, but also in a shady grove populated with choruses of nymphs and satyrs. Entrance to this grove seems to authenticate his potential entrance to the canon. Why? What does being in the *nemus* have to do with being a *lyricus vates*?

---

[550] On the boldness of this desire to enter into the long closed canon of Greek lyric poets, see Feeney (2009) 202-5.
[551] On *inseres* see Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) ad 1.1.35, and on *lyricus* Feeney (2009) 203.
[552] Tarrant (2007) 65.

Images comparable to the *gelidum nemus* of 1.1 recur throughout the *Odes*, as Horace continually refers to and figures his poetic activity as dwelling in secluded groves, grottos, and caves.[553] The first ode of Horace's second book, for example, concludes with a vision of Horace and a Muse making song *Dionaeo sub antro* ("beneath a cavern of Dione," 2.1.39-40), and 3.4 pictures Horace wandering through sacred woods (3.4.6-7). The standard explanation for this imagery is, essentially, that it is conventional. Caves, grottos, and groves appear as sites of poetic inspiration in Hellenistic biographies of Homer and Euripides, and were often associated with the Muses in Greek poetry.[554] Irene Troxler-Keller has identified in this pattern of imagery the creation of distinctive Augustan *Dichterwelt*, an imaginary realm symbolic of the special sphere of the poet.[555] Along these lines, Horace figures poetic success as dwelling in such locales because it is traditional, and because those locations represent a space apart, a cloistered realm of poetry.[556]

Based on this, readers tend to assume that spaces like the grove of *Odes* 1.1 are merely tropes, asserting Horace's place in a literary tradition more than saying anything about real trees or actual environments in the world.[557] Nisbet and Rudd comment on Horace's vision of himself composing poetry in caves in 3.25, "Horace did not write in

---

[553] See *Carm.* 2.1.39, 2.19, 3.4.6-8, 3.4.40, and 3.25. Troxler-Keller (1964) 39 notes that the entrance to the *nemus* in *Carm.* 1.1 is not a momentary occurrence but a programmatic statement of the poetic company that Horace always keeps.
[554] See Troxler-Keller (1964) 55, Syndikus (1972) 32-3, and Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) ad 2.1.39.
[555] Troxler-Keller (1964), esp. 38-47.
[556] Thus, in various ways, Troxler-Keller (1964) 38-47; Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) ad 1.1.30; Syndikus (1972) 5-6; Syndikus (1973) 53; Oliensis (1998) 106; Putnam (2000) 33; Hunter (2006) 16, 40; Roman (2014) 203-4, 207, 218.
[557] For example, Mayer (2012) ad 1.1.32: "The whole picture indicates H.'s new attachment to the less realistic world of lyric poetry."

real caves any more than Homer or Euripides."[558] But regardless of whether Horace ever composed poetry in a cave or a grove, we must ask why he is driven to imagine himself doing so. Such imagery is indeed traditional, but it is traditional because it says something important about what it might mean to be a poet. Rather than seeing Horace as merely parroting tradition, we must ask why Horace deploys tradition, what meaning he communicates through it.

In his second book of *Epistles*, Horace himself pokes fun at this trope: *scriptorum chorus omnis amat nemus et fugit urbem* ("every band of writers loves the grove and flees the city," 2.2.77). What Horace gently ridicules here is the blind following of the trope of the *nemus* without a deeper understanding of why a *vates* would find inspiration there. The reference to fleeing cities would seem to suggest that, as Mayer puts it à propos of *Odes* 1.1, "the peace and coolness of the Bacchic grove better inspire the writer than the heated hurly-burly of the town."[559] Similarly, in the *Ars Poetica*, Horace jokes that aspiring poets seek *secreta loca* ("hidden places," 298). Tacitus and Quintilian further explicate this idea, suggesting that poets traditionally seek peace and solitude in the country.[560] This town-country opposition fits well with Horace's hexameter poetry, but is peace or solitude what Horace seeks and finds in these spaces in the *Odes*?

The *nemus* of 1.1 is indeed separated from human society (*secernunt populo*, 32), but within the grove Horace joins a wild company of satyrs and nymphs in choral dancing, and mingles with the gods (*dis miscent superis*, 30). And it is neither peace nor solitude that Horace finds in *Odes* 2.19 when he encounters Bacchus and his followers in

[558] Nisbet and Rudd (2004) ad 3.25.2.
[559] Mayer (2012) ad 1.1.30.
[560] Tac., *Dial.* 9.6 and Quint., *Inst.* 10.3.22-3, on which see Troxler-Keller (1964) 46-7 and Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) ad 1.1.30.

a rugged rural landscape.[561] Horace does not find solitude in his poetic *nemus*, but rather a more-than-human sociality. As we will soon see, this contact with the divine gives Horace a privileged relationship with the nonhuman world. The grove and other comparable spaces of Horace's *Dichterwelt* are not fossilized tropes or substitutable symbols expressing literary autonomy. They are indeed conventional, and one of the things Horace is doing with them is laying claim to literary tradition. But they also express a crucial link between Horace's status as an inspired poet and the nonhuman world. Horace's conception of a *vates* is one who has a special connection to the nonhuman world around him, and this is the basis and guarantee of his divinely validated authority.[562]

The Poet of Divine Favor

This relationship to the nonhuman world is not limited to poetic groves and caves in the *Odes*. It also informs how Horace describes his childhood environment of Apulia and the space of his Sabine estate, and these become other places where Horace can display his privileged connection to the nonhuman.[563] In *Odes* 1.17, Horace's dedication to poetry allows for a blessed dwelling with the nonhuman world, underwritten by his dearness to the gods and his special connection to the local divinity Faunus.[564] *Odes* 1.22 takes Horace beyond the boundaries of his Sabine estate (*ultra terminum*, 1.22.10-11), but

[561] For Armstrong (1989) 114, *Carm.* 2.19 is about "the lonely, Dionysiac experience of creativity," but it is only a rigid anthropocentrism that would see loneliness, a lack of other beings, in an environment populated by Bacchus, nymphs, and satyrs.
[562] Lana (1993) 57 notes that in the *Odes* the poet and the nonhuman world have a special relationship conditioned by the poet's bond with the Muses.
[563] Troxler-Keller (1964) 100-28 explores how Horace's imaginary *Dichterwelt* is projected onto and fused with real places.
[564] On the Sabine farm in *Carm.* 1.17 as the special province of the poet, see Klingner (1935) 290, Fraenkel (1957) 206, Syndikus (1972) 191-2, and Oliensis (1998) 121.

even away from his blessed Sabine farm Horace enjoys a special relationship with his environment. He does not need to fear those parts of the nonhuman world that normally pose a threat to humans, such as a wild wolf (1.22.9-12), and he can even dwell at ease in places that don't allow for human dwelling (*domibus negata*, 1.22.22). Horace the *vates* approaches the state of ease in the world that the gods enjoy, as opposed to the struggle, toil, and danger that characterize human life from Hesiod on.[565]

Odes 3.4 traces Horace's divine protection back to his infancy. In order to bolster his authority for the higher strains of public poetry that characterize the Roman Odes, Horace narrates a miraculous occasion from his childhood.[566] After an invocation of the Muse Calliope, Horace focuses on himself with an emphatic *me*:

me fabulosae Vulture in Apulo
nutricis extra limen Apuliae[567]
    ludo fatigatumque somno
        fronde nova puerum palumbes

texere, mirum quod foret omnibus,
quicumque celsum nidum Acherontiae
    saltusque Bantinos et arvum
        pingue tenent humilis Ferenti,

ut tuto ab atris corpore viperis
dormirem et ursis, ut premerer sacra
    lauroque collataque myrto,
        non sine dis animosus infans.

vester, Camenae, vester in arduos
tollor Sabinos, seu mihi frigidum

[565] On the recurrent motif of Horace being under divine protection in the *Odes* see Syndikus (1973) 60, Davis (1991) 98-107, Lowrie (1997) 187-223, Horsfall (1998) 45-7, and Harrison (2007b) 22-4.
[566] See Fraenkel (1957) 274-85 and Davis (1991) 98-107.
[567] Here I depart from Shackleton Bailey's *limina Pulliae*.

Praeneste seu Tibur supinum
seu liquidae placuere Baiae.

It was me that the doves of legend on Apulian Vultur
covered over with fresh foliage, when I was a boy
tired from play and sleepiness,
beyond the boundary of nurturing Apulia.

It was a marvel to all that have their lofty nest
on Acherontia and those who inhabit
the glades of Bantia and the fertile
field of low-lying Ferentum

that with my body safe from black vipers
and bears I slumbered, that I was covered
in sacred laurel and gathered myrtle,
a spirited child not without the gods.

Yours, Camenae, I am yours as I am borne
to the steep Sabine fields, or if
cool Praeneste or sloping Tibur
or watery Baiae has pleased me, to there. (*Carm.* 3.4.9-24)

As many have noted, this passage draws on traditional marvels in biographies of poets (and Plato), as well as a story told about the seer Iamus in Pindar.[568] The overabundance of intertexts can lead to a similar standard reading as of the *nemus* of 1.1: Horace represents himself as nurtured by birds atop a mountain because this is the sort of thing that happens to legendary poets. But again it is important to see why. This event marks Horace out as a true poet, because it shows his special, quasi-divine relationship with the nonhuman environment around him. For Horace, joining the ranks of the legendary bards of the past means attaining special communion with the nonhuman.

[568] Pind., *Ol.* 6.39-70. See Fraenkel (1957) 275, Syndikus 1973: 55, Davis (1991) 102, Horsfall (1998) 44, West (2002) 46-7, Harrison (2007b) 22, and Graziosi (2009).

These scenes can have touches of humor and irony, but the underlying sentiment is sincere. Nisbet and Hubbard are uncomfortable with Horace having such lofty ideas of the nature of the poet in an unqualified way: "Though Horace would not literally regard the poet as sacred, he might (it is argued) use the old idea to represent the happiness and security that poetry gave him. Yet one feels that this approach should not be pressed."[569] But there is no reason not to take seriously Horace's repeated emphasis on the special relationship of the poet with the gods and with the nonhuman world.[570] This is borne out by a number of figures of lyric potency in the *Odes* including Orpheus, Mercury, Amphion, and even Alcaeus, all of whom tap into the supernatural powers of song.[571] This is what Horace aspires to: to be a true poet is to enjoy, by virtue of divine favor, a privileged connection to the nonhuman world.

This vatic status underlies a number of scenes of inspiration in the *Odes*. In the next chapter, for example, we will see how 3.13 forges a link between Horace's poetry and the particular local ecology from which it arises, as part of a larger project of a place-based poetry. The ode to the *fons Bandusiae* shows inspiration and song arising from an elevated relationship with a local nonhuman environment, in a process made possible by Horace's authentication elsewhere as a *vates* with divine favor. The relationship between Horace's identity as a *vates*, the divine, and the nonhuman is also operative in the two Bacchic odes in which Horace treats his own inspiration as a theme, and in which the

---

[569] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 263.
[570] Fraenkel (1957) 186-7 allows for some humor and playfulness in *Carm.* 1.22, but still emphasizes that Horace's message of divine protection is genuine. On the combination of serious sentiment with irony and humor in *Carm.* 2.20 see Sharrock (1994) 117-22.
[571] For Orpheus see *Carm.* 1.12.7-12 and for Amphion *Carm.* 3.11.1-4. Mercury is invoked in the context of the supernatural powers of the lyre in *Carm.* 3.11, and Alcaeus has Orphic abilities in the underworld in *Carm.* 2.13.33-40.

attainment of such inspiration is linked to a change in one's relationship to the nonhuman world. Bacchus is another model for what it might look like to be true divine *vates*.

Bacchic Inspiration

Odes 2.19 and 3.25, two of the most memorable poems of Horace's lyric oeuvre, both portray Horace in the grips of Bacchic possession. The poems narrate encounters with the divine, praise the god, express the experience of inspiration, and link this Bacchic inspiration to the production of a higher strain of lyric.[572] These poems also lay claim to a special relationship with the nonhuman environment, something we have already seen in the context of divine protection of the *vates*. *Odes* 2.19, with its choral imagery and satyrs, picks up on and elaborates the *nemus* of 1.1: here, near the end of the second book, is one of the choruses Horace first predicted he would be admitted to. The poem lets us see more fully what participating in such company would mean.

Horace encounters Bacchus in 2.19 on remote, rocky cliffs, and once he sees (and hears) the god he is swept away with enthusiasm and inspiration to sing and to praise him:

> Bacchum in remotis carmina rupibus
> vidi docentem (credite, posteri)
> Nymphasque discentis et auris
> capripedum Satyrorum acutas.
>
> euhoe! recenti mens trepidat metu
> plenoque Bacchi pectore turbidum
> laetatur: Euhoe, parce Liber,
> parce gravi metuende thyrso!

[572] *Carm.* 2.19 paves the way for the grandiloquent 2.20, and it is the first in a series of poems in Alcaic meter that includes 2.20 and all the Roman Odes (3.1-6). *Carm.* 3.25 explicitly links Bacchic inspiration to the composition of panegyric for Caesar. On Horace's Bacchic poetics as allowing for an expansion of Horatian lyric in terms of genre and sublimity see Davis (1991) 107-14 and Schiesaro (2009).

fas pervicacis est mihi Thyiadas
vinique fontem lactis et uberes
    cantare rivos atque truncis
        lapsa cavis iterare mella:

fas et beatae coniugis additum
stellis honorem tectaque Penthei
    disiecta non leni ruina
        Thracis et exitium Lycurgi.

tu flectis amnis, tu mare barbarum,
tu separatis uvidus in iugis
    nodo coerces viperino
        Bistonidum sine fraude crinis:

tu, cum parentis regna per arduum
cohors Gigantum scanderet impia,
    Rhoetum retorsisti leonis
        unguibus horribilique mala;

quamquam choreis aptior et iocis
ludoque dictus non sat idoneus
    pugnae ferebaris: sed idem
        pacis eras mediusque belli.

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

I saw Bacchus on faraway cliffs—
believe me, you to come—teaching
    and the nymphs learning, and the ears,
        perked up, of goat-footed satyrs.

Euhoe, my mind shudders with fresh fear
and, frantic, I rejoice with my breast full
    of Bacchus. Euhoe, spare me, Bacchus,
        spare me, fearful with your solemn thyrsus!

It is right for me to sing of the strong-willed
bacchants, the fountain of wine, and rich streams
    of milk; to repeat in song the honey
        dripping from hollow trunks.

And it is right to sing of the honor
of your blessed wife, added to the stars,
    and the palace of Pentheus, scattered
        in harsh rubble, and the death of Lycurgus.

You bend rivers and the rugged sea.
You, drunk on distant ridges,
    bind the hair of the Bistones
        with a knot of vipers, causing no harm.

You, when the impious troop of Giants
was climbing steeply up to your father's kingdom
    turned back Rhoetus with the claws
        of a lion and its horrible jaws.

Although you were said to be more fit
for jovial choruses and play, thought not
    suited to the fight, yet you were in the middle
        of the war, just as in peace.

Cerberus was harmless when he saw you,
comely with your golden horn. He gently rubbed
    his tail on you, and as you left he licked your shins
        and feet with his three tongues. (*Carm.* 2.19)

The emphatic *vidi* is the language of divine epiphany. The appearance of a god to a poet in a rugged, rural landscape looks back to the proem of Hesiod's *Theogony*, a scene of poetic inspiration and authentication that had been adapted by (among others) Callimachus, Ennius, and Vergil.[573] But again, rather than concluding that the scene is merely a traditional trope, and only a way of signaling Horace's belonging in a Greek, and now Greco-Roman, literary tradition, it is important to ask why such *Dichterweihe* scenes are traditional, and what they communicate about the poet. These moments of inspiration and contact with the divine take place in rural, uninhabited spaces—often mountaintops—because the poet is leaving behind the world of normal human

[573] See Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 315.

sociality.[574] They show the inspired poet gaining a privileged status vis-à-vis the gods, and in Horace's Bacchic odes this entails approaching a divine relationship to the nonhuman environment.

When Horace sees Bacchus, it is in the role of a chorus leader—*docentem* (2) suggests Bacchus as a *chorodidaskalos*.[575] Crucially, though, Horace does not merely observe a chorus in action. He moves from observer to participant, as he encounters Bacchus teaching songs and then proceeds to utter his own *carmen*.[576] *Iterare* (12) has been taken to refer self-consciously to Horace's repetition of traditional Dionysiac imagery, and particularly imagery from Euripides' *Bacchae*.[577] But it also suggests a chain of choral repetition, as Horace hears and repeats the *carmina* of Bacchus like the god's nymph and satyr attendants. To be a *vates* inspired by Bacchus, then, is to leave the world of human society behind and enter into choral sociality with nonhuman beings. The intertextual presence of Euripides' *Bacchae* in this poem may even call to mind that tragedy's descriptions of mountain revelry, in which the entire mountain environment is pictured joining in Bacchic chorality.[578]

Critics have recognized the literary heritage of Bacchus as a god of poetry and poetic inspiration, showing the importance to Horace's Bacchic odes of Hellenistic poetry, Plato's remarks about the madness of poetic inspiration, and Lucretius' use of the

---

[574] Fraenkel (1957) 199 notes the importance of the isolated location of 2.19, and Commager (1962) 344 observes, "the wild isolation of the scene . . . evokes that part of his life that lies beyond the comprehension of society."
[575] Fraenkel (1957) 199. See Curtis (2017) 137-9 on choral imagery in 2.19.
[576] Fraenkel (1957) 199 notes, "the poet himself becomes one of the *discentes*."
[577] Lowrie (1997) 209 and Harrison (2017) ad 2.19.10-2.
[578] Eur., *Bacch.* 114-6, 723-7. On *Carm.* 2.19's allusions to the *Bacchae* see Pöschl (1970) 309-10, and Harrison (2017) 222 and ad 2.19.10-2.

Bacchic thyrsus in scenes of inspiration.[579] More recently, critics have also paid attention to the political resonances of Bacchus in the 20s BCE, and to how Horace's Bacchic inspiration allows him to rise to a loftier, more sublime, and more publicly political form of lyric.[580] Somewhat less attention, however, has been paid to Bacchus' abilities within these poems and how such powers relate to the status of the poet. To enter into choral relation with Bacchus is to attain a mode of relation to the nonhuman world normally unavailable to humankind. Bacchus and his followers tread upon and dwell with ease in dangerous environments normally perilous for humans.[581] Part of the sweet danger (*dulce periculum*, 3.25.18) of following Bacchus is moving in frenzy through the rugged cliffs and wilderness the god frequents.[582] Bacchus also bends the nonhuman world to his will: he makes what should be dangerous and frightful safe and pleasant, as when venomous snakes bind the hair of bacchants or when the terrifying Cerberus gently licks him (2.19.19-20, 29-32). The god diverts bodies of water (2.19.17-8) and creates and taps into miraculous flows of wine, milk, and honey (2.19.9-12), while his followers uproot whole trees with their bare hands (3.25.14-6).

Bacchus is a model of a divine singer who is plugged into his environment in a way impossible for humans, and his attendants share in that divine power.[583] This is the

---

[579] See Troxler-Keller (1964) 56-64, Pöschl (1970) 174-5, Syndikus (1972) 474-5, Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 316-7, West (1998) 138, and Hunter (2006) 42.
[580] On political resonances of Bacchus see Schiesaro (2009) 75-7, Mac Góráin (2013), Mac Góráin (2014), and Harrison (2017) 224-5. See also Feldherr (2010) relatedly on the politics of "Dionysiac poetics" in *Carm.* 1.37. See Batinski (1991), Davis (1991) 107-14, and Schiesaro (2009) on Horace's expansion of his lyric register through Bacchic inspiration.
[581] Pöschl (1970) 311 notes that Bacchus makes normally harmful elements of the world harmless for his followers.
[582] Fraenkel (1957) 258**.**
[583] Cf. Harrison (2017) 224 on Bacchus' "remarkable powers to transform nature."

status that Horace approaches in his Bacchic frenzy. The divine madness of Bacchic inspiration that Horace narrates in these two poems means both joining the god's more-than-human choral company and attaining a heightened, superhuman relation to the nonhuman environment. That rugged environment is not simply a symbol of a new, untried poetry, but communicates a crucial relationship between inspired poet and nonhuman world.[584]

In 2.19, Bacchus serves as a divine model for the poet. In 3.25, we see Horace when he has more fully approximated the god's own status. From the start of the poem, he is already filled with the god's energy, and ready to begin his own songs:

Quo me, Bacche, rapis tui
plenum? quae nemora aut quos agor in specus
velox mente nova? quibus
antris egregii Caesaris audiar

aeternum meditans decus
stellis inserere et consilio Iovis?
dicam insigne recens adhuc
indictum ore alio. non secus in iugis

Edonis stupet Euhias
Hebum prospiciens et nive candidam
Thracen ac pede barbaro
lustratam Rhodopen, ut mihi devio

ripas et vacuum nemus
mirari libet. o Naiadum potens
Baccharumque valentium
proceras manibus vertere fraxinos,

nil parvum aut humili modo,
nil mortale loquar. dulce periculum est,
o Lenaee, sequi deum

[584] La Penna (1963) 326, Pöschl (1970) 171-4, Davis (1991) 133, and Lowrie (1997) 320 all read Horace's Bacchic landscapes as symbolizing a new kind of poetry to be attempted by Horace. Hardie (1993) 122-3 sees in the environments of the two poems a projection of Horace's inner experience.

cingentem viridi tempora pampino. 20

Where, Bacchus, are you pulling me to,
filled with you? Into what groves or what caverns
am I swiftly driven in a strange mind? In what haunts
will I be heard singing the everlasting glory

of the eminent Caesar and placing it amid
the stars and the counsel of Jupiter? I will sing
something new and remarkable, until now
unsung by another voice. Not otherwise

is the Edonian Maenad who stands agape
on the ridges, looking out at the Hebrus
and Thrace gleaming with snow, and Rhodope
tread by savage feet. Just so it is pleasing to me,

away from paths, to marvel at riverbanks
and the deserted grove. O you who are powerful
over the Naiads and the Bacchants strong enough
to uproot tall ash trees with their hands,

O Lenaeus, I will utter nothing small
or in a humble mode, I will utter nothing
mortal. It is sweet danger to follow the god,
wreathing the head with green vines. (*Carm.* 3.25)

The comparison of Horace to a bacchant in this poem makes clear that he has in a sense joined the band he happened upon in 2.19.[585] In the earlier poem Horace hears Bacchus teaching songs, but here it is Horace, rather than the god, who will be heard (*audiar*, 4). He has attained some of Bacchus' own musical potency, and will instantiate his own divine song in rural, isolated locales. Horace's approaching of Bacchus' status culminates in the ambiguous conclusion of the poem, which blurs the distinction between Horace and the god he is in thrall to. *Cingentem* could equally modify the god or the man

[585] Fowler (2002) 151 reads the opening of the poem as already figuring Horace as one of Bacchus' rural nymphs. Pasquali ([1920] 1964) 549 also sees Horace transformed from a human into a companion of nymphs and Bacchants.

following him.[586] If we see Horace wreathing himself with vines, he begins to look like the god who has inspired him. Even if we think it applies to Bacchus, the momentary confusion allows for some slippage between inspired *vates* and inspiring god.

Horace's Bacchic odes are not simply about the excitement of a new form of poetry, but about how the elevation to a new vatic position changes Horace's relationship to the nonhuman world. Bacchus has a divine power over and relation to the forces and beings of the nonhuman world. His maddened followers participate in this power, as well, and this is what the Horatian *vates* desires and approximates.[587] As examined earlier, the *Odes* are filled with scenes of divine protection and favor, in which Horace's dearness to the Muses and other divinities leads to a blessed dwelling with his nonhuman surroundings. Horace's encounters with Bacchus expand on this idea, suggesting further that the divinely inspired poet attains a relationship with the nonhuman world that normally eludes humans. And it is from this privileged position that Horace can then compose his poetry about the nature of human life in a more-than-human world.

A Supernatural Poet of Nature

The special nature of the poet is a fascination for Horace in all of his works. In his hexameter poetry, he may poke fun at poets' pretensions to divinity, but his references to the *mens divinior* of poets, ancient *divini vates,* and even Empedocles' desire to be considered a god show that he was continually interested in the possibility of true poets

[586] It either modifies *deum* or acts as the accusative subject of *sequi*. See Commager (1962) 347, Syndikus (1973) 222 n. 28, and Nisbet and Rudd (2004) ad 3.25.20 on this ambiguity.
[587] Pöschl (1970) 169-70 suggests that, like a maenad, Horace experiences strength beyond human ability from his encounter with Bacchus. See Harrison (2017) 225-6 on how Bacchus himself parallels Horace in *Carm.* 2.19.

transcending normal human nature.[588] In the realm of lyric, the strong vatic voice of Pindar and especially the divine power of the lyre in *Pythian* 1 (*Pyth.* 1.1-17) form an important precedent for the transcendent poet Horace can, at times, become. Horace repeatedly cultivates a sense of his own nearness to the divine. He is dear to the Muses and other divinities like Faunus, approaches the stature of Bacchus in his Bacchic odes, and is literally mingled with the gods in *Odes* 1.1.[589] Within his lyric oeuvre, Horace takes seriously the idea that the true poet becomes something other than human. This is what we see in 2.20, which concludes Horace's second book with a summation of his lyric achievement so far:

> Non usitata nec tenui ferar
> penna biformis per liquidum aethera
> vates, neque in terris morabor
> longius invidiaque maior
>
> urbis relinquam. non ego pauperum
> sanguis parentum, non ego quem vocas,
> dilecte Maecenas, obibo
> nec Stygia cohibebor unda.
>
> iam iam residunt cruribus asperae
> pelles, et album mutor in alitem
> superne, nascunturque leves
> per digitos umerosque plumae.
>
> iam Daedaleo notior Icaro
> visam gementis litora Bosphori
> Syrtisque Gaetulas canorus
> ales Hyperboreosque campos.
>
> I will be carried on wings neither common

[588] *Mens divinior*: *Sat.* 1.4.43; *divini vates*: *Ars P.* 400; Empedocles: *Ars P.* 464. As Campbell (1924) 58 puts it, "However much he may at times ironically depreciate his own achievements (and elsewhere he speaks of them in very different tones), the vocation of poet is always represented by Horace as a high one."

[589] See Commager (1962) 22 and 238 on Horace's "large sense of his own specialness," as well as Syndikus (1973) 50-1 and Roman (2014) 207.

nor slight through the clear sky, a two-natured poet,
and I will not delay any longer on the earth.
Greater than envy, I will leave cities behind.

I, the descendant of poor parents,
I whom invite, dear Maecenas,
will not perish. And neither will I be
confined by the Stygian waters.

Now, just now, rough flesh settles on my legs,
and I transform into a white winged creature
above, and light feathers are forming
throughout my fingers and on my shoulders.

Now, more famous than Daedalus' Icarus
I will go to see the shores of the groaning Bosphorus
and the Gaetulian Syrtes as a tuneful songbird,
and I will go to the fields of the Hyperboreans. (*Carm.* 2.20.1-16)

Greek and Roman authors often compare poets to birds, as commentators do not fail to note, and Horace himself refers to Pindar as the Dircaean swan (*Carm.* 4.2.25).[590] Horace, however, literalizes this traditional comparison, and here narrates his own metamorphosis into a winged creature. The oddity of the detailed description of rough hide and feathers growing on Horace's body has caused many to see the poem as humorous and ironic, if not simply bathetic.[591] But in the context of Horace's broader exploration of the special nature of the inspired *vates*, it makes perfect sense to take the poem as an earnest expression of the transformation entailed by becoming a *vates*.[592] The soaring bird is not

[590] See Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 332, Syndikus (1972) 481-2, and Harrison (2017) 235-7. Also important in the background of this poem is the epitaph attributed to Ennius, in which he prophesies his own flight after death, and the sphragis of Theognis, in which he says his poetry has given Cyrnus wings. See Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 333 and 335-6, and Harrison (2017) 236-7.
[591] For example: Fraenkel (1957) 301, Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 337, West (1998) 144, Hornbeck (2014) 157. Harrison (2017) 237-8 suggests the poem has humorous touches and "comic-grotesque description."
[592] Cf. Syndikus (1972) 486, who argues against a tradition of seeing the description as humorous or ridiculous. Schiesaro (2009) 69 notes that *Carm.* 2.20 expresses a

only a figure for the worldwide fame Horace desires. It also asserts, as Horace so often does, that the poet transcends human nature, and becomes something more than human: a *biformis vates*, a hybrid being.[593] The comparison to Icarus emphasizes this superhuman transformation: where Icarus failed to overcome human limits and thus became an example against transgressing human nature, Horace successfully transcends the human. Daedalus and Icarus can only ape with *techne* and tools the superhuman nature Horace acquires.[594]

The swan can also be a symbol of immortality, and indeed 2.20 vaunts not only Horace's transcendence of humanity, but also his overcoming of death (2.20.5-8, 21-4).[595] *Odes* 3.30, the final poem of Horace's next book and the sphragis of *Odes* 1-3*,* expands on these claims of poetic immortality. Horace declares that his poetry will last, and so will he:

> Exegi monumentum aere perennius
> regalique situ pyramidum altius,
> quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens
> possit diruere aut innumerabilis
> annorum series et fuga temporum. 5
> non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei
> vitabit Libitinam: usque ego postera
> crescam laude recens, dum Capitolium

"metaphorical awareness of the distance that inspiration creates between the immortal poet and his fellow human beings."

[593] As Hornbeck (2014) 156 notes, *biformis* is used in Cicero and Vergil to describe corporeally hybrid creatures: the centaur and the Minotaur. Horace's transformation is expressed in animal terms, but his metamorphosis makes him not simply animal, but a supernatural hybrid being.

[594] Cf. Hornbeck (2014) 160. As Hornbeck (2014) explores, Daedalus and Icarus are figures through whom Horace explores his own poetic audacity in the *Odes* (in *Carm.* 1.3, 2.20, and 4.2). See also Sharrock (1994) 117-26 and Armstrong (2009) 81: "For Horace, then, Daedalus conveys a paradoxical poetic message, simultaneously the model of the successful poet, an emblem of hubris, and, via his close association with the doomed Icarus, a symbol of failure."

[595] On the swan as a symbol of immortality see Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 333-4.

scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.

I have completed a monument more everlasting than bronze
and loftier than the kingly stature of the pyramids,
something neither biting rain, nor raging Aquilo can destroy,
nor the uncountable sequence of years and the flight of time.
Not all of me will die, and a great part of me will escape Libitina.
I will grow, ever fresh with the praise of posterity as long
as the priest climbs up the Capitoline with a silent maiden. (*Carm.* 3.30.1-9)

This famous poem celebrates the immortal achievement of Horace's lyric poetry. In resisting the onslaughts of wind and rain and the inevitability of death, Horace's poems overcome both the seasonal cycles and linear progression of time. Indeed, *perennius* can specifically mean evergreen: Horace's achievement does not wax and wane, but remains constant throughout the year, as well as over the course of many years. Horace's *monumentum* overcomes the laws and limits of nature. At the same time, he himself transcends the mortal nature of humanity. Picking up on the vegetative connotation of *perennius*, Horace asserts that he will grow (*crescam*, 8), always fresh with new praise—perhaps like the evergreen laurel with which he is crowned at the end of the poem (16).[596] As 2.20 uses a metamorphosis into a swan to express Horace's transcendence of the human, so here Horace draws on the language of regenerative plant life—so forcefully contrasted with human life in his spring odes—to express his transcendence of human nature and overcoming of natural limits.

The two poems in which Horace most fully considers his poetic achievement demonstrate that he considers that achievement to be a transcendence of nature: Horace

[596] On the vegetative connotations of Horace's language here see Lee (1970) 261 and Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 367. *Perennius* also picks up on Lucretius' punning use of the word in reference to Ennius (Lucr. 1.117-19)—that is, Horace's poetry will be more everlasting than even the poet whose very name is in the word for "more everlasting." See Friedländer (1941) 20 and Feeney (1999) 16-17 on Lucretius' pun.

the poet transcends human nature, while his everlasting poetry transcends the natural progressions of time. For the poet who counsels *immortalia ne speres* (4.7.7), this may seem strange: Horace proudly flouts the limits of nature that he elsewhere warns others to live by.[597] In fact, though, Horace's transcendence of nature reinforces his poetics of nature. His supernatural status as *vates* is the Archimedean position outside humanity from which he can then address humankind. In the spring epigrams of Leonidas and Meleager (*Anth. Pal.* 10.1, 10.2), it is the god of the harbor, Priapus, who is in a position to admonish humans to obey the season. In *Odes* 1.4 and 4.7, it is Horace himself who speaks.

Many readers have been embarrassed by Horace's grand ideas about the *vates*, and downplay Horace's emphasis on the madness of poetic inspiration and the exalted state of the poet. Nisbet and Hubbard insist, "such passages form an interesting link between Pindar and the German Romantics, but Horace's enthusiasm is purely literary; he surely had a less exalted view of his own spiritual state than that sometimes attributed to him."[598] When the commentators reach 2.19, it becomes even clearer that this potential resemblance to a certain Romantic view of the poet is the source of this discomfort with a vatic Horace: "since the Romantic movement it has become difficult to understand the

[597] Cf. Commager (1962) 310, "as a poet he became the only exception to the laws of nature that he had himself so steadily enjoined."
[598] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xx. Similarly, David West consistently reads such claims of Horace as ironic and humorous. See West (1995) 5, 104-6; West (1998) 138, 139, 144, 145; and West (2002) 47, 210. See also Armstrong (1989) 72-3. Horsfall (1998) 43-4 encourages taking seriously (if not literally) Horace's Bacchic poems and the childhood miracles of *Carm.* 3.4.

literary preconceptions of the ancient world . . . The craftsman who moulded the Ode to Bacchus was an Apollonian not a Dionysiac, a Gray not a Schiller."[599]

Nisbet and Hubbard specifically make reference to Schiller, and indeed it is worth examining again his influential model of the sentimental poet. While Schiller's assumption that the sentimental poet seeks a lost unity with Nature (or mourns its loss) does not precisely fit with Horace's interests in nature and the nonhuman, Schiller also suggests that the sentimental poet adopts a stance as the guardian, witness, and avenger of Nature.[600] Allowing for the differences between Schiller's Nature and Horace's concepts of *natura*, this does resonate with Horace's vatic stance in the *Odes.*[601] He has a privileged, close relationship with the nonhuman world around him and speaks from that position to advise humans on their place in the world. He is not the avenger of a lost Nature, but does redirect his addressees' attention to the nonhuman environment they may have neglected or not fully seen. In *Odes* 1.9, Horace bears a kind of witness to the winter environment of Mt. Soracte, and asks others to see it as he does (*vides*, 1.9.1). Again, it is important to emphasize that the goal of such witness-bearing is not a reintegration of humans into nature, but a reevaluation of human life by the standard and example of the nonhuman world. Nonetheless, in his own way, Horace conceives of himself qua poet as someone whose closeness to the nonhuman environment allows him to speak of and for concepts of nature.

---

[599] Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 317.
[600] Schiller [1795-6] (1985) 190-1.
[601] Also drawing on this aspect of Schiller, Payne (2014) argues that the narrators of Callimachus' *Hymns* "serve as proxy figures that give the poet access to the roles of guardian, witness, and avenger of Nature."

While Nisbet and Hubbard are sensible in cautioning that Horace's idea of the poet is not necessarily a post-Romantic one to which modern readers might be tempted to assimilate it, one cannot simply disregard Horace's interest in the transcendent nature of the poet and of poetic inspiration. In fact, we can find an ancient model for Horace's exalted view of himself as a poet. The tension in Horace between the preternaturally inspired poet and his advice to live by the norms of nature has a close relative in Hellenistic philosophy. As Martha Nussbaum summarizes in reference to Skepticism, Stoicism, and Epicureanism, "each of the schools claims to give the pupil a life according to nature. . . . On the other hand, in all three schools as well there is a claim to give us a *godlike* life."[602] In Lucretius, for example, we are urged to live within the limits of nature, but at the same time "there is an equally deep strand in Lucretius' Epicureanism that urges us to leave our mere mortality behind us and to live like gods."[603] Epicurus himself, after all, at the beginning of Lucretius' poem, is seen both discovering the rules of nature and transgressing them (Lucr. 1.62-79).[604] From one perspective, Horace's *vates* resembles a Schillerian witness of Nature, but from another Horace has simply replaced the transcendent philosophical sage with the godlike bard.

The Horatian *vates* enters into special communion with the nonhuman world, achieves mad ecstasy in moments of inspiration, and speaks to humans as a kind of special witness of nature and the nonhuman world. To recognize these aspects of Horatian self-representation in the *Odes* is not, as some classicists might fear, to lapse into Romantic assumptions about the poet. This strain of Horace comes from

---

[602] Nussbaum (1994) 497.
[603] Nussbaum (1994) 214-5, citing the promise of a godlike existence at the end of Epicurus' *Letter to Menoeceus*.
[604] Cf. Nussbaum (1994) 215.

engagements with traditional ideas about the archaic singer, the Muses, and the gods; the achievements and status of philosophical sages; and the reinvigorated concept of the *vates*. Horace should be understood within his own various contexts, but it is precisely through a close and contextualized account of Horace's self-representation that we can see the ways in which he does resonate with later Romantic ideas of what it means to be a poet.

Conclusion

Horace deserves a place in the history of environmental and nature poetry, but not because he is a Romantic or a modern ecopoet *avant la lettre*, and not simply because his *Odes* contain many moments of moving environmental imagery. Rather, it is important to recognize Horace's place in environmental poetry because his lyrics contain a strong poetics of nature and also stress the poet's crucial relationship to the nonhuman world. Horace delineates a special role for the poet in mediating between humans and the nonhuman world, and in shifting his readers' consciousness about their own nature and the nature of the cosmos. In this he is an important precursor not only for Romanticism but also for the stances of more recent environmental poets, such as Gary Snyder or the at times prophetic W.S. Merwin.[605]

In addition to placing Horace in the critical conversation regarding environmental or nature poetry, recognizing the distinctive poetics of nature in the *Odes* helps us to appreciate the particular character of his poetry. Instead of projecting other models of nature or landscape poetry onto him, or assuming that he is unconcerned with the

[605] For Snyder's ideas about the special role and task of the poet, see Snyder (1980).

environment, this chapter has sought to elaborate a contextualized account of Horace's interests in nature and the nonhuman world. Drawing on longstanding poetic traditions, as well as developments in Hellenistic philosophy, Horace forges a poetry in which distilled perceptions of the nonhuman world undergird insights into the nature of the human and of the universe. His poetry asks us to found human action on awareness of the nonhuman world. As I argued in previous chapters, the *Eclogues* derives its sonic texture and poetic identity from the more-than-human soundscapes it transmits, and the *Georgics* seeks to embed humans in ecologies of relation through its ecological thinking and emphasis on the *signa* of the world. Horace's *Odes* presents us with a third model of Augustan environmental poetics, in which the human's relation to the nonhuman environment is again a major component of both where the poetry comes from and what it aims to do.

As in Vergil, Horace's exploration of the nonhuman world is entwined with the importance of particular place. Underlying Horace's poetics of nature is the skillful rendering of specific locations and of particularized environmental moments. Horace asks us to see not just any mountain in 1.9, but Mt. Soracte, and he narrates his experiences in specific locations near his childhood Apulia and at his Sabine estate. On the other hand, we have also seen in this chapter that less specific, more apparently imaginary locales—like the wooded haunts of the Muses or the rugged cliffs of Bacchus—still have important things to say about Horace's relation to his environment. So what difference, then, does it make that *Odes* 1.17 is specifically about Horace's Sabine land near Mt. Lucretilis? Or that 3.13 is about a particular, named spring? What experience of place or local environment can a reader attain through a poem, and why is Horace interested in

constructing such experience? It is to these questions, and to Horace as a paradigmatic poet of place, that the next chapter turns.

Chapter 6

Translocal Lyric: Horace's *Odes* and the Poetry of Place

Introduction

One of the key features often sought and valorized in environmental poetry is an attention to and care for particular place.[606] Contemporary poets who ground their poetry in particular locations and seek to give a sense of place through their poems have lengthy and various traditions of place-based poetry to look back to, including above all the English tradition of the loco-descriptive or local poem. Dr. Johnson identifies this form as "a species of composition that may be denominated local poetry, of which the fundamental subject is some particular landscape, to be poetically described."[607] He credits John Denham's "Cooper Hill" of 1642 with founding the English local poem, and critics have since traced the form back to late antiquity (with Ausonius), through to its immense popularity in the 18th century, transformation into the Romantic lyric, and resurgence as the "topographical poetry" of the late 20th century.[608] This chapter argues that an important exemplar for a thoroughly place-based lyric poetry exists far before any of these periods, in Horace's *Odes*.

In addition to a general interest in the nonhuman and in normative concepts of nature that inform human life broadly, Horace is attentive in the *Odes* to the importance

---

[606] See for example Buell (1995) 252-79, Bryson (2002) 6, and Bryson (2005) 8-16.
[607] Johnson ([1779] 2006) 238. He adds that in such poems local description is combined with "such embellishments as may be supplied by historical retrospection, or incidental meditation."
[608] On local poetry in the 18th century see Aubin (1936). See Abrams (1965) 534-5 on this form's influence on the Romantic lyric, and Hartman (1982) on the related Romantic nature inscription poem. More recently, Burt (2012), Cocola (2016), and Ramazani (2017) examine 20th century and contemporary topographical poems in the context of this history.

of particular local environments and how their specific assemblages of human and nonhuman elements inform, determine, and give meaning to both his poetry and his life. His lyric poems contain a number of generalized spaces—like the poetic *nemus* of the previous chapter—but are also filled with an abundance of specifically named localities. These particular places are one of Horace's main concerns in the *Odes*. He not only takes care to memorialize specific places, but also presents his poetry as arising out of these localities, seeking to transmit to readers an experience of these locations.

The importance of Horace as a poet of place has not gone unnoticed. Nisbet and Hubbard call Horace "the first European poet who persistently connects the charm of the country with a specific and recognizable locality," and claim, "Horace's Sabine farm introduces a new way of thinking to European literature."[609] However, readers often assimilate Horace's interest in specific locality to a general sense of the countryside, and see the *Odes* as merely continuing Horace's interest in the tensions between city and country.[610] The pervasive contrast between these two concepts is important, but when rural places are seen as simply the negation of the city, or as placeholders for an idea of the countryside, one loses sight of particular locations in all their specificity and complexity—as I argued with regard to the *Eclogues* in chapter one. In what follows I undertake a reading of Horace that attends to such specificity, seeing him less as a poet of the countryside or of rural landscape, and more as a poet of particular place.

This chapter begins by differentiating my focus on place and place attachment from widespread concepts of landscape and symbolic readings of place, showing how

[609] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xx, xxi. See also Bonjour (1975) 241-3 and Gasser (1999) 74-89 on the importance of Apulia in particular to Horace's work.
[610] See for example Braund (1989) 39-44 and Harrison (2007c) 242-7.

Horace represents dynamic experiences of particular localities and enshrines his relationships with his personal locales in his poetry. Horace links his poetry to the significant places of his life, which are co-constituted by human and nonhuman beings. In doing so, he anchors his poetry and future fame to particular locations, while also making those locations real-and-textual sites of Horatian poetry. Furthermore, as the second part of this chapter explores, Horace goes beyond simply representing place in the *Odes*, by linking the origins and aims of his poetry to particular local environments. Horace's *Odes* arise out of and are conditioned by specific local environments. And yet, in rendering particularly situated moments in place and time for his readers to experience, the poems also bring a sense of those places elsewhere. Indeed, Horace is particularly conscious of the mobility of poetry: he stresses that his lyric achievement is an act of translation and translocation that will (if successful) be read across the world. I thus close the chapter by arguing that Horace models a translocal poetics, in which locality is not opposed to mobility, transport, and the wider world but is instead continually fashioned and refashioned through acts of translation and engagement with the non-local. Horace is thus not only a major poet of place, but also a poet who—like Vergil before him—probes and complicates the very concept of locality.

Part 1: Place in Horace's *Odes*

Place and Place Attachment in Horace

Particular place plays an important role in all of Horace's works. In the *Satires* and *Epistles*, Horace's identity and sense of self are closely connected to his Sabine farm, a place associated with withdrawal from Rome, Epicurean ataraxia and philosophical

contemplation, satiric conviviality, and a general ethos of modest contentment.[611] At the same time, the *Satires* reveal a conflicted Horace, with one eye always on matters back in Rome, and the *Epistles* play with issues of absence and distance inherent in their epistolary form in order to question and problematize Horace's philosophical retreat.[612] Horace's *Odes*, as well, show a thorough interest in local places while also complicating their concept of locality. The *Odes* abound in proper place names—like the Bandusian spring, Ustica, Mt. Voltur, Mt. Lucretilis, and Tibur—which anchor the vivid evocations of place that are one of the collection's most noted features.[613]

It is important to distinguish a focus on place from the widespread concept of landscape, as the latter term carries with it a number of implicit, problematic assumptions. Originally a term for a kind of painting, landscape locks us into the visual.[614] It tends to treat the environment as the object of a roving view originating from a gazing human subject distinct from it.[615] As we will see, this model fails to account for the dynamic and reciprocal relations between Horace and place. Moreover, the painterly or visually detailed description of a landscape does not seem to be Horace's preferred mode of representation in the *Odes*. As Philip Hardie has noted, "pictorialism, understood as the

---

[611] See in particular *Epist.* 1.7, 1.8, 1.10, and 1.16, and *Sat.* 2.6, along with Commager (1962) 343; La Penna (1963) 129-30; Ferri (1993) 22-5 and 111-2; Lana (1993) 38-40; Schmidt (1997) 54, 66, 73-4, and 76; and Harrison (2007c) 235-41.
[612] See Ferri (1993) 62-3, 72, 101, and 131; Roman (2014) 225; and McCarter (2015) 148.
[613] As Mayer (2012) ad 1.17.1 notes, "H[orace]'s poetry is shot through with references to the parts of Italy he knew and loved."
[614] See Barrell (1972) 2 and 11-12, Williams (1973) 120-6, and Costello (2003) 8-10. Leach (1988) 228-40 compares representations of place in Horace's *Odes* with scenes from Roman sacro-idyllic painting. While Leach establishes broad continuities, such a comparison does not account for Horace's distinctive and various interests in place beyond as an object of visual attention.
[615] Cf. Rigby (2004b) 83, distinguishing Wordsworth's "participatory" experience of Grasmere from the "objectifying" gaze of landscape poetry.

sustained and detailed evocation of a framed view, is alien to the lyric manner of Horace."[616] The idea of landscape also tends to obscure the particularity of the specific places Horace seeks to represent, as though any *locus amoenus* or pleasant landscape would suit his purposes.[617] Finally, relying on the category of landscape can also lead readers to assume that the environment is a mere background.[618] As with the *Eclogues*, treating place and environment as the passive backdrop to the central activities of humans obscures the important, non-anthropocentric dynamics of place and environment in Horace's poetry.

Work that has focused on place in the *Odes* as more than background or pleasing landscape has stressed its figurative and symbolic qualities. It is common to see, for example, the *fons Bandusiae* as a figure for Horace's poetry, and places like the Sabine farm as poetic and aesthetic symbols.[619] More broadly, Horace is credited with the creation of a poetic landscape (*Dichterlandschaft*), understood as a "complex symbol for moral, aesthetic, and poetic concerns."[620] Other readers, dissatisfied with such poetic and aesthetic interpretations, have stressed the political and ideological resonances of the

---

[616] Hardie (1993) 122.
[617] For example, Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xx: "One does not expect sharp, Tennysonian detail in the scene-painting of ancient poets; the hurrying brook and shady tree belong to the conventional *amoenus locus*." Cf. Leach (1988) 229. Schönbeck (1962) assembles many examples and key topoi of the *locus amoenus*, situating Horace's poems in this tradition.
[618] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) xx claim, for example, that Horace's "landscapes are a background to human activity or inactivity."
[619] For example: Commager (1962) 312; Segal (1969) 250-1; Syndikus (1972) 113-4; Syndikus (1973) 56-7); Johnson (1982) 140; Miller (1994) 153; Schmidt (1997) 95, 105, 181; Harrison (2007b) 26; and Roman (2014) 203.
[620] Hardie (1993) 123; see Commager (1962) 350, Troxler-Keller (1964), esp. 127-8 and 159-61, Armstrong (1989) 114, and Davis (1991) 201-2.

Sabine farm and its role in an economy of patronage.[621] Along these lines, the farm becomes a figure for thinking through Horace's relationship to Maecenas, Rome, and Augustan politics, with the result that Horace's Sabine estate is still a figure for other, apparently larger concerns. As Karen Dang, for example, summarizes her interpretation, she reads Horace's "landscape as a metaphor for culture rather than poetics."[622] Place and environment, in these traditions of scholarship, are ways of talking about something else.

In contrast to such approaches, this chapter organizes an account of the *Odes* around the concepts of place and place attachment, familiar from my discussion of the *Eclogues*. Place is a significant concern in the *Odes*: it matters in a variety of ways to Horace's life and sense of self and is the object of strong emotional and personal attachment. As we will see, it also helps produce and shape Horace's poetry. Pursuing this place-based reading does not meaning reverting to a biographical literalism, reading Horace's poems as records of his own historical experiences on his Sabine farm or in Apulia as a child. Rather, it assumes that when Horace describes, imagines, and constructs places in the *Odes*, there is value in reading them as places and environments—not mere symbols—regardless of their existence outside of Horace's poetry.

In shifting emphasis away from the figurative and symbolic associations of, for example, the Sabine farm, I am not attempting to deny such significance outright. The places of the *Odes* have literary, philosophical, and political significance, and it is important to recognize these connotations. But they also matter as Horace's local, personal places, an important concern of his poetry that an excessive emphasis on their

[621] See Bowditch (2001), esp. 212, 232 and Dang (2010).
[622] Dang (2010) 105.

symbolic dimension can overlook. For example, in reading the *fons Bandusiae* as an allegory for Horace's writing, Virginia Jameson claims, "one thing is sure: 'O fons Bandusiae' cannot stand as an apostrophe to a real spring."[623] Similarly, Stephanie McCarter argues that the Sabine Farm in *Epistles* 1.16 "is best read not as a literal space but as a symbolic one."[624]

Instead of seeing the various figurative and symbolic meanings of Horace's significant locales as opposed to their literal existence as places, I regard such significance as a result of the fact that the places are important to Horace as actual locations. To illustrate with a different example, *Odes* 1.7 contrasts a number of famous Greek locales—Rhodes, Mytilene, Corinth, and Delphi among others—with Horace's favored Tibur. As a number of critics have pointed out, these Greek places have important literary associations, and part of the poem's project is to put Horace's Italian poetry on equal footing with the works for which the Greek places are famous.[625] But the poem is also a statement about affection for and praise of one's personal local place. Tibur gains associations with Horatian poetry precisely because it is represented as an important place to Horace in the first place.

Earlier generations of scholarship argued back and forth over the sincerity of Horace's feeling for nature and love of the countryside.[626] My aim is not to return to this conversation, but simply to take seriously that personal affection for and connection to

---

[623] Jameson (1997) 57.
[624] McCarter (2015) 157. Cf. McCarter (2015) 125, 146, 159.
[625] See Syndikus (1972) 99, Davis (1991) 199, West (1995) 34, and Lowrie (1997) 105.
[626] As Commager (1962) 235 summarizes late 19th and early 20th century scholars, "by their arguments they seem to have legislated the very vocabulary for subsequent disputes, and charges of artificiality or insincerity are still leveled against the defense of a 'keen eye' or 'lively appreciation,' as Horace is alternately identified with town or country mouse."

particular places, understood as more than just human, are crucial aspects of the *Odes*. This relationship to place is at stake when Horace vividly describes a winter scene on Mt. Soracte (*Carm*. 1.9), memorializes an obscure spring on his land (*Carm.* 3.13), invites Tyndaris to his Sabine valley (*Carm.* 1.17), or claims that the groves and streams around Tibur have molded him into the poet he is (*Carm.* 4.9.10-12). Again, this does not rely on a naïve historicism or biographical reading: my claims are not about the intimate relationships between the historical Horace and these various locales, but about how the poetry represents and imagines such relationships. Horace cultivates and enshrines connections to local places in his poetry, and also—through his vivid renderings of place—encourages readers to develop their own fondness for and attachment to these locales.

Some of the aspects of local place in the *Odes* are familiar from the strong place attachments of the *Eclogues* and the shifting sense of fractal locality in the *Georgics*. Like Vergil's bucolic herdsmen, Horace cherishes bounded, delineated localities that are constituted by an assemblage of human and nonhuman beings.[627] Horace also shares with the Vergil of the *Georgics* a complex relationship between locality and global Roman *imperium*. While the *Odes* are full of local Italian places, they also repeatedly glance at Augustus consolidating the edges of empire (e.g. *Carm.* 1.12.53-6, 1.35.29-32, 2.9.17-24, 3.14), and Horace envisions his poetry traveling all around the known world (*Carm.*

[627] While Horace places less stress on boundary lines than Vergil in the *Eclogues*, *Carm.* 3.18.2 emphasizes the *fines* of Horace's Sabine land. And in *Carm.* 1.22, Horace's wandering *ultra terminum* ("beyond my border," 1.22.10-11) marks his movement outside his bounded property. Closely related to a sense of bounded locality distinct from the larger world is Horace's preference for the secluded, sheltered space of the *angulus*, which many have identified as the premier location of Horatian utterance. See Ferri (1993) 63 n. 6 and Rimell (2015) 82-112, esp. 85.

2.20).[628] Horace's local places can be read as opposed to the global extent of Roman *imperium*, but they can also be seen as relying on Augustus' activities abroad, the local peace that far-flung Augustan victory affords.[629] Augustus' governing of the boundaries of worldwide empire even becomes a model for Horace's own management of poetic borders in his lyric realm.[630] The shifting Horace can be an imperial and a local poet.

As in the *Georgics*, the massive scale of Roman imperialism is the context in which Horace's sense of locality is conceptualized. But while this pushes the *Georgics* to complicate locality through problems of scale, Horace rethinks locality in the context of empire-wide mobility.[631] Horace creates a network of localities he can move between, and fashions his place attachments in a connected Mediterranean world. His poetry is linked to Tibur, his Sabine Farm, Rome, and Apulia, and a major part of Horace's self-representation is his ability to move between these and other locations. He continually stresses his mobility in ways great and small, ordinary and fantastical.[632] The praise of Tibur in *Odes* 1.7 is addressed to Plancus whether he is currently in Tibur or far from there, on military duty abroad (*Carm.* 1.7.19-21), and its list of famous Greek sites is also a list of destinations elite Romans could travel to.[633] Horace's celebration of local Italian places occurs in a context in which many Romans, including Horace himself, do not stay in place.

---

[628] See Syndikus (1972) 488 and Armstrong (1989) 72-3 on 2.20 in the context of Agrippa's "map" and Augustan imperial expanse.
[629] See Rimell (2015) 82-112, esp. 84, on how Horace's local retreats are not opposed to but fit into the larger spatial dynamics of empire.
[630] Oliensis (1998) 102-53.
[631] On the extent, scale, and varieties of mobility in the ancient Roman world see Scheidel (2004), Scheidel (2005), Tacoma (2016), Woolf (2016), and Isayev (2017).
[632] For example: *Carm.* 1.1.35-6, 1.22, 2.6.5-12, 2.20, and 3.4.21-4.
[633] See West (1967) 112 on 1.7 in the context of a "Roman craze for travel."

Horace's concept of locality is not opposed to a larger world, but enmeshed with it. Ties between persons and places are forged and contemplated within a context of Mediterranean connectivity and mobility in the wake of Roman imperial consolidation. Later in this chapter, I will examine in greater detail the mobility of Horace's localized poetry—what I term his translocal poetics—but for now it is worth emphasizing the difference between this and the local poetics of Vergil's *Eclogues*. In the *Eclogues*, forced mobility means the end of local dwelling and local song alike. In Horace, mobility between places is part of what creates both his local place attachments and his place-based lyric.

Lyric Evocations of Place

Evocation of place seems to have been an important part of Greek lyric from its beginnings, when poems of Alcaeus and Sappho create a vivid sense of presence in the moment of reading or listening.[634] In particular, kletic and apopemptic hymns (for summoning deities to the poet and sending individuals away from the poet, respectively) afford opportunities to lavish description on the particular place an addressee is beckoned to or leaving from.[635] In a fragment of Sappho, we see how such a hymn can turn into a vivid rendering of a particular place:

> δεῦρύ μ᾽ ἐκ Κρήτας ἐπ[ὶ τόνδ]ε ναῦον
> ἄγνον, ὅππ[ᾳ τοι] χάριεν μὲν ἄλσος
> μαλί[αν], βῶμοι δὲ τεθυμιάμε-
> νοι [λι]βανώτῳ·ἐν δ᾽ ὕδωρ ψῦχρον κελάδει δι᾽ ὔσδων
> μαλίνων, βρόδοισι δὲ παῖς ὀ χῶρος
> ἐσκίαστ᾽, αἰθυσσομένων δὲ φύλλων

[634] See e.g. Alc. 34 LP and Sappho 1 LP.
[635] Menander Rhetor recognizes that description of place is a major component of such hymns: see Men. Rhet. 334.32-335.4 Spengel.

κῶμα κατέρρει·ἐν δὲ λείμων ἱππόβοτος τέθαλεν
ἠρίνοισιν ἄνθεσιν, αἰ δ᾽ ἄηται
μέλλιχα πνέοισιν [
[ ]
ἔνθα δὴ σὺ . . . . ἔλοισα Κύπρι
χρυσίαισιν ἐν κυλίκεσσιν ἄβρως
ὀμμεμείχμενον θαλίαισι νέκταρ
οἰνοχόαισον

Come here to me from Crete, to this sacred precinct
where your lovely grove of apple trees is, and the altars
smoking with incense. Within,
cool water trickles past apple branches
and the whole place is shaded with roses,
and sleep pours down from the rustling leaves.
In here a meadow for grazing horses has grown
with the flowers of springtime, and the breezes
blow softly . . .
within, Kypris, take…
pour gently the nectar
mingled with our cheer
in golden goblets. (Sappho 2 LP)

The poem is devoted to capturing and rendering the experience of being in a particular pleasant locale, and offers to readers or listeners some sense of that feeling. As Hermogenes describes it,

> καὶ τὰς μὲν οὐκ αἰσχρὰς ἔστιν ἁπλῶς ἐκφράζειν, οἷον κάλλος χωρίου καὶ φυτείας διαφόρους καὶ ῥευμάτων ποικιλίας καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ τῇ ὄψει προσβάλλει ἡδονὴν ὁρώμενα καὶ τῇ ἀκοῇ, ὅτε ἐξαγγέλλει τις.
>
> And it is simple to describe those [pleasures] that are not shameful, such as the beauty of a location, the different kinds of plants, the varieties of streams, and other such things. For these things provide pleasure both by sight when they are seen and by hearing, when someone speaks of them. (Hermog., *Id.* 2.4)

There is a pleasurable experience of being in this location with its particular environmental features, but there is also a pleasure in hearing or reading of it. Poetry can, as here, deliver its own powerful sense of place. Sappho's location can be read as an early example of the *locus amoenus*, but only if it is appreciated that from the beginning of this

convention the pleasant scenery is not really scenery at all.[636] The combination of interlinked human and nonhuman presences and activities in this poem—apple trees growing, incense burning on altars, water flowing, and horses grazing—all act together to make Sappho's sacred space a particularized place.[637] The poem evokes a multisensory experience of a specific location with the sound of flowing water, the smell of incense, the coolness of shade, and the sight of apple trees and roses.[638] As will later be the case with Horace, the vocabulary of landscape and its attendant pictorial assumptions would fail to account for the multisensory and participatory experience of place that this poem evokes.

From a narrowly literary point of view, then, Horace had Greek lyric precedent for a concern with place—and we could expand to consider key passages in Greek poetry like Sophocles' Colonus ode in *Oedipus at Colonus* or Theocritus' *Idyll* 7 situated on Cos. Indeed, praise of place like that in the Colonus ode would later be categorized by rhetoricians as a particular species of encomiastic rhetoric.[639] But beyond literary tradition, there is a wider, long-standing set of cultural traditions about relationships to local place. Speaking of archaic Greek traditions, Susan Cole describes how "every city

---

[636] Schönbeck (1962) 78-86 places this poem in the tradition of the *locus amoenus*.
[637] Jenkyns (1982) 38 describes how this poem "displays . . . the 'sentiment of place' . . . a feeling for what it is like to be in a *particular* place at a *particular* time." However, he assimilates this to a "feeling for nature" and "sense of oneness with nature generally associated with the name of Wordsworth." Lanata (1996) 15-16 emphasizes the cultic significance of Sappho's place description. On the erotic qualities of this description, see Calame (1999) 167-8.
[638] See Worman (2015) 14-15 on how Sappho "invokes in concise, luminous language the setting and the pleasures of its inhabitation," and also, through ritual utterance, "creates the space in which the goddess' party will take place."
[639] For example, Quint., *Inst*. 3.7.27. See also Nisbet and Hubbard (1978) 95. Horace in fact alludes to this common type in *Carm.* 1.7 when he contrasts praise of Greek cities with his own praise of Tibur.

projected a strong identity not only with its territory but with the earth itself and the local springs and rivers that were its sources of water," and her observation that local springs could often be focal points of identity resonates also with the Horace of *Odes* 3.13.[640] In the Roman context, we have already seen the relationship of nurture and affective attachment that Cicero cherishes with his *patria*, and have surveyed the variety of ways in which local environments matter to the lives of the herdsmen of the *Eclogues*. In writing poetry of place, Horace draws on literary models but also on a rich set of traditions in which local environments are sites of ongoing attachment, significance, cultic activity, and personal and communal memory. Reading Horace's *Odes* in light of all this allows us to see how insufficient a reading of his poetry would be that would treat local places as mere backgrounds, ornamental landscapes, or quasi-allegorical symbols.

Odes 1.17 offers a good example of Horace's representation of particular and personal place. In the previous chapter I noted how this poem elaborates Horace's special connection to the nonhuman world through his status as a divinely favored poet. But the poem spends just as much time giving a sense of Horace's local place as it does describing his own divine protection:

> Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
> mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
> defendit aestatem capellis
> usque meis pluviosque ventos.
>
> impune tutum per nemus arbutus
> quaerunt latentis et thyma deviae
> olentis uxores mariti
> nec viridis metuunt colubras
>
> nec Martialis haediliae lupos,
> utcumque dulci, Tyndari, fistula

[640] Cole (2004) 27. See also Larson (2001) 98.

valles et Usticae cubantis
levia personuere saxa.

Swift Faunus often changes his Lycaeus
for lovely Lucretilis, and he wards away
the summer heat from my goats
as well as the stormy winds.

With no fear, the wandering mates
of the rank goat seek arbute and thyme
throughout the safe woods,
and they do not fear green snakes

nor do the kids fear the wolves of Mars,
Tyndaris, whenever the valleys
and the smooth rocks of sloping Ustica
have resounded with the sweet pipe. (*Carm.* 1.17.1-12)

Environmental features like the sloping hills and rocks of Ustica and Lucretilis, temperate weather, arbute and thyme, goats, and human music all contribute to a sense of particular local place here.[641] Like Sappho's precinct, Horace's land is a site of divine visitation, and Faunus' recurrent presence marks this space off as distinct. Horace creates an experience of place in this poem that is importantly multisensory—with the mild temperature and weather, the smell of goats (and perhaps of thyme), the sight of the valley and its woods, and the sound of pipe playing—and one that is also participatory and processual. The dwelling and activities of humans, whether raising goats or making music, continue to help make this locality what it is, participating in an ongoing process of place making.

This complex sense of place is anchored to the proper names of Lucretilis and Ustica, which become charged metonyms for a whole ongoing assemblage of human and nonhuman beings. Indeed, Horace continually puts great stress on named places, filling

[641] The echoing of pipe music contributes to the bucolic character of the poem, on which see Klingner (1935) 289, Syndikus (1972) 189 and 190-1, and Johnson (1982) 140-1.

the *Odes* with obscure local designations made famous through his poetry. It is not just Apulia or Tibur, but a small spring on his property and otherwise unattested Sabine hills that are named and immortalized in the *Odes* (*Carm.* 3.13, 1.17.1, 1.17.11).[642] Throughout the *Odes*, Horace creates representations of local places that explore the variety of ways in which place is made and experienced, and enshrines named places in his immortalizing poetry. Later in this chapter, we will see how he also links these localities to foreign places, complicating the local nature of such places, but first it is worth exploring why connections to specific places are important to Horace not merely as a person, but as a poet.

Poets and Places

Horace does more in the *Odes* than simply represent and praise pleasing locales. He links, as in 1.17, his own status and identity as a poet to his dwelling in those particular places, which become centers and sources of Horatian poetry. In this, Horace is reacting to the biographical and place-based ancient reception of Greek poets. Poets were commonly identified through their places of origin, which claimed them as their own and celebrated being the home of a famous bard. This widespread habit lies behind Moschus' inventive take on the tradition in his *Lament for Bion*:

> πᾶσα, Βίων, θρηνεῖ σε κλυτὰ πόλις, ἄστεα πάντα.
> Ἄσκρα μὲν γοάει σε πολὺ πλέον Ἡσιόδοιο·
> Πίνδαρον οὐ ποθέοντι τόσον Βοιωτίδες ὗλαι·

[642] Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 172 note that the named *fons Bandusiae* of *Carm.* 3.13 stands out from the typically unnamed springs of Greek dedicatory epigrams. On the identity of Lucretilis and Ustica in 1.17, see Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) ad 1.17.1 and 1.17.11. On Horace's practice of choosing obscure local place names (and speaking of them as though they are already famous), see West (1967) 112, West (2002) 48 and 120, and Feeney (2009) 227.

οὐ τόσον Ἀλκαίῳ περιμύρατο Λέσβος ἐραννά,
οὐδὲ τόσον τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὀδύρατο Τήιον ἄστυ·
σὲ πλέον Ἀρχιλόχοιο ποθεῖ Πάρος, ἀντὶ δὲ Σαπφοῦς
εἰσέτι σεῦ τὸ μέλισμα κινύρεται ἁ Μιτυλήνα.

Every famous city mourns for you, Bion, and every town.
Ascra groans for you much more than for Hesiod.
The woods of Boeotia do not long for Pindar as much
as for you. Not this much did beautiful Lesbos weep for Alcaeus
and the town of Teos did not lament this much for its own singer.
Paros longs more for you than Archilochus. Mytilene still mourns
the loss of your song instead of Sappho's. (Mosch., *Ep. Bion.* 86-92)

This claim for widespread, Panhellenic lamentation gains added force against a background assumption that Ascra would normally care primarily about Hesiod, Mytilene about Sappho, and so on. Ovid later alludes to the same convention at the end of the *Amores*, when he proclaims,

Mantua Vergilio, gaudet Verona Catullo;
Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego.

Mantua rejoices in Vergil; Verona rejoices in Catullus.
I will be called the glory of the Paelignan people. (Ov., *Am.* 3.15.7-8)

The links between canonical poets and the places that claim them are so strong that poets are often not named but simply identified by their home.[643] This is why Moschus can allude to Anacreon as the poet of Teos without actually naming him, and why Horace can call Pindar simply the Dircaean swan (*Carm.* 4.2.25).

Importantly, this is not merely a phenomenon of literary reception. Local places could be the home of cult worship for celebrated poets, as with the shrine dedicated to Archilochus (the Archilocheion) on his own Paros.[644] And *poleis* might honor their hometown bards with impressive monuments, such as the statue of Steisichorus that

[643] See Farrell (1991) 33-60 for many examples of this kind of antonomasia in ancient authors.
[644] See Graziosi (2009) 142, 145.

Cicero informs us Scipio Aemilianus returned to Himera after it had been plundered by the Carthaginians (*Verr*. 2.2.87). A cave where Euripides supposedly found inspiration even seems to have become a kind of tourist site already in the fourth century BCE, while Pindar's house was famed to have been the one structure Alexander left standing when he sacked Thebes.[645]

In naming and mythologizing the places of his life, Horace is cultivating in advance this type of place-based reception.[646] Part of fashioning himself as a canonical lyric poet is linking his poetry and poetic identity to significant sites. It is important to him that *Odes* 3.30 memorialize not only his lyric achievement, but also his local river, the Aufidus (3.30.10).[647] The result of connecting his poetic achievement to particular places in this way is a double operation: Horace simultaneously tethers his poetry to sites future admirers can visit (as indeed they have), and also imbues those physical places with literary associations.[648] Mt. Soracte, for example, is enriched by being written into the memorable and moving *Odes* 1.9, even as that poem is enriched by its connection to this specific, named peak.

This process gives the places of the *Odes* a complex status. For some, Horace's local places cease to be places at all when they are written into his text. Many readers argue that places like the Sabine farm are in fact nothing but textual, imaginary

---

[645] On Euripides' cave see Graziosi (2009) 142. On the Pindar legend, see Slater (1971) 146-7.
[646] Similarly, Graziosi (2009) 153: "by incorporating the 'life of the poet' into his own poetry, Horace attempts to control his future reception, and presents his life in the mould of the *Lives* of the Greek poets—that is to say, of his models."
[647] For Jenkyns (1998) 599, Horace "links his literary immortality not only to immortal Rome and its Capitol but also to little known Aufidus, the river of his childhood country."
[648] See, for example, Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 54 on how Horace elevates the humble places of his childhood to the status of famous places of Greek poetry in *Carm.* 3.4.

constructs.[649] The valley of *Odes* 1.17 is, for such readers, not so much a physical as a spiritual and literary location.[650] Describing the streams on Mt. Soracte in 1.9, Nisbet and Hubbard claim, "the *flumina* are surely nothing but the ῥόαι of Alcaeus."[651] Such readings suggest that locations like Horace's Sabine farm are not actual places one could visit, but "places" in Horace's text, if places at all. In response to readings like these, others assert that Horace's representations of Italian place are very real, and drawn from authentic personal experience.[652] David West, for example, responds to heavily symbolic readings of the *fons Bandusiae* by maintaining, "this is no poet's fancy, but what actually happened in the Italian countryside."[653]

These opposing interpretations recall the debates over Arcadia in the *Eclogues*—indeed, many see Horace's poetic places as his own spiritual landscape, a Horatian Arcadia.[654] As was the case with the *Eclogues*, straightforwardly opposing literary or imagined place to actual physical locations oversimplifies matters.[655] For some sites,

---

[649] Cf. the heavily symbolic readings of Horatian places referenced above, n. 14-16.
[650] For example: Commager (1962) 350-1; Johnson (1982) 141; Leach (1988) 231, 279; and Davis (1991) 201.
[651] Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 116-7. Their reading responds to the supposed problem of unity in 1.9: one answer to critics who find that the poem's setting does not make sense as a coherent scene is to suggest that the environmental setting of the poem is more symbolic and literary than real. The bibliography on the question of unity in 1.9 and the realism or symbolism of its environmental description is immense. See Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 116-8, Pöschl (1970) 46-7, Syndikus (1972) 110-1, Edmunds (1992) 94-108, Nauta (1994) 225-7, and Gamberale (1995) 97-9.
[652] For example, Wilkinson (1945) 55 and West (1967) 4-6.
[653] West (2002) 120-1.
[654] Snell himself briefly refers to Horace's poetic world as his version of an Arcadia: see Snell (1953) 305**.** Troxler-Keller's influential understanding of Horace's *Dichterwelt* and *Dichterlandschaft* follows from Snell's comparison (see esp. Troxler-Keller [1964] 15, 37, 110-1, 161), and the idea that Horace's poetic groves and Sabine farm form his own Arcadia surfaces also in Commager (1962) 348.
[655] For Troxler-Keller (1964) 108-11, 149-50, and 159-60 one of the distinctive qualities of Horace's poetic landscape is precisely that he blends his imaginary *Dichterwelt* with

unattested outside Horace's poetry, their precise reality and location are unknowable—and to some extent irrelevant. As with the pastoral lands of Vergil's herdsmen, even if we think the environment of *Odes* 3.13 is entirely fictional, it is still represented as a particular local environment. We do not have to believe the poem is a historical record of an Italian spring to recognize that it is thinking about and concerned with a local body of water, imagined or not.

More generally, whether Horace's places are attested outside his poetry or not, we can gain helpful perspective by considering how Horace would have encountered the famous locales of the Greek poetry he was reinventing. He would have been aware of how certain places, by being inscribed into poetic traditions, have become more than real. Helicon, Lesbos, and Colonus name specific places in Greece that an elite Roman could travel to, but are also places accessible through the writings of Hesiod, Sappho, and Sophocles. This is the status that Horace elevates his own local places to. When Horace says that his *fons Bandusiae* will become one of the renowned fountains of poetry, he is creating a version of the spring that will live on in his poetry, even as it denotes the same spring to be found on his local land. This is the same complex operation that Cicero observes in book one of his *De Legibus*, with the Marian Oak we examined in chapter one. Important named places in the *Odes* become not unreal, but more than real.

Indeed, Cicero is once again helpful here for showing how aware ancient authors and reading communities could be regarding the complexities of places written into literature. At the start of book five of his *De Finibus*, Cicero and his interlocutors stroll

---

real Italian locations. Schmidt (1997) 180-7 notes that even if we encounter Horace's Sabine farm through his text, it makes a difference that we think of it as a real place with an existence outside the text.

around the Academy in Athens.[656] Marcus Piso remarks on the power of places associated with renowned people, marveling that he is walking around the very place where Plato once held discussions. He continues into a brief discussion of place and memory, but importantly the Academy evokes Piso's memories not of his own experience, but of what he has read (Cic., *Fin.* 5.1-2). Cicero's other interlocutors indulge in similar touristic fantasies, as his cousin Lucius visits the shore where Demosthenes once practiced speaking and Titus Pomponius describes his powerful feelings upon spending time in Epicurus' gardens (5.5; 5.3). Cicero endorses such feelings of attachment to famous locations, and describes how the former haunts of Carneades have captured his own imagination (5.4). These passages attest to the evocative power of actual places, but also to the power of the legendary literary and cultural past to imbue places with significance. The characters' experiences of actual place are informed and enriched by the versions of those locations they have come to know from philosophical and literary texts.

Cicero's most complex example of this process in this scene occurs when Quintus visits Colonus:

> Nam me ipsum huc modo venientem convertebat ad sese Coloneus ille locus, cuius incola Sophocles ob oculos versabatur, quem scis quam admirer quamque eo delecter. Me quidem ad altiorem memoriam Oedipodis huc venientis et illo mollissimo carmine quaenam essent haec ipsa loca requirentis species quaedam commovit, inaniter scilicet, sed commovit tamen.
>
> For as I was just now coming here, that area of Colonus caused me to turn toward it. Its resident Sophocles was brought before my eyes, who—you know—I greatly regard with wonder and delight. A certain vision stirred me

[656] Schmidt (1997) 183-5 also considers this Cicronian passage in order to shed light on Horace's construction and representation of the Sabine farm.

> in fact to a deeper memory—not real of course, but it stirred me nonetheless—of Oedipus coming here and, in that most lovely song, asking what place this was. (Cic., *Fin.* 5.3)

Quintus here encounters the actual Colonus before him, the Colonus where Sophocles used to live, and the mythical Colonus of Oedipus—all of which are somehow the one place he feels himself to be in. The reference to Sophocles' play further suggests that his experience of Colonus is overlaid with his earlier experience of reading, encountering the area through Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*. Sophocles' lyric evocation and praise of Colonus has made the village something more than its mere physical location, not unreal but more than real.

Cicero illustrates the experience of place that Horace's own poetry offers, and the sort of place-based reception Horace envisions for it. It is through philosophical and literary texts and traditions that Cicero and his friends have gleaned an experience of famous Athenian locales and developed personal attachments to them—just as Cicero's own readers can now encounter such places through his *De Finibus*. What Cicero's characters find in Athens are not the actual locations that textual representations cannot live up to, but a complex experience of simultaneously real-and-textual place.[657] In light of Cicero, we can appreciate how Horace's poetry makes his localities more than can be experienced by reading his poems, but also more than can be experienced by merely traveling to them. There is an experience of local Italian places that a reader of the *Odes*

[657] Cf. Edward Soja's concept of real-and-imagined place, formulated in Soja (1996) to move beyond the opposition of physical, material place to mental constructs of place. While it possible to see in Cicero ideas of a Greek past displacing the actual places in front of his characters, their experiences are still provoked by being in particular physical locations, which have been imbued with significance. Their experiences of famous places are of a hybrid nature, simultaneously of the physical places they move through and of the sites they have read about.

attains through reading, whether or not that readerly experience is then complicated by visiting those locales in person. The places of Horace's poetry are textualized but this does not mean that they cease to be real places. His poetry offers an experience of real-and-textual place to his readers, and encourages readers to imagine the locales of the *Odes* as actual places with complex ecologies and environments.

Approaching the *Odes* as poetry of particular place rather than of landscape or the countryside reveals that Horace is concerned with representing and celebrating specific locations to which he has personal attachments. These places are constituted by their particular combinations of human and nonhuman beings, who participate together in making place. Far from sketching visually pleasing landscapes, Horace records multiform relationships with and experiences of place. He links both his poetry and his own poetic identity to these personal, particular locations, creating a map of Horatian locations to which he has special connections as opposed to the more singular place attachments we saw in the *Eclogues*. In Horace's network of multiple personal places we can perhaps see a complicated outgrowth of Cicero's *duo patriae* mentality seen in the introduction. Horace's sense of local place attachment is combined with significant mobility between various locales, as we will explore in greater depth at the end of this chapter. Place is clearly a major theme and object of attention and representation in the *Odes*. Horace, though, has an even deeper poetics of place. In the second half of this chapter, I explore how local place plays an active and important role in the very formation of his lyric poetry.

Part 2: The *Odes* as Place-Based Poetry

Lyric Ecology and Poetic Reciprocity

In asserting his connections to local places, Horace links his poetry not simply to places in the abstract or to human communities, but to particular more-than-human environments. Horace represents the entire ecologies of these places as actively contributing to the creation of his poetry, and to his own formation as a poet. He suggests that his lyric poetry is plugged into and arises from local ecological networks and relationships, and also that his writing of places is a giving back to the places that have given to him. These two ideas can be termed lyric ecology and poetic reciprocity, and both are exemplified in what is perhaps Horace's best-known local poem, *Odes* 3.13.

As we saw in this dissertation's introduction, Nisbet and Rudd assert of 3.13, "most critics see the ode is more than a pretty nature-poem."[658] While in the previous chapter I explored Horace's particular kind of nature poetry, this poem is arguably less concerned with any concept of nature than it is with a particular place and its specific, more-than-human ecology. The poem apostrophizes and praises a particular named spring, hymns its qualities and surroundings, and finally declares that it will become one of the famous fountains of poetry, joining the ranks of Greek places like the Hippocrene or Castalia:[659]

> O fons Bandusiae splendidior vitro
> dulci digne mero non sine floribus
> cras donaberis haedo,
> cui frons turgida cornibus

[658] Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 175. Cf. Martindale (1993) 25.
[659] On Horace's elevation of the *fons Bandusiae* to the status of such famous poetic fountains, see Fraenkel (1957) 203, Putnam (2000) 31, and Nisbet and Rudd (2004) ad 3.13.13.

primis et venerem et proelia destinat;
frustra: nam gelidos inficiet tibi
    rubro sanguine rivos
        lascivi suboles gregis.

te flagrantis atrox hora Caniculae
nescit tangere, tu frigus amabile
    fessis vomere tauris
        praebes et pecori vago.

fies nobilium tu quoque fontium,
me dicente cavis impositam ilicem
    saxis, unde loquaces
        lymphae desiliunt tuae.

Fountain of Bandusia, more shining than glass,
worthy of wine not without flowers,
    tomorrow you'll be given
        a young goat whose brow aching

with new horns is ready for love and for war
in vain. For he will dye your icy
    streams with red blood,
        this offspring of the playful flock.

You the harsh season of the burning Dog Star
cannot touch, you who offer beloved cold
    to bulls tired from the plow
        and to the wandering herd.

You will become one of the renowned fountains
as I sing of the ilex tree hanging over
    the hollow rocks from where
        your waters leap with voices. (*Carm.* 3.13)

As a speech act, the poem performs the ennobling it confidently predicts, showing Horace at his most boldly vatic.[660] At the same time as the poem vaunts Horace's power to ennoble the spring, however, it also shows Horace to be dependent on it. The *fons* is the subject and addressee his ode requires, whose particular features exert pressure on

[660] Davis (1991) 127, 132.

what the poem's description will detail.[661] And as a site of poetic inspiration, the spring inspires the poet who glorifies it.[662] We can see this relationship through the presence of voice in the final strophe of the poem, where Horace promises to sing of the spring and its speaking waters (*loquaces lymphae*, 15-6).[663] The vague simultaneity of the ablative absolute *me dicente* preserves a significant ambiguity: has Horace's poetry endowed the waters with voice, or have the speaking waters spurred Horace's own speech?[664] This indeterminacy captures the mutuality between Horace and this environmental feature: the voices of the *fons* inspire Horace's singing, even as that singing gives voice to the speaking waters. As William Fitzgerald has cleverly observed, the *fons* even seems to throw back Horace's voice in line one, as the final syllable of *vitro* echoes the apostrophic "O" with which the poem begins.[665] Even sonically, Horace and the spring are engaged in a symbiotic relationship of mutual giving.

This reciprocal relationship is also expressed in the poem through the imagery of sacrifice. The sacrifice of the goat kid in this poem has received much attention from critics and has become a site of conflict over supposed ancient versus modern sensibilities.[666] But the debate over the degree to which Roman readers would sympathize

---

[661] See Fletcher (2004) 45 on how "the object of description commands its own descriptive treatment, so, for example, one would describe brie differently from a bassoon."

[662] As noted, for example, by Lee (1970) 259-60 and Putnam (2000) 31.

[663] A number of Greek epigrams in which poets and springs speak in dialogue with each other encourage us to take *loquaces* seriously. See *Anth. Pal*. 9.257, 9.258, 9.374, and 9.549.

[664] Commager (1962) 323 argues that Horace here vaunts his power to ennoble the spring over the spring's power of inspiration. Fitzgerald (1989) 95-6 recognizes the tension here "between proud boast and humble listening."

[665] Fitzgerald (1989) 98.

[666] Campbell (1924) 1-3 and 211-2 sees the sacrifice as a breach of poetic taste. West (1967) 129-30 argues that such a reaction projects modern sentimentality onto the poem,

with the animal can obscure the poem's important interest in the reciprocal logic of sacrifice: the *fons* that has fostered life now receives in return an offering of that life. The cold, clear water receives the hot, red blood it has helped foster. And just like the kid, this dedicatory poem is also given back to the source from which it has arisen.[667]

What *Odes* 3.13 ennobles is the anchor of a whole local ecology. The growth of the ilex tree, the formation of the rocks, and the humans and animals that enjoy the refreshing water all rely on the *fons Bandusiae*. Horace and his poetic activity participate in and arise out of this ecological web of relations and dependencies. The dense, hypotactic syntax of the poem's closing lines (14-16) emphasizes how Horace's song is integrated into an interlocking chain of relations that constitutes the spring's surroundings. Horace sings not of the *fons*, but specifically of the neighboring ilex (*impositam ilicem*), which overhangs the rocks (*cavis saxis*), from which (*unde*) rebound the spring's waters—whose voice inspires Horace's singing in the first place. It is common to read the *fons Bandusiae* as a symbol for Horace's poetry.[668] But while it may have associations with the Callimachean pure spring of poetry, it is more than a piece of literary allegory. The *fons* allows for and participates in a local network of interconnected environmental features and forms of life, a circuit of relations that gives rise to Horace's poem, and into

---

a historicist claim contested by Martindale (1993) 25. Mader (2002) 51-2 usefully summarizes this debate.

[667] A number of critics see the sacrifice as a metaphor for the transformation of reality into art: e.g. Armstrong (1989) 109 and Hexter (1987) 132. While I agree that the sacrifice has something important to say about the creation of Horace's poem, my claim is instead that the sacrifice figures the way the poem is given back to its source.

[668] See, for example, Hexter (1987) 136, Armstrong (1989) 114, Davis (1991) 130, Jameson (1997), Schmidt (1997) 114-8, Mader (2002), and Curley (2004). Mader (2002) 52-3 offers a useful summary of these programmatic and metapoetic interpretations.

which that poem is reintroduced when dedicated to the spring. The *fons Bandusiae* does not so much stand for Horace's poetry as participate in its creation.

Odes 3.13 elaborates most fully what is elsewhere suggested in more condensed form. In 4.2, Horace differentiates himself from Pindar by comparing himself to a Matinian bee:

> multa Dircaeum levat aura cycnum,
> tendit, Antoni, quotiens in altos
> nubium tractus: ego apis Matinae
> more modoque
>
> grata carpentis thyma per laborem
> plurimum circa nemus uvidique
> Tiburis ripas operosa parvus
> carmina fingo.
>
> A great wind bears the Dircaean swan aloft,
> Antonius, whenever he soars into the lofty paths
> of clouds. I, in the manner and habit
> of a Matinian bee
>
> that plucks pleasing thyme through utmost labor
> around the woods and the banks of fertile Tibur
> fashion my well-worked songs,
> small though I be. (*Carm*. 4.2.25-32)

The comparison and association of poets with bees is common, but Horace crucially localizes the trope.[669] He suggests that he derives his poetry from his local surroundings. Recalling the complex local environments necessary for beekeeping in the *Georgics*, the comparison implies that Horace's poetic activity relies on and participates in networks of local relations—just as in *Odes* 3.13. It is also worth noting that this comparison would figure Horace's poetry as honey, a local product whose particular character reflects the surrounding environment from which it was gathered.

[669] On bees and poets, see Lefkowitz (2016) 182. Syndikus (1973) 302-3 suggests that the bee comparison identifies Horace with a Callimachean poetry of *ars*.

That his local environment exerts agency in producing and determining the character of his poetry is also Horace's claim in *Odes* 4.3:

> sed quae Tibur aquae fertile praefluunt
> et spissae nemorum comae
> fingent Aeolio carmine nobilem.
>
> But the waters that flow past fertile Tibur
> and the dense-packed leaves of the groves
> will make me renowned for Aeolian song. (*Carm.* 4.3.10-12)

The waters and woods around Tibur make him renowned but, as *fingent* suggests, also more fundamentally mold and form him as a poet.[670] Underlying this claim is a sense of reciprocity like that in 3.13. After all, in the act of asserting that the Tiburtine environment makes him famous, Horace grants fame to that environment by naming it in his poetry. Indeed, *fingent* recalls the use of the same verb in the Matinian bee simile (4.2.32): Horace's environment fashions him even as he fashions his environment into poetry.[671]

Such reciprocity can also be seen in Horace's relationship with his local Apulian river, the Aufidus. Horace mentions the Aufidus a number of times in his works, just as Vergil takes care to include the Mincius in all three of his mature works (*Ecl.* 7.13, *G.* 3.15, *Aen.* 10.206).[672] Horace links the river to his future fame in *Odes* 3.30, predicting

---

[670] Troxler-Keller (1964) 147-8, Lee (1970) 246, and Putnam (1986) 66.
[671] Thomas (2011) ad 4.3.12 reads this line alongside the Matinian bee comparison, noting a "sense of cooperation and reciprocity between singer, song, and place." Commager (1962) 346 and Lee (1970) 246-7 offer similar interpretations.
[672] Hor., *Sat*. 1.1.58, *Carm*. 3.30.10, 4.9.2, and 4.14.25. Cf. Jenkyns (1998) 599: "In these places we catch echoes of the spirit in which Virgil had written about the Mincius."

that he will be spoken of where the loud Aufidus roars (*Carm.* 3.30.10).[673] And the noise of the Aufidus appears again in 4.9 when Horace touts the immortality of his poetry:

> Ne forte credas interitura, quae
> longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum
> non ante vulgatas per artis
> verba loquor socianda chordis.
>
> Do not by chance believe that these words will perish,
> which I, born by the far-resounding Aufidus, speak
> and join to the lyre's strings
> by arts not commonly known before. (*Carm.* 4.9.1-4)

It is as though Horace's everlasting poetry is an extension of or response to the ever-echoing Aufidus. At the same time, the poetry that arises from and is inspired by the Aufidus reciprocally ennobles the river by naming it, just as with the smaller *fons Bandusiae*. The far-resounding river is able to echo even further through Horace's poetry.[674]

In all of these examples, Horace and his environments help make each other what they are, and give to each other reciprocally. These relationships follow from and further the special connection between the Horatian *vates* and the nonhuman explored in the previous chapter. In addition to Horace's general superhuman form of dwelling with his environment, his poetry implicates itself in local ecological networks. As Horace suggests through through the tropes of lyric ecology and poetic reciprocity, his poetry arises out of more-than-human localities and then repays the gifts of inspiration and formation by naming and ennobling those places.

---

[673] For Woodman (1974) 123-4 this implies that Horace draws inspiration from the Aufidus. He contrasts the way the waters of the Aufidus enable Horace's poetic achievement with the rainwater that gradually destroys physical *monumenta* (3.30.3).
[674] In *Carm.* 3.30, the consonance of *obstrepit Aufidus* (3.30.10) perhaps even allows us to hear some of the crashing river.

Environmental Moments in Horace

In addition to representing his own attachments to places and demonstrating how place has played an important role in his life and poetry, Horace also offers an experience of his local places to his readers. This is already an aspect of Sappho's poetry of place. Her kletic hymn seen earlier aims to summon a deity, but as a poem its aim is also to transport its readers and listeners to the place it so vividly describes. Horace's poetry can have a similar effect. Such is the experience of reading that Fraenkel testifies to in his effusion over *Odes* 3.22, a short poem that dedicates a pine tree on Horace's property to Diana: "we may be sure that it has something to do with the nature of this poetry if the simple words *imminens villae tua pinus esto* cause a surge of delight and nostalgia in the heart of everyone who is as fond of the Italian countryside as he is fond of Horace."[675] Fraenkel and other readers can imagine a sense of local Italian place by reading Horace's poetry (whether they have ever been to the Italian countryside or not). Often this sense of place has a strong temporal element: Horace constructs for his readers a sense of being in a particular location at a particular time. He renders environmental moments, specified in time and place, for his readers to experience imaginatively.

The present—a vivid and immediate "now"—is the characteristic time of lyric utterance, and a recurrent emphasis of Horace's *Odes*.[676] Many of Horace's poems, like many Greek lyric poems, take place in a present moment emphasized by temporal

[675] Fraenkel (1957) 202.
[676] See especially Lowrie (1997) 49-76, and on the lyric present more generally Culler (2015) 283-95.

adverbs like *nunc* or *iam*.[677] And many of these poems are also set on or near particular Roman festival dates, which tether the poems to specific, datable occasions.[678] Importantly, these moments are immediate occasions but are also iterable, recreated in every present moment of reading. As a number of critics have elaborated, Horace's *Odes* are performative: they fold the external performance context so important to Greek lyric into their own poetry, creating their own occasions of performance in reading.[679] Horace's ode to Faunus (*Carm.* 3.18) can be set on the annually recurring festival date of the Faunalia, but it also happens every time we read it. This iterability and performativity affects Horace's representation of place and environmental moments. In addition to an iterable "now", Horace's poetry of place creates an immediate but movable "here".

To take an example, let us examine the poem that so captured Fraenkel's affection, *Odes* 3.22:

Montium custos nemorumque, Virgo,
quae laborantis utero puellas
ter vocata audis adimisque leto,
diva triformis,

imminens villae tua pinus esto,
quam per exactos ego laetus annos
verris obliquum meditantis ictum
sanguine donem.

Guardian of mountains and of groves, Maiden,
you who, when called upon three times, hear girls

[677] For example: *Carm.* 1.4, 1.9, 1.37, 4.7, and 4.12.
[678] See for example *Carm.* 1.31 with Nisbet and Hubbard (1970) 347. On Horace's interest in the Roman calendar, see Griffin (1997), Lowrie (1997) 55, and Feeney (2009) 227-31.
[679] As Lowrie (1997) 48 puts it, Horace's *Odes* strive for "an atemporal possibility of iteration." Cf. Oliensis (1998) 115-6 and see further Lowrie (1997) 19, 49, and 50, as well as Lowrie (2009) 115. Barchiesi (2009) 175-6 notes that this is already to some extent true of Greek lyric poetry. See Culler (2015) 226 and 294-5 more generally on the iterability of the lyric present.

struggling in childbirth and keep them from death,
goddess of three forms.

The pine tree overhanging my villa shall be yours,
which I will gladly present as the years go by
with the blood of a boar who practices
his sidelong strike. (*Carm.* 3.22)

This short poem commemorates the dedication of a local environmental feature to Diana, thereby sacralizing and marking off this particular location. As in 3.13, the poem is a reciprocating gift to the locality that inspired it, which it now immortalizes in verse. While the occasion is not dated, the poem's dedicatory speech act (*esto*, 5) takes place in an immediate present moment.[680] At the same time, the promise of annual sacrifice suggests the iterability of this present declaration. Every time we read this poem, we activate its ritually repeatable present. Beyond this, though, every time we read *Odes* 3.22 we also experience the vivid sense of particular local place the poem creates. The poem distills an environmental moment for its readers: to read the poem is to imaginatively experience being by a particular pine tree on Horace's particular land in a particular present moment. In this manner, Horace's poems create and transmit a sense of place, but as something recreated and reenacted with each reading. They render environmental moments, a sense of being in a specific place at a specific time, in order to offer an experience of these moments in any present occasion of reading.

Horace thinks through this complex relationship to spatiotemporal situation with one of the major motifs of his lyric collection: wine. Horace compares wine to poetry multiple times, and uses wine as a figure for his lyric in *Odes* 1.9.[681] Beyond this, wine is

[680] As a future imperative, *esto* looks forward to future time, but it is spoken in the present time of commanding.
[681] Hor., *Sat.* 1.10.23-4, 2.1.34-5, *Carm.* 1.9.7-8.

a frequent and important symbol in the *Odes*, often linked to sympotic calls to enjoy the present moment.[682] But while Horace emphasizes consuming wine in the immediate present, he often takes care to identify the age and origin so crucial to the identity of particular wines.[683] Many Roman amphorae have inscriptions or stamps that provide information about their point and date of origin, and this seems to be precisely Horace's interest in wine when he refers to it metonymically by its *nota* (*Carm.* 2.3.8).[684] Wine derives its specific character from its relationship to a particular region at a particular moment of time, but it is consumed elsewhere and in any present moment. This is one reason for Horace's fascination with wine: the way in which its taste, experienced in a present moment, evokes and is determined by the place and time in which it was made.

In *Odes* 3.14, Horace refers to a wine as *Marsi memorem duelli* ("remembering the Marsian war," 3.14.18). The wine figuratively remembers the war through the character of its particular age, but it is also a reminder of the war, transmitting an experience of that past time to the present for its drinker.[685] Horace's poems similarly evoke particular moments, whether an unnamed lyric present or an identifiable day on the Roman calendar. In the *Odes*, both wines and poems derive their unique character from a particular time to which they are dated and a particular place to which they are tied, but both transcend such spatiotemporal situation by making their locality iterable and transportable. This parallel is particularly apparent in the first half of *Odes* 3.28:

---

[682] See Commager (1957), La Penna (1963) 275-97, and Davis (2007).
[683] Barchiesi (2009) 325 notes "even wine—a fundamental element of generic coherence in Horace—tends to incorporate indications of time." See for example *Carm.* 1.9.7-8, 1.20, 3.14.18, 3.21.1, and 4.11.1-2.
[684] On the *tituli* of amphorae see Peacock and Williams (1986) 9-13.
[685] OLD, s.v. "memor" (6). There is some irony in this designation, as wine in the *Odes* is also an agent of forgetfulness (cf. *Carm.* 2.6.21) and indeed in this poem part of Augustus' role is to help Romans forget about and move on from the past civil strife the wine recalls.

Festo quid potius die
Neptuni faciam? prome reconditum,
Lyde, strenua Caecubum,
munitaeque adhibe vim sapientiae.

inclinare meridiem
sentis et, veluti stet volucris dies,
parcis deripere horreo
cessantem Bibuli consulis amphoram.

What else am I to do
on Neptune's festal day? Quick, Lyde, bring out
the Caecuban that's stored away
and make an assault on the fortifications of good sense.

You sense that midday is coming to a close
and—as if the swift day were standing still—you hesitate
to take down from storage
the idle amphora from Bibulus' consulship. (3.28.1-8)

The poem begins by dating itself to Neptune's feast day, and then proceeds to date the wine to the consulship of (the punningly named) Bibulus. One could even regard the wine as delaying (*cessantem . . . amphoram*) because in it the past is preserved into the present. And just as the wine transmits a past moment to the present when consumed, Horace's poem makes its particular calendar day present any time it is read. Taking the wine out of storage to drink is like taking the poem off the shelf to activate its iterable present in reading.

Through its relationship to time and provenance, wine figures one of the major aims of Horatian poetry: to offer an experience of place—a sense of a particular moment in a particular location—that can be activated at any time and anywhere. The *Odes* testify to Horace's own vital place attachments and memorialize the places that have meant so much to his life and poetry. At the same time, they bring those places to others,

encouraging readers to create their own attachments to the places they get a taste of through Horace's text.

Translation and Translocal Poetry

Horace's *Odes* are simultaneously place-based—formed by and tied to particular local environments and moments in place—and mobile, transmitting an experience of place to readers abroad. Horace predicts his future fame within his native Apulia (*Carm.* 3.30.10-14), but also envisions his poetry being read all over the known world (*Carm.* 2.20.17-20). Moreover, just as these poems are destined for non-local receptions, their genesis is not purely local either. Horace's lyric achievement is a grand act of translation, and much of his local poetry is constructed through the importation of Greek poetry, something he himself emphasizes. He sums up his first three books of the *Odes* by saying that he has led, in terms resonant of a triumphant general, Greek song to Italy (*deduxisse*, *Carm.* 3.30.14). Even when he claims that his local environment will make him a renowned poet, he is a poet renowned for foreign, Aeolian song (*Aeolio carmine*, *Carm.* 4.3.12). How place-based or tied to local place really is this movable, iterable poetry, created through the translation and importation of foreign literature and destined for an empire-wide reception? Does enshrining local place in a quasi-global imperial poetry risk eroding its very locality?

A helpful window onto these issues can be found in work on 20th century and contemporary poetry. In this context, Jahan Ramazani has argued that the attempt to celebrate forms of local poetry (as an authentic local rebuttal to homogenous global

culture) fails to account for the ways such poems are entangled with the non-local world.[686] Of an apparently local poem by the American poet James Wright, he writes:

> Though held up as unwaveringly faithful to a specific place in its full self-presence, Wright's poem constructs that place through a web of phrases, conventions, images, and techniques attached to other places, from classical China to modern France. It can be difficult to keep a poem fastened exclusively to one place; even as it evokes a single site, it darts in multiple directions.[687]

Ramazani goes on to formulate a concept of the "gloco-descriptive" poem, in which local places are interconnected with other places and the wider world.[688] While Ramazani is interested in how contemporary conditions of globalization have complicated the loco-descriptive traditions of Anglophone poetry, his analysis resonates with Horace, whose local poems are already entangled in supralocal networks. In the *Odes*, it is precisely through forms of non-local mobility, transport, and translation that a sense of local place is made. Horace creates his local places and particularized environmental moments through acts of translation, understood as a capacious term for practices of cross-cultural fusion, adaptation, appropriation, and imitation. Just as translation plays a major role in Horace's creation of a lyric oeuvre, his fashioning of particular Italian places draws on non-local models.

Odes 1.9, for example, creates a local Italian scene through its reinvention of a poem of Alcaeus. Alcaeus' stormy Lesbos does not compromise the locality of Horace's Soracte, but is part of what Horace brings to his environment in order to help make it a significant location. In 3.13, Horace immortalizes the *fons Bandusiae* on the model of numerous Hellenistic epigrams dedicated to Greek springs, and he explicitly identifies his

[686] Ramazani (2017).
[687] Ramazani (2017) 677.
[688] Ramazani (2017) 685.

task as elevating the *fons* to the level of famous Greek fountains.[689] Its very name—local and Latin, yet also resembling a corruption of the Greek *Pandosia* ("all-giving")—encapsulates how the *fons* is at once intensely local and thoroughly Hellenized.[690] Comparisons to and connections with non-local places are critical to Horace's making of local poetry.

Horace self-consciously thematizes these processes in several poems. I have already mentioned the declaration in *Odes* 3.30 that Horace has led Greek song back to Italy: *dicar . . . princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos | deduxisse modos* ("I will be said to have been the first to lead Aeolian song into Italian measures," 3.13.10-14). With *modos* Horace refers to the foreign meters that he has successfully Latinized, but the multivalent word may also hint at Italian measures or tracts of land—he does, after all, elsewhere call his Sabine farm a *modus agri* (*Sat.* 2.6.1).[691] Understood this way, the claim emphasizes the vast geographical extent of his quasi-triumphal achievement. Bringing Greek poetic traditions to bear on local Italian lands is indeed one of the major accomplishments of Horace's lyric poetry, and also a concern of his earlier poem *Odes* 1.30. This is a kletic hymn, asking Venus to leave Cyprus and come to a local shrine: *te . . . Glycerae decoram | transfer in aedem* ("convey yourself into the worthy shrine of Glycera," 1.30.3-4). It is not unlike Sappho's own kletic hymn seen earlier, or any number of such Greek lyrics. But, as Alessandro Barchiesi has observed, "by the very fact of being uttered in Roman lyric verse, the invocation acquires a new status: this time Venus has a longer way to go,

---

[689] On the Greek epigrams behind *Carm.* 3.13 see Pasquali ([1920] 1964) 554-5, Cairns (1977) 525-35, and Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 175.
[690] On *Bandusia* as "a south Italian corruption of the Greek *Pandosia,*" see Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 172. Nisbet and Rudd (2004) 172-3 note that *Pandosia* is an attested name for several places in southern Italy.
[691] See TLL VIII.0.1252.75-1253.37 for this meaning of *modus*.

and by attending to this prayer, she will bear witness to a successful translation across a wide gulf of culture, time, and idiom."[692] To call the deity to Italy is to summon the trappings and traditions of an entire culture to a new place, and for the goddess to transfer herself is also to translate herself, from the Aphrodite of Sappho and others, into Horace's Roman Venus.

Something similar occurs at the beginning of *Odes* 1.17. This hallmark of Horatian locality begins with Faunus' journey from abroad:

> Velox amoenum saepe Lucretilem
> mutat Lycaeo Faunus et igneam
> defendit aestatem capellis
> usque meis pluviosque ventos.
>
> Swift Faunus often changes his Lycaeus
> for lovely Lucretilis, and he wards away
> the summer heat from my goats
> as well as the stormy winds. (1.17.1-4)

Horace describes the god's move to his own local environment, and in the process translates the Arcadian Pan into the Italian Faunus. He figures his appropriation of the Greek literary tradition geographically, as the creation of a new place for lyric. Bringing Greek and Latin together offers opportunities for cross-lingual play: the exchangeable Lucretilis and Lycaeus coincidentally sound alike, though one name is Latin and the other Greek. The exchangeability of the names' first syllables matches the mountains' interchangeability for Pan-Faunus. Horace's poetry is made by bringing two linguistic and cultural worlds together, and he similarly fashions his distinctive sense of local Italian place by bringing foreign places into relation with his local environments.

[692] Barchiesi (2009) 169.

Horace's creative treatment of Greek poetry models how his own poetry is to be received beyond the bounds of his particular environment. Just as Horace engages with foreign places in order to fashion a new poetry of his own environs, his local Italian poems enable future translative makings of place. The global receptions Horace envisions for his work thus do not signal the end of locality, but the potential for future localities created through his poetry. To take one concrete example, Robert Frost's poem "Hyla Brook" engages with *Odes* 3.13 in order to create his own local poem. Frost writes in honor of a small New England stream by alluding to Horace's own relationship to his local Italian spring.[693] He thus follows Horace's strategy of adapting Greek poetry: as Horace employs Greek lyric in his writing of Italian place, so Frost uses Horace's Italian poetry in order to fashion "Hyla Brook."

Horace practices and models what can be termed a translocal poetics, in which poetry is tied but not bound to local place.[694] On this model, place and place-based poetry alike are created through acts of translation, fusion, comparison, and translocal connection. Horace's sense of local place is partly shaped by the non-local and is then rendered exportable to an extra-local audience. But far from compromising the locality of Horace's poetry, this enables the creation of future localities by his readers. In the

[693] For a reading of Frost's reception of Horace in this poem, see Bacon (2001) 77-80.
[694] The concept of translocality has become widespread in a variety of fields in geography and cultural studies, often used with different meanings. See Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013) for an overview. It has also gained some prominence in studies of 20th century and contemporary poetry. Ramazani (2015) and Ramazani (2017) occasionally describe as translocal modern and contemporary poetry that mediates between local and global, and Cocola (2016) 77-9 also suggests a translocal understanding of recent American poetry. Horace's translocal poetics is a particularly self-conscious example of what Greenwood (2016) calls the omni-local quality of all classical reception, though with the concept of translocality I mean to emphasize the relationship between the creation and reception of Horace's poetry and particular local environments more than the local cultural contexts of reception that are Greenwood's focus.

Georgics, we saw how the global scale that seemed to be opposed to locality actually yielded a more complex idea of fractal locality. Similarly, supralocal mobility and circuits of empire-wide exchange, travel, and reception may seem to compromise authentic locality in the *Odes*, but actually enable a more nuanced translocal poetics.

Conclusion

The previous chapter showed Horace to be a poet interested broadly in the nonhuman world. As this chapter has demonstrated, Horace is also interested in a more fine-grained way in specific places and their particular combinations of human and nonhuman beings. Horace derives from the nonhuman world insight into concepts of nature that serve as powerful norms for human life, but also perceives that human life is lived out in place. Like the *Eclogues* and *Georgics*, his poetry demonstrates and champions the fundamental importance of particular local environments to human life, and reveals a variety of interests in place beyond as pleasant or symbolic landscapes. One of the tasks of Horatian lyric poetry is to evoke particular places in all their multisensory and more-than-human complexity. He memorializes his personal attachments to particular places—thereby anchoring his future fame and reception to specific locales that become real-and-textual sites—and asserts that his poetry arises from and is integrated into the local environments it takes such care to represent. At the same time, Horace's mobile poetry also offers repeatable and movable experiences of these places to readers abroad. Horace's poems are crucially linked to local Italian places but not limited by their borders—they are place-based but not place-bound.[695] It is within an Augustan context of a connected and

[695] I borrow this useful distinction from Cocola (2016) 19 on modern and contemporary American poetry.

mobile Mediterranean in which travel, transport, and translation abound that Horace forges his translocal poetry of place. And it is to ever-new contexts of reading that these poems look forward, bringing with them a sense of the local places from which they have come.

When we read Horace's local poems we seem to obtain a sense or experience—a taste—of their particular places. Reading the *Odes* brings us closer in some sense to Horace's personal places, and fosters our attachment to them. To some, this may seem like a mere textual illusion: does reading not precisely take us *away* from our surroundings, into a realm of imagination or a world of signifiers detached from the world to which they attempt to refer? These kinds of questions have in fact threaded throughout previous chapters, as well as this one. We have seen briefly through Cicero how encountering places through texts can enrich one's experience of actual place, and also saw in the *Eclogues* the important ways in which imagined and actual place cross-fertilize with each other. The *Georgics*, too, embeds us in ecologies of relation only imaginatively, encouraging us to think of human life as inextricably enmeshed with other life.

The conclusion that follows this chapter ties together these issues, examining questions of fictionality, textuality, and imagination in all three works that this dissertation has considered. Situating my understanding of environmental poetics in relation to ecocritical debates over referentiality and realism in environmental texts, I argue that in all of these Augustan works the irreparable distance between texts and the world they represent is no barrier to their efficacy as environmental poetry. The *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes* are all works that use the imaginative, textual world of poetry to

reckon with the physical world in which we live. Perhaps more importantly, as we have glimpsed in this chapter, each work also denies any rigid distinction between these two spheres, asking us to see the apparently ungrounded, immaterial, placeless medium of poetic language as in fact arising out of and conditioned by the local environments and ecologies with which they are concerned.

Conclusion

Ovid in Exile and Augustan Environmental Poetry

In this dissertation, I have examined three major works of Augustan poetry that deal with place and the nonhuman world. I have traced how Vergil and Horace emphasize, interrogate, and complicate the concept of local place in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes* within their particular Augustan contexts. The turmoil of the late Roman republic leads to a realm of shifting and redrawn localities in the fictionalized Italy of the *Eclogues*, while the *Georgics* contemplates locality within the frame of an imperially consolidated world. Horace forges a sense of local place within a Roman Italy that is at the center of Mediterranean-wide mobility, transportation, importation, and appropriation. In these works, the Roman attachment to one's *patria* combined with political turmoil, global empire, and widespread mobility leads to various complex concepts of what it means to be local, and to different possibilities for place making and place attachment. In brief, the *Eclogues* present a world of contingent locality, the *Georgics* an idea of fractal locality, and the *Odes* a model of translocality.[696]

In addition, I have also stressed that if we only focus on these cultural and ideological aspects of locality, we neglect Vergil's and Horace's serious interest in particular more-than-human environments. In my reading of the *Eclogues*, I emphasized that the local homes of Vergil's herdsmen are constituted by the entire assemblage of human and nonhuman beings and activities unfolding within their bounds and explored how the poetry conceptualizes these more-than-human communities through the figure of

[696] Problems of unstable boundaries, shifting scale, and mobility are to varying degrees present in all of these works, but each work puts greater emphasis on one of these ways of complicating locality.

pastoral sympathy. The *Georgics*, I have claimed, is a poem committed to ecological thinking, using the topic of agriculture to reveal all the ways in which human life at varying scales is inextricably enmeshed with the nonhuman. And Horace's localities in the *Odes,* as well, are sites of ecological interaction between humans and nonhumans, not simply cultural constructions or literary symbols. It is crucial to Horace's self-representation as a *vates*, I have argued, that he enjoys a special bond with his nonhuman surroundings underwritten by his nearness to the divine. All three of these works take place seriously—as much more than mere setting, background, or symbol—and also understand place environmentally, as defined by its assemblage of human and nonhuman beings.

Place, environment, and ecology are mutually entwined issues crucial to the thematic interests of these works. However, Vergil and Horace go beyond treating environments as objects of representation and of thematic interest or inquiry. They both suggest that local more-than-human environments help produce, shape, and determine the nature of their poetry. In the *Eclogues*, the sonic texture of Vergil's poetry arises from and attempts to transmit entire bucolic soundscapes, not merely the human songs of herdsmen. The *Georgics* imagines its numerous instructions as translating and relaying the signs inherent in a world of ecological interaction, holding out the didactic fantasy that acquiring enough of this knowledge might better connect humans to the webs of relation operating in the world. And finally, Horace presents his *Odes* as arising out of local ecological networks and his own privileged, reciprocal relationships with his nonhuman surroundings. His poems that arise from the local environment then direct readerly attention to the nonhuman world in order to provide insight into ethical concepts

of nature. Thus, just as each text works with its own understanding of locality, each also has its own mode of environmental poetics. In all three, but in three different ways, the nonhuman world helps give rise to the poetry and is also bound up with what the poetry aims to do.

In this final chapter, I briefly consider one more set of texts that helps put these works into perspective: Ovid's poems from exile. I use Ovid in order both to tie together these earlier readings and to show how they might form the basis for further exploration in other texts and genres. Ovid shows how an inventive and savvy reader of earlier Augustan poetry picks up on and plays with the tropes, strategies, and themes of place and environment in Vergil and Horace. Vergil's *Eclogues* are concerned with the importance of local, familiar place to individual lives and the pain of losing one's local home. The *Georgics* considers the importance of regional locality—understood within the framework of global Roman empire—in determining human life in different specific environments. And Horace explores in the *Odes* the important links between particular places and the production and reception of his lyric poetry, tying his poetic reception to particular locations made into sites and sources of his poetry. In forging his own unique poetry of place, Ovid can be seen as responding to all three of these important precedents. His *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* deal with Ovid's loss of and estrangement from his Italian *patria*, the effects of the regional and local particularities of the Pontic environment on both his life and his poetry, and the ways in which his poetry is and is not tied to his place of exile.

In comparison to Vergil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* and Horace's *Odes*, Ovid's poems written in exile might not seem promising as environmental poetry. We find in

Ovid's *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* a displaced poetry that uses writing to bemoan, escape, and overcome a local environment utterly antagonistic to the creation of poetry. If our models of environmental poetry are pastoral, georgic, and Horatian lyric, it is perhaps hard to see how this could qualify as such. In fact, though, Ovid's exilic works provide one more important—and importantly different—example of Augustan poetry deeply concerned with local place and the nonhuman environment. He demonstrates that environmental poetry does not need to rely on a positive attachment to or love for a local land. In addition, his exile poetry is useful to consider because it poses in the starkest terms the questions of textuality and fictionality that have lingered behind all of the previous chapters. What if the apparent environments of these texts are simply imaginative fictions drawn more from Hesiod and Theocritus than any actual experience of place? Is it possible that Vergil and Horace are concerned with referring not to the physical world but only to other texts, as so much scholarship on Latin intertextuality has explored?

In earlier chapters, I have briefly dealt with issues of fiction—most thoroughly with the fictionalized, un-locatable (though still local) places of the *Eclogues*, but also with regard to the imagined farms and fantasy of agricultural expertise in the *Georgics* and to Horace's self-mythologizing construction of real-and-textual sites. With both Vergil and Horace I have used Cicero to show the possibilities for complex relations between real and imagined place, and to suggest the rich potential of constructing place in poetry that retains links to actual places in the world. These readings, however, might seem to assume and commit to a kind of naïve realism or biographical criticism, in which Vergil's trees refer to actual trees, and Horace's *Odes* 1.17 is about his real-life Sabine

farm. Do we have to assume this for an environmental reading? Would it be fatal to such a reading of the *Eclogues* if we thought the *fagus* in whose shade the collection begins comes out of the pages of Greek poetry? In fact, this sort of literalism and biographism is not the kind of reading this dissertation has pursued or advocated for, as this conclusion will aim to clarify with help from Ovid. Ovid's representation of Tomis provides insight into issues of realism, referentiality, and fiction in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes*—and in environmental literary criticism more broadly. He helps point us toward a model of environmental poetics that does not rely on an assumed extra-textual reality to which the text directs us, or to a biographical experience of which the text is a faithful record. In what follows, I place these issues in a broader theoretical context, pursue an environmental reading of Ovid's exile poetry, and then use Ovid's play with fiction and reality to elaborate and clarify my models of Augustan environmental poetics.

Ecocriticism, Realism, and Reference

In a sense, the very idea of environmental literature is counterintuitive. If you want to engage with and think about your environment—the world around you—it is an odd thing to do to retreat from that world and pick up a book. This is an irony not lost on many environmental writers and critics. As Robert Kern acknowledges, "to read and to write we must inevitably turn away from the environment, however briefly."[697] Entrusting place to the medium of writing raises difficulties about the capacities of

[697] Kern (2000) 12. Similarly, see Phillips (2003) 7, Bryson (2005) 120, and Buell (2005) 70. Rigby (2004b) 91, citing Bate (2000) 149, worries that writers might be "potentially more at home in the *logos* than the *oikos*."

representation and the "disjunction between embodied experience and textual artifact."[698] And yet, ecocriticism is founded on the gambit that writing has something to offer to environmental consciousness and practice.

In dealing with these issues, much early ecocriticism sought to deny the severance of literary texts from the world, and to affirm the referential and representational powers of language, the ability of texts to point to the world outside them or to make a physical environment powerfully present to readers. In the introduction to the landmark anthology *The Ecocriticism Reader*, Cheryl Glotfelty characterizes ecocriticism as having "one foot in literature and the other on land."[699] And in his equally influential work *The Environmental Imagination*, Lawrence Buell wonders, "must literature always lead us away from the physical world, never back to it?'[700] In that work, Buell argues for an appreciation of "thick description," through which authors attempt to represent the actual, physical world.[701] Relatedly, Leonard Scigaj has elaborated an understanding of ecopoetry based on the referential properties of poetic language, offering the concept of référance as a response to Derrida's différance.[702] For Scigaj, "the texts of ecopoets are the historical records of their encounters with nature," real extra-textual encounters to which their language points.[703]

An emphasis on the referential link between words and the world outside them—the very thing that literary theory since Saussure has tended to downplay or deny—was part of the nascent field's antagonistic self-positioning toward poststructuralist literary

---

[698] Rigby (2004b) 91. See also Burt (2012) 609.
[699] Glotfelty (1996) xix.
[700] Buell (1995) 11.
[701] See Buell (1995) 83-114.
[702] Scigaj (1999) 35-81, esp. 38.
[703] Scigaj (1999) 274.

criticism, and toward what it saw as the excesses of "theory" in general. Scigaj berates the "fashionably hermetic treatment of poetry as a self-contained linguistic construct whose ontological ground is language theory," while another ecocritic avows, "it is one of the truly salutary aspects of ecological criticism that it insists on an 'outside' to the text."[704] This tendency was also bound up with ecocriticism's valorization of non-fiction (Thoreauvian) nature writing and a strong commitment to environmentalist praxis as opposed to the supposed abstractions of theory.[705]

This focus on realistic representation, referentiality, and non-fiction is limiting, however, and has come under critique as environmental literary criticism has developed.[706] More recent concepts of environmental poetics take on board criticisms of mimetic representation and the complexities of textuality. While some critics have attempted to stay with representation and reference as ongoing problems,[707] others have formulated models of ecopoetics not based on these concepts. Jonathan Bate has suggested that we can understand poems as special imaginative spaces in which we can

---

[704] Scigaj (1999) 11; Dunckel (2002) 214. See also Love (1990) 212-3, Kroeber (1994) 1, Buell (1995) 84, Howarth (1996) 76-82, Voros (1997) 5. For overviews of this tendency of early ecocriticism, see Knickerbocker (2012) 2-3 and Goodbody (2014) 62. At one extreme, Abram (1996), esp. 95-135 and 138-9, indicts writing itself and "alphabetic culture" for severing (Western) humanity from a more direct, immediate relationship to the nonhuman world.

[705] On early ecocriticism's focus on non-fiction, see Murphy (2000) 6-10, 18, and 50-4, and Clark (2011) 35-45. Buell (2005) 31 notes that even outside of non-fiction, ecocritics have often shown a preference for "'realistic' modes of representation, and a preoccupation with questions of factical accuracy of environmental representation."

[706] For critiques of early ecocriticism's hostility toward literary theory see Phillips (2003) 3-41, Costello (2003) 14-5, and Morton (2007), esp. 6, 30, 68, and 125. Buell (2005) 32-40, however, observes that some of these critiques oversimplify early ecocritical accounts of reference and representation.

[707] See e.g. Cocola (2016) 6-7.

model proper dwelling in the world.[708] Kate Rigby has argued for a negative model of ecopoetics, in which literature's very failure to fully represent the world gestures toward the world that exceeds it.[709] And Scott Knickerbocker has formulated a concept of ecopoetics that does not attempt to close the gap between words and world, but sees poets as manipulating language in response to the nonhuman world.[710] The artifices of figurative language, formal devices, and sonic effects do not mirror or refer directly to the world outside the text, on Knickerocker's account, but are crafted and rematerialized in order to evoke it.[711]

Even in these more recent models of ecopoetics, however, there is often an implicit assumption of a real-world experience underlying the text (even if it is irretrievable in reading), or an assumption of what might be termed a good-faith author. Knickerbocker, for example, posits environmental experience that a poet responds to through figuration, while Rigby assumes a poet who aims (but fails) to fully represent an actual environment in text. These and other ecocritical readings seem to assume that an author cares about the physical environment in the first place. But what if we think a poet might not be attending to or responding to the environment at all? And how would we even know if this is the case merely from the text? As we will see, these are precisely the questions that Ovid's exile poetry forces us to ask. In addition to the issues of fictionality

---

[708] Bate (2000), esp. 205-83. Bate (2000) 64 even briefly considers poems as "imaginary parks in which we may . . . accommodate ourselves to a mode of dwelling that is not alienated."
[709] Rigby (2004a), esp. 437. See also Rigby (2004b) 119.
[710] Knickerbocker (2012).
[711] Knickerbocker terms this "sensuous poiesis." See Knickerbocker (2012) 1-9, esp. 2. For other models of environmental poetics that move beyond reference and representation, see Gilcrest (2002) 78 and 123-6, Costello (2003) 14, and Nolan (2017) 4-6.

and textuality that ecocritics have continually dealt with, Ovid highlights another potential problem: intertextuality. What if the author of a seemingly environmental text is not thinking about or responding to an actual environment, but is merely piecing together allusions and tropes from other texts? What if a poem does not direct us beyond itself to the world, but merely to other poems?[712]

This is a problem that besets any kind of textual representation, but seems especially problematic for environmental texts. Nonetheless, the linked issues of textuality, fictionality, and intertextuality in fact do not vitiate an environmental poetics. After staking out a reading of Ovid's exile poetry as environmentally oriented and place-conscious, we will see that Ovid demonstrates how a text can be environmental insofar as it works on readers' imaginations of environment and place, regardless of whether it is grounded in any actual extra-textual environmental experience. In this, Ovid's exile poetry is instructive not only for my readings of Vergil and Horace, but also for work on ecopoetics more generally.

Place and Displacement in Ovid's Exile Poetry

At the end of Vergil's first eclogue, the dispossessed Meliboeus imagines having to wander far from his Italian home in a kind of exile, and one of the places he imagines being forced to is the legendary northern land of Scythia (*Ecl.* 1.66). In Ovid's exile poetry, this imagined fate becomes reality, as Ovid narrates his relegation to Tomis,

[712] Buell (1995) 13 considers the problem of intertextuality briefly. Scigaj (1999) 276 avows, "texts are not created simply from amalgams of other texts . . . Texts are . . . produced in concrete historical moments of referential complexity."

which he assimilates to and describes as Scythia.[713] The loss of homeland that threatens the breakdown of bucolic life and song in the *Eclogues* is thus the precondition of Ovid's exilic poetry. We have seen the importance of the concept of *patria* in Cicero, Catullus, Vergil, and Horace, and so it is no surprise that Ovid mourns its loss so emphatically (e.g. *Tr.* 1.1.33-4, 1.1.127-8 1.5.65-70, 1.5.83-4, 3.1.23-4), even comparing losing his home to a kind of death (*Tr.* 3.3.53-4). The *patria* that Ovid desiderates includes Rome, a more general sense of Italy, and his birthplace of Sulmo.[714] We might define the home that he misses as the circuit of free mobility among various Italian places, something like what Horace enjoys in the *Odes*, a mobility that is no longer Ovid's prerogative in the confinement of exile.

The punishment of exile is not only a loss of *patria*, however. It also involves a forced dwelling in a new place. Indeed, while Ovid lives out Meliboeus' nightmare, his punishment is also in a perverse way precisely the kind of continuous dwelling within local boundaries that Meliboeus idealizes. Because of the particular environment of Tomis, this enforced local dwelling is a large part of Ovid's suffering: as he complains, *supplicii pars est in regione mei* ("part of my punishment consists in the region," *Tr.* 1.2.90).[715] If Ovid cannot successfully persuade Augustus to recall him to Rome, he begs at least to be exiled somewhere else (*Tr.* 2.1.573-8, 3.6.21-4, 3.8.21-2, 4.4.51-2; *Pont.* 3.9.37-8). In addition to mourning the loss of his former home, Ovid's poetry registers his experience of these new surroundings, and so one of the main projects of his poems is to

[713] See e.g. *Tr.* 1.3.61: *Scythia est, quo mittimur*, "it is to Scythia that we are sent."
[714] It encompasses, in other words, both of the two *patriae* Cicero describes at *Leg.* 2.5, as well as a broader sense of Italy.
[715] Ovid voices similar complaints at *Tr.* 5.10.49-50, *Pont.* 3.1.1-6 and 29-30, and *Pont.* 4.14.5-8.

offer a sense of what it is like to live in the faraway land of Tomis. Ovid laments, *quid nisi de vitio scribam regionis amarae* ("What am I to write about if not the fault of the bitter land?" *Pont.* 3.9.37). In a variety of poems, he describes the particular environment of Tomis: its continuous winter snow and strong winds (*Tr.* 3.10.13-8, *Pont.* 1.3.49-54), its frozen rivers and the frozen sea (*Tr.* 3.10.25-50), its lack of plant life (*Tr.* 3.10.71-6; *Pont.* 1.3.51-2, 3.1.11-3, 3.1.19-20, 4.10.31), and its seasonal changes accompanying spring (*Tr.* 3.12.27-32). In *Epistulae Ex Ponto* 4.10, a lengthy river catalogue turns the poem into a kind of chorographic survey (*Pont.* 4.10.45-58). This poetry not only creates an account of Tomis and its environment, but also gives Ovid's readers an imagined experience of the place. Just as Horace distills environmental moments for his readers to imaginatively experience, Ovid sends dispatches to his Roman readers that transmit to them an experience of distant Tomis.

Ovid's exilic poems constitute a bifocal poetry of place, examining and mourning the loss of his home while simultaneously probing his experience of and alienation from his new environment. As Victoria Rimell notes, this dual estrangement of exile "undermines and pollutes the very possibility of being at home."[716] Ovid is continually caught between two places, and the conceit of his exile poetry means that his poems are also always imagined as being in two places at once: *there* in the place of writing and *here* in the place of reading. This dual focus—on the place in which his poetry originates and the place where it aims to go—means that Ovid is interested in the mobility of his own writing. We earlier saw in Horace how the mobile transmission and dissemination of writing led to a translocal poetry linking together discrete locations. Ovid's interest in the

[716] Rimell (2015) 283. Similarly, Rimell (2015) 277.

mobility of his poetry is more unidirectional: he attempts to use his writing to escape Tomis and overcome the distance between Rome and himself.

Ovid uses his own poetry and his own poetic imagination, seemingly not subject to the limitations of locality, to overcome his forced dwelling in Tomis. This involves taking control of his mourning process after the loss of his home. In *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.2, Ovid is beset by dreams of his home, his friends, and his wife, and these involuntary memories bring images of what he has lost to him, so that he even seems to speak with his friends and his wife (*Pont.* 1.2.47-50). In turning to writing, Ovid attempts to master this aspect of grief, and go from being the passive recipient of mental images to the active creator and manipulator of images and illusions.[717] Drawing on the trope of mental vision from the letters of Cicero, he seeks to use memory and imagination deliberately to bring images of Rome to himself and, in encouraging others to remember him, to bring himself to Rome.[718]

In several poems, Ovid also stresses his role as a *vates*, a visionary seer-poet. In *Epistulae ex Ponto* 2.1, this stance allows Ovid to predict a triumph in Rome in great detail, overcoming not just time but space. As a predictive bard, Ovid has the power to construct his own spectacles and places, to bring the splendor of Rome to himself.[719] This

---

[717] Walker (1997) analyzes this aspect of Ovid's exile poetry as a kind of Freudian fort-da game: Ovid imaginatively stages his regaining and losing his home, as a way of attempting to master the loss entailed in exile.

[718] On the relevance of Cicero to Ovid's treatment of mental vision see Nagle (1980) 35 and Hardie (2002) 290. For this kind of mutual imagination see *Tr.* 4.3.17-20 and *Pont.* 2.10.43-52. More generally, for the importance of mental travel and seeing with the mind's eye in Ovid's exile poetry see Nagle (1980) 91-7, Walker (1997) 196, Claassen (1999) 129 and 204, and Williams (2002a) 237-8. Gaertner (2005) ad 1.2.48 provides comparable parallels for such tropes in other authors.

[719] Ovid assumes a similar vatic pose in *Tr.* 4.2 and *Pont.* 3.4. On Ovid's triumph poems in exile, and the relationship between Ovid's powers of representation and the forms of

power of Ovid's imagination is linked to his rhetorical power of *enargeia*: by means of vivid description, Ovid's words can create powerful images before the eyes of his readers—including the poetry's first reader, Ovid himself.[720] As Philip Hardie puts it, "Ovid stages his own reality; the poet who has the power to conjure up illusionist presences for his readers can do the same for himself."[721] This continual fascination of Ovid in exile leads to a surprisingly triumphant boast amid the gloom of this poetry:

> en ego, cum caream patria vobisque domoque, 45
> raptaque sint, adimi quae potuere mihi,
> ingenio tamen ipse meo comitorque fruorque:
> Caesar in hoc potuit iuris habere nihil.
>
> Behold: although I may lack my homeland, my home, and you,
> and what could be taken from me has been snatched away,
> yet still I am in the company of my own mind, and enjoy the use of it:
> Caesar could have no power over this. (*Tr.* 3.7.45-8).

The emperor has exiled Ovid, and has robbed him of his home, his status, his property, and his mobility. But he can exert no power over Ovid's mind, which is free to roam as it pleases.[722]

Ovid also stresses the free mobility of his writings, which travel without him back to Rome and substitute for his own lack of presence in the city. In *Tristia* 5.1, Ovid suggests that he only writes in order to have some presence in Rome: *cur scribam docui. cur mittam, quaeritis, isto? | vobiscum cupio quolibet esse modo* ("Why I write I have told you. Why do I send them to you, you ask? I want to be with you in whatever way

---

imperial representation inherent to the spectacle of a triumph, see Lowrie (2009) 259-76. See Hardie (2002) 307 and McGowan (2009) 159 on how the role of *vates* enables the exiled Ovid to "see" events in Rome.

[720] For discussions of the technique of *enargeia* and the linked concepts of *evidentia* and *ecphrasis* see Zanker (1981), Vasaly (1993) 88-104, and Webb (2009).

[721] Hardie (2002) 293.

[722] See McGowan (2009) 139 on this boast and the relationship between Ovid's poetic powers and the legal power of Augustus as *princeps*.

possible," *Tr.* 5.1.79-80). Elsewhere, Ovid emphasizes the mobility of the poetry book itself, which he addresses ahead of its journey to Rome in *Tristia* 1.1, and which is both narrator and protagonist in *Tristia* 3.1. The book sent to Rome will go where Ovid cannot, capitalizing on a series of puns: the book (*liber*) is, unlike Ovid, free (*līber*) to travel. Ovid will not tread the streets of Rome with his own feet, but with the metrical feet of his poetry book (*Tr.* 1.1.15-6). And while Ovid's own body will not be present in the imperial capital, his literary *corpus* will be (*Tr.* 3.14.7-8).[723]

Finally, in addition to using writing and the powers of his poetic imagination to transport himself to Rome (and Rome to him), Ovid attempts to use writing in order to effect action at a distance. His exile poetry shuffles between a number of models for speech acts that are efficacious across great distances, including prayers, kletic hymns, rumor, invective, and curses.[724] This climaxes with the *Ibis*, whose catalogue of curses in part indulges in the fantasy that Ovid's words uttered in Tomis can create consequences back in Italy. Letter writing—both in the *Tristia* and in the more thoroughly epistolary *Epistulae ex Ponto*—is of course another model for a kind of speech effective over distance. Each of these provides a way in which Ovid's utterances might escape from or transcend the place that he himself cannot leave. Throughout his exile poetry, then, Ovid attempts to move from passive victim of exile to the master of play with distance,

---

[723] On the *liber* pun see Barchiesi (1997) 89, and on Ovid's play with the *corpus* of a literary work and his own body, see Farrell (1999) and Hardie (2002) 298-9. For the ways in which Ovid's book both substitutes for and is at times identified with his own body in his exile poetry, see Nagle (1980) 85 and 90-1; Hinds (1985) 14; Newlands (1997) 58, 60-1, and 66; Walker (1997) 200; Tissol (2005) 99-100; and Mordine (2010).

[724] On Ovid's use of kletic hymns see Hardie (2002) 300. In *Pont*. 2.1.19-20 and *Pont.* 4.4.11-20, *Fama* travels freely across great distances, on which see Hardie (2002) 314. *Tr.* 4.9.9-10 asserts that Ovid's wrathful invective can reach his addressee in Italy, a threat that the *Ibis* attempts to make good on.

absence, and partial presence, using his full repertoire of imaginative and poetic resources to overcome his relegation to the locality of Tomis.

Nonetheless, Ovid's poetry is still marked by the locality it escapes and defined by the distance it overcomes. Ovid's exile poems ask us to imagine them as arriving to us from a distant elsewhere. According to the logic of epistolarity, every letter we read has successfully made the journey that Ovid cannot even embark on. *Epistulae ex Ponto* 2.11, for example, begins by emphasizing that the poem has had to travel to its addressee across the whole world (*toto orbe,* 2.11.3), while the very first poem of the collection identifies the poems as *peregrinos libellos* ("foreign little books," *Pont.* 1.1.3; similarly *Tr.* 3.1.20) sent from the Getic shore. *Tristia* 5.7 begins by informing the reader, *quam legis, ex illa tibi venit epistula terra, | latus ubi aequoreis additur Hister aquis* ("the letter that you read has come to you from that land where the broad Hister is joined to the waters of the sea," *Tr.* 5.7.1-2). These poems identify themselves by their place of origin and by the distance they have traveled, and thereby imply that this says something about the identity of this work—as does the very title of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.

Along these lines, in *Tristia* 3.1, Ovid playfully imagines that the lengthy journey to Rome has caused his tired book's meter to limp (3.1.11-2). Ovid also repeatedly asserts that the place of composition has affected the quality of his poetry (e.g. *Tr.* 3.1.17-8, 3.14.29-32, 5.7.59-60).[725] Part of this has to do with Ovid's caricaturing Tomis as an uncultured barbarian land, but it also suggests that Ovid's local environment exerts pressure on his poetry. In *Tristia* 5.12, he characterizes his exile poems as *digna loco* ("suited to their place," 5.12.36), fitting not just for a troubled existence among warring

[725] See Williams (1994) 50-99 on Ovid's pose of poetic decline in exile.

barbarians, but also fitting for the particular environs of Tomis, the land whose frozen rivers, endless winters, and lack of crops he spends so much time discussing. Ovid presents his exile poetry as place-based, deriving its particular character and quality from its place of origin.

As Ovid's poetry becomes so linked with the particular locality of Tomis, Ovid himself ends up strongly associated with that place. In the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, he asks one addressee whether his letter's place of origin betrays its author (*Pont.* 1.7.3) and tells another that as soon as he realizes this letter is from Pontus, he should know it is from Ovid (*Pont.* 3.5.1-3). Indeed, many of his letters from exile begin by announcing together both their author and their place of origin (*Tr.* 5.7; *Pont.* 2.4, 2.5, 2.6, 3.4, 3.6, 4.9). The *Epistulae ex Ponto* begins by identifying the work's author as *Naso Tomitanae iam non novus incola terrae* ("Naso, no longer now a recent inhabitant of the Tomitan land," *Pont.* 1.1.1)," and those first two words come dangerously close to vocalizing (indeed barely repress) the *Naso Tomitanus* he has perhaps become.

Ovid fears and resists becoming a Tomitan poet. Remembering how Horace anchors his reception and fame to particular Italian places, we can see that Ovid faces the threat of his poetic reception becoming attached to Tomis. This underlies Ovid's fear in *Tristia* 3.12 that Tomis has now become his home (3.12.51; see also 4.4.85-6). Thus, when he asks that his friend Macer remember him in Rome, he begs him to keep him there, in Rome (*Pont.* 2.10.52). He worries about whether he will be buried in Tomis (*Pont.* 3.1.5-6), and in *Tristia* 3.3 he asks for a burial in Italy, where his epitaph can emphatically assert that Ovid lies *here* (*Tr.* 3.3.73-6). Uncertainty as to his place of burial means uncertainty as to where he will be remembered, and what place will anchor his worldwide

fame. Read in this light, Ovid's autobiography in *Tristia* 4.10, explicitly linking himself to his native Sulmo (*Tr.* 4.10.3), is preemptively defensive. Such fears are often interpreted as concerning cultural identity: Ovid is here worried about becoming Getic and barbarian, losing his *Romanitas*.[726] But Ovid's anxiety also concerns his shifting ties to place and changing attachments to particular environments. It is a fear that Tomis, rather than Rome or Sulmo (whose proximity to Rome Ovid specifies, *Tr.* 4.10.4), might be the real-and-textual place from which the name Ovid is inextricable.

This brief account suggests what a place-based reading of Ovid's exilic work might look like. This is poetry about place—about loss of place and adaptation to a new locality—and also poetry that is marked by place, by its particular relation to the location from which Ovid is estranged and the location in which he writes. Like both Horace and Vergil, Ovid in exile is interested in particular place as a theme and topic, but also as something that impinges on and determines the production and character of his poetry. In addition to those earlier poets' exploration and complication of ideas of locality in the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes*, Ovid's is one more example of a complexly local Augustan poetry.

Ecopoetics in Exile

Much work on Ovid has, at least implicitly, recognized the clear importance of concepts of place to his exile poetry, but has tended to focus on it from the vantage point of cultural identity and imperial ideology.[727] Tomis represents the edge of empire, the

[726] See in particular Habinek (1998) 151-69, esp. 153, and Williams (2002b) 349.
[727] See Habinek (1998) 151-69, Davis (2002), Williams (2002b) 349, McGowan (2009) 207-8, and Pieper (2016).

imperial periphery to Rome's center.[728] There, Ovid confronts issues of Roman and barbarian identity, Romanization, and Roman imperialism. All of this is surely important to Ovid's exile poetry, and his articulation of a far-flung locality distant from Rome and yet part of the Roman imperial system is of course conditioned and inflected by his late Augustan context.

However, Tomis is not simply a placeholder for the Roman frontier, or an imperial contact zone within which Ovid stages a drama of cultural identity. Tomis is important to Ovid's exile poetry as a particular more-than-human environment with its own specific geography, climate, and local ecologies. Ovid takes care to describe (and lament) the topography, weather, and inhabitants, both human and nonhuman, of the Pontic region. It is easy to come away from Ovid's exile poems with a general impression of the region as a frozen, barren wasteland, but closer examination shows that Ovid points to interrelated local ecologies, representing the area as a more-than-human environment. In a description of the sea freezing over, for example, Ovid notes that he has seen fish that survive being frozen in place for a period of time (*Tr.* 3.1.49-50). The ostensibly lifeless ice in fact allows here for a specific, local variety of animal life.

Because this environment is so different from the Italy to which Ovid is accustomed, he often uses a strategy of negative description, enumerating what Tomis lacks (e.g. *Pont.* 3.8.5-14). But he also notices what thrives in Tomis. Ovid gives one of his lengthier descriptions of the region in *Epistulae ex Ponto* 3.1, when he apostrophizes the land itself:

pace tua, si pax ulla est tua, Pontica tellus,

[728] For example, Rimell (2015) 284 emphasizes, "Ovid's banishment to the edge of civilization is only conceivable from a vantage point at the centre of empire."

finitimus rapido quam terit hostis equo,
pace tua dixisse velim, tu pessima duro
pars es in exilio, tu mala nostra gravas.
tu neque ver sentis cinctum florente corona,
tu neque messorum corpora nuda vides.
nec tibi pampineas autumnus porrigit uvas;
cuncta sed inmodicum tempora frigus habet.
tu glacie freta vincta vides, et in aequore piscis
inclusus tecta saepe natavit aqua.
nec tibi sunt fontes, laticis nisi paene marini,
qui potus dubium sistat alatne sitim.
rara, neque haec felix, in apertis eminet arvis
arbor, et in terra est altera forma maris.
non avis obloquitur, silvis nisi siqua remota
aequoreas rauco gutture potat aquas.
tristia per vacuos horrent absinthia campos.
conveniensque suo messis amara loco.

With your peace, if any peace is yours, Pontic land,
you whom the nearby enemy wears down on swift horseback,
with your peace I would like to say, you are the worst part
in my harsh exile, you make my bad fortunes worse.
You do not feel springtime, adorned with a crown of flowers,
and you do not see the bared bodies of reapers.
Nor does autumn bring forth for you grapes on the vine,
but a cold beyond bounds grips all seasons.
You behold straits bound in ice, and in the ocean a fish
has often swum enclosed beneath a roof in the water.
Nor do you have springs, except of water almost of the sea—
it is unclear whether a drink of this quenches or increases thirst.
Rare is the tree that rises in open fields, and not a fruitful one,
and on the land there is merely another form of the sea.
No bird joins in singing, unless one far off in the woods
that drinks briny waters in its rough-sounding throat.
Wormwood plants bristle throughout the bare fields,
a crop gloomy and suitably bitter for its location. (*Pont.* 3.1.7-24)

This passage begins by noting all the things the Pontic region lacks, but then becomes an account of the region's particular constitutive parts. Ovid surveys forms of animal and plant life—fishes beneath the frozen surface of the sea, the prevalent wormwood, the occasional tree (*rara . . . arbor,* 19-20)—as well as environmental features like brackish springs and wooded areas. The region may not have the birds that Ovid longs for, but it

does have its own birds in the woods, which even give the area a distinctive local sound (21-2). Ovid is clearly playing with the harsh sounds of the birds and the bitter taste of wormwood, both suitable to what he sees as a rough and unpleasant place (and both apt for his bitter exile poetry), but he nonetheless records these details as constitutive parts of a distinctive environment.

Ovid represents local kinds of life in Tomis interacting, living, and becoming together—and this extends to human communities. His ethnographic treatment of local peoples cycles through a variety of stereotypes and chauvinistically caricatures them as barbarians. However, in drawing on the traditions of ethnography, such accounts are built on the fundamental assumption—familiar from the *Georgics*—that particular environments allow for specific kinds of human activity and society. Cultural and ethnic difference is the result of regional and environmental variety. The pervasive issues of cultural difference and identity in these poems, which recent readers have so focused on, ultimately derive from Ovid's larger treatment of a specific more-than-human environment and its particular climate.

The place-based issues of Ovid's exilic works considered earlier thus concern the place of Tomis as environmental and more-than-human, not simply as a human community of non-Latin speakers. In briefly sketching Ovid's distinctive environmental poetics in exile, I wish to highlight two aspects of his handling of the Tomitan environment: its pervasive cold and its effects on his health. Both suggest Ovid's inextricable embeddedness in his environment and the power of the environment to determine human life. The tropes of coldness and sickness contribute to an environmental

poetics that represents Ovid as an affectable object of his environment, rather than a subject acting upon the land.

What Ovid emphasizes the most about Tomis in his exile poetry is how bitterly cold it is.[729] At one point, Ovid speaks of Tomis without its cold temperature as an *adynaton*, a rhetorical impossibility on par with the north and south winds changing roles (*Pont.* 4.12.33-7). A number of critics understand this aspect of Ovid's surroundings figuratively and as a projection of his mental state. For Gareth Williams, for example, Tomis is "as monotonous and unremitting as his inner mood. The lifeless environment suitably reflects (and is a projection of) his frequent equation of exile with death."[730] Ovid certainly capitalizes on various figurative associations of his cold, frozen surroundings. In *Epistulae ex Ponto* 2.2, waters bound or even imprisoned in frost (*undaque vincta gelu*, *Pont.* 2.2.94) suggest Ovid's own form of imprisonment and lack of mobility.[731]

But descriptions like these are also important as features of the Tomitan environment. In trying to register and transmit some sense of this new environment, cold is important to Ovid in several ways. First, the sensation of cold is immediately perceptible and yet hard to place, a sensible but invisible aspect of one's surroundings. More than any visual description of Tomis' fields and rivers, the simple fact of cold offers a bodily, uncannily auratic sense of being in a place. It suggests a feeling of being

---

[729] See Videau-Delibes (1991) 110-2 for an overview of Ovid's description of eternal winter in Tomis.
[730] Williams (2002b) 345; similarly Williams (2002a) 237. Other non-literal understandings of Ovid's description of his wintry surroundings can be found in Videau-Delibes (1991) 116, 127, and 138, and Claassen (1999) 204.
[731] Videau-Delibes (1991) 118-9 observes the prevalence of metaphors of imprisonment and confinement in Ovid's descriptions of frozen water.

surrounded by and immersed in a whole environment, not just gazing upon a view. In addition to this, temperature is a straightforward way in which the environment impinges on and affects Ovid. The degree to which a body maintains its temperature is an index of its affectability or independence from the environment that envelops it. Thinking in terms of cold makes the human body a surface reacting to changes in its surroundings, partly taking on the quality of the place in which it dwells. The cold environment can transfer its cold to Ovid's own body. And this sense of transferability arguably implies that his poetry might bring something of icy Scythia to the warm Italy of his readers. To touch something or someone cold is to risk becoming cold oneself.

Ovid's repeated emphasis on the cold, frozen land of Tomis thus allows him to create a sense of place that is bodily and immediate, yet uncannily auratic; helps conceptualize how he is physically affected and changed by his new surroundings; and offers the possibility that in an encounter with Ovid through his poetry we might experience some of the feeling of being in his faraway environment. The motif of illness—the assertion that Ovid's new environment is quite literally making him sick—affords similar possibilities. Ovid repeatedly claims that the air, water, and climate of his Tomitan surroundings physically deteriorate and weaken him (e.g. *Tr.* 3.8.23-32, 4.6.39-44, 5.6, 5.13.1-6).[732] Like cold, sickness is hard to locate but easy to imagine as a vague feeling. It is another concrete demonstration of the environment acting upon the human body, leaving its own traces within us. Ovid's depiction of his illness looks back to the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*, and that work's basic idea that an inquiry into the health of an individual or community must involve inquiry into their local

[732] See Evans (1983) 50 and 61, and Walker (1997) 201 on Ovid's being physically overcome by the climate of Tomis.

environment, and that the stuff of the body depends on and is partly defined by what is outside of it. When Ovid emphasizes how the air and water around Tomis make him ill, or describes having to drink *aequoreo . . . cum sale mixta palus* ("marshy water mixed with the salt of seawater," *Pont.* 2.7.74), the local environment is imagined as infiltrating and influencing his own bodily interior. Ovid's body in exile is not a hermetic seal separating subject from surroundings, but rather a porous interface, a site of exchanges between an inside and an outside that cannot be definitively demarcated.

Ovid's emphasis on cold and illness strives toward representing a sense of place not as a visual landscape or assemblage of perceptible phenomena but as a bodily feeling and general affect—one potentially transferable to those whom Ovid's poetry reaches. Ovid's enforced dwelling in Tomis has physical effects upon his body, staging the human not as a self-contained subject acting against a background environment but as an object constrained, affected, and infected by the environment that contains it. Taken to its logical conclusion, such imagery might even ultimately deny any clear distinction between human and environment. In this, we might compare Ovid with some recent work in the environmental humanities that probes the dissolution of this boundary. In a study of "ecosickness" in American fiction, Heather Houser has explored how "sickness is a crucial way that we come to environmental consciousness today," as environmental illness reveals "the interdependence of earth and soma," and points toward "conceptual and material dissolutions of the body-environment boundary."[733] Houser draws on Stacy Alaimo's work on transcorporeality, which traces all the ways in which "we inhabit a

[733] Houser (2014) 19, 2-3.

corporeality that is never disconnected from our environment."[734] Ovid does not necessarily pre-theorize Alaimo and Houser, but his emphasis on the ways in which the region of Tomis affects him physically and how contagion and cold traverse the body-environment boundary does suggest an idea of the human subject as inextricably tied to the environment within which it dwells, an environment that penetrates into and helps influence (or even constitute) the stuff of the human.[735] In short, cold and sickness contribute to a form of ecological thinking in Ovid's exile poetry, not identical to that of the *Georgics* but similar in its ultimate lesson: human life cannot be disentangled from the environments and ecologies in which it unfolds.

Ovid's exile poetry does not much resemble the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, or *Odes*. It is not about Ovid's love of his local land. He does not so much dwell in Tomis as the region holds him hostage.[736] His poetry does not picture flowering trees by flowing streams or imagine the flourishing abundance of a farm. Ovid is not plugged into his Tomitan environment in happy reciprocity and does not enjoy any special or privileged relationship with his nonhuman surroundings. And yet, as I have briefly suggested, Ovid's exilic work is still in important ways an environmental poetry, concerned with particular place as something more than human. Ovid shows how estrangement, alienation, and disgust can be their own forms of environmental awareness, feeling, and

[734] Alaimo (2010) 156, cited by Houser (2014) 21.
[735] In addition to this general idea, the imagery also reinforces a particular sense that Ovid is now inextricably tied to and permeated by the wrong environment for him.
[736] Ovid often speaks of the Pontic land as holding or possessing him: *Tr.* 3.4.46 (*Pontus habet*), 3.13.27-8 (*me . . . Pontus . . . habet*), 4.4.55 (*frigida me cohibent Euxini litora Ponti*), 5.3.7-8 (*quem . . . tenet . . . ora*), and 5.12.20 (*me tenet . . . locus*).

thought, illustrating what Timothy Morton has termed dark ecology.[737] It is in being profoundly out of touch with his new locality that the exiled Ovid develops an environmental awareness and that the environment comes front and center as an issue in his poetry.

Ovid's poetry deals with and represents a particular place, as well as Ovid's changing relations to place in exile. It displays the importance of region, climate, and environment to Ovid's life and to his poetry, and also raises fundamental questions about what it means to be a body in an environment. There is, however, a potential objection to this place-based and environmentally oriented reading of these poems. For many readers, Ovid's exile poetry is not really concerned with the Pontic environment or any real experience of place at all. Can this poetry actually be said to take an interest in the particular climate and ecologies of a specific region if we think Ovid is merely concerned with a series of tropes and stereotypes about the distant north? Is this poetry reckoning with the place and environment of Tomis, or is it simply an elaborate literary and intertextual game?

Ovidian Facts and Environmental Fiction

Most readings of Ovid's exile poetry recognize in one way or another that Ovid fictionalizes and projects onto his Tomitan surroundings. His representation of an

[737] See Morton (2007) 181-97 for his concept of dark ecology, expanded in Morton (2010) 59-97. For Morton, ecological consciousness is found in moments of alienation from one's surroundings, rather than in purported harmony with a fantasy of nature, and in the uncanny, weird, and discomforting, rather than in feelings of homeliness and comfortable dwelling.

eternally frozen, barren land is clearly an exaggeration.[738] Questions of fictionality, as we have seen throughout this dissertation, attend Vergil's pastoral lands, the imagined (and inconsistent) farms of the *Georgics*, and Horace's mythologized Italian localities. Ovid, though, takes this issue further in his exile poetry, raising the possibility that his representation of life in Tomis might be not simply overlaid with the literary but in fact entirely imagined and unreal.

In addition to what seem like obvious exaggerations, Ovid's representation of Tomis flaunts its literary and intertextual character. He opportunistically conflates Tomis with Scythia, deploying tropes from the lengthy literary history of that semi-mythical land—including especially Vergil's account in book three of the *Georgics*.[739] In *Tristia* 1, the storms Ovid encounters en route to his exile seem suspiciously like stock epic storms, and are described in ways that call to mind the common use of storm imagery for internal emotional turmoil.[740] Indeed, Ovid's continual use of figurative seafaring imagery throughout his exilic works maintains the possibility of this reading.[741] Gareth Williams summarizes Ovid's treatment of Tomis and Pontus as a combination of various literary tropes: "an alternative underworld, a negation of the Golden Age and a recreation of

---

[738] For Ovid's inaccuracies, see Helzle (2006) 141 and Tissol (2014) 11. Videau-Delibes (1991) 109-50 emphasizes Ovid's representation of Tomis as an unrealistic literary construction.

[739] For examples of longstanding Greek traditions about Scythia, see Hdt. 4.28-9 and Hippoc., *Aer.* 17-22, on which see Hartog (1980) 12-13 and 61-111, and Romm (1992) 45-9 and 74-6. On Vergil's ethnographic account of Scythia in the *Georgics* see Thomas (1982) 51-6, and on the importance of that passage for Ovid see Evans (1983) 63-4, Williams (2002a) 235 and McGowan (2009) 209.

[740] See Evans (1975), Nagle (1980) 147, Videau-Delibes (1991) 71-82, and Ingleheart (2006).

[741] See e.g. *Tr.* 2.1.548, *Tr.* 3.4.15-6, and *Pont* 2.3.25-8. Videau-Delibes (1991) 91-102 notes the abundance of nautical metaphors in the *Tristia*, and suggests that Ovid blurs the lines between nautical metaphor and narration of his actual seafaring.

familiar Scythian extremes: in three different ways Ovid creates a literary landscape in exile which is anything but a simple record of reliable first-hand observation."[742]

This, combined with the fact that there is no reference to Ovid's exile outside of his own poetry, has led some scholars to an extreme thesis, suggesting that Ovid's exile is entirely fictional and that his exile poetry offers no evidence that he actually travelled to Tomis.[743] In response, some have charged that accounts of Ovid's exaggerations are themselves exaggerated, and Ovid's Tomis is in many ways accurate.[744] Most readers, however, adopt a middle ground stance: the historical Ovid was indeed exiled to the Black Sea region, but his poetic account of his exile exaggerates, fictionalizes, and deliberately filters his experience through literary tropes and traditions about the far north.[745]

While the fictionality thesis has proven not entirely persuasive (and is ultimately not provable), it is instructive as a reader response. The question "real or literary?" is part of the game Ovid's exile poetry (like all his poetry) plays.[746] Ovid stresses his own credibility in his exile works, continually emphasizing the reality of his sad fate (e.g. *Tr.* 1.5.79-84), imploring a fellow Roman who traveled to Pontus to bear witness to his

---

[742] Williams (1994) 16.
[743] Fitton Brown (1985) suggests that Ovid's exile may not have actually happened. Claassen (1999) 34 gives a brief summary of such theories.
[744] See Evans (1975), Gaertner (2005) 17-8, Helzle (2006) 141-6, and Tissol (2014) 16.
[745] Wilkinson (1955) 333-4 and Evans (1975) 5-6 already attempt to strike this balance. See more recently Davisson (1982) 29, 41; Williams (1994) 3-49; Williams (2002a) 235-6; Gaertner (2005) 18, 22; Galasso (2009) 205; McGowan (2009) 151, 169-70, 205, 210; and Tissol (2014) 14. Williams (2002a) 235-6 sees Ovid's representation as subjectively and psychologically accurate, displaying how the miserable Ovid perceives his surroundings. Similarly, Rimell (2015) 278-9, citing Said (2000), suggests that a tendency toward fantasy and fictionality is part of the real experience of exile, in which a new world feels unreal to the exile.
[746] Feeney (2006) observes that all of Ovid's works explore "the interplay between convention and experience or originality."

truthfulness (*Pont.* 4.7.1-12), and even asking his reader directly to believe him (*crede*, *Pont.* 4.10.37).[747] The more Ovid raises his own credibility as a theme, however, the more open it becomes to questioning and skepticism. Philip Hardie has captured well the effect of such protestations: "the exile poetry shouts out 'this *is* for real'; but Ovid knows, and knowingly exploits the fact, that he has cried wolf too often before for the reader ever to take him quite at face value."[748] The overt and obvious literariness and intertextuality of Ovid's descriptions—evident in his epic storms and Scythian winters—foreground the fact that Ovid's reader is always in a position of undecidability as to whether his poetry offers a window onto an environment or simply onto more text. In a sense, the proponents of the strong fictionality thesis are on to something: Ovid's descriptions often read like they could have been composed from a library in Rome.[749]

Ovid points in other ways to his blending of reality and fiction. His exile poetry makes himself into a character of his earlier works: he becomes one more abandoned letter writer like the mythic characters of his *Heroides* and his change of fortune is the final transformation to be added to his *Metamorphoses*.[750] Ovid thus makes his own experience the stuff of myth, and—with regard to the *Metamorphoses*—inscribes himself into a poem rife with complex play involving myth, fiction, and historical reality. Ovid

---

[747] Myers (2014) 12 also notes also how Ovid contrasts his actual misfortune with the fictional sufferings of mythic characters, in particular Niobe.
[748] Hardie (2002) 284-5. See similarly Oliensis (2004) 318 and Tissol (2014) 12-13.
[749] Fitton Brown (1985) 21, for example, concludes, "I can find nothing in the so-called exilic poems which suggests Ovid's personal acquaintance with Tomis as opposed to an intelligent gathering of information available in Rome."
[750] *Tr.* 1.1.119-20 presents Ovid's fate as an addition to the transformations of the *Metamorphoses*. On Ovid's exilic pose as reminiscent of the abandoned heroines of the *Heroides* see Rosenmeyer (1997).

also identifies with Odysseus, separated from his home by a long voyage.[751] In addition to claiming the *Odyssey* as a Homeric precedent for his own innovative form of exile poetry, this identification associates Ovid with the original deceptive narrator of Greek literature.[752] Ovid's potential slipperiness as a reliable narrator of his own experience comes to the fore in his very first collection from exile, book one of the *Tristia*. Ovid claims that he has written these poems at the very moment of being aboard his ship, in the midst of storms. His assertions that even as he speaks the waves crash against his ship (*Tr.* 1.2.14-5, 49-50; 1.4.23-5) only emphasize how far removed readers are from any such extra-textual reality, as well as the impossibility of our knowing whether Ovid's claim about the immediate context of his writing is true.[753]

Ultimately, the point of all this elaborate play is that we cannot know the reality behind Ovid's exile poetry. We have only what the poetry tells us, even as part of what it tells us is that we cannot always trust it. How does this aspect of Ovid's exile work affect our ostensibly environmental and place-based reading of the poetry? It is easy to assume that the more unreal Ovid's Pontic descriptions are, the less environmentally oriented and concerned with place his poetry is.[754] But this assumes that an environmental text needs to be realistic or in some way faithful to reality. Must we read Ovid literally in order to take him seriously as a poet of place? Or, putting this question in terms reminiscent of

---

[751] *Tr.* 1.5 compares Ovid's plight to that of Odysseus. On this comparison see Evans (1983) 40, 48-9; Williams (1994) 181-2; Holzberg (2002) 181-2; and McGowan (2009) 169-90, 197-8.
[752] On the relevance of Odysseus' deceptiveness to Ovid's identification with the hero, see Williams (1994) 113 and McGowan (2009) 180.
[753] See, similarly, Morton (2007) 29-35 on the trope of "strong ecomimesis," which "purports to evoke the here and now of writing," (32).
[754] For example: Videau-Delibes (1991) 138, Claassen (1999) 190-1 and 195, McGowan (2009) 210, and Rimell (2015) 278-9.

ecocritical debates, does an environmental reading need to assert a referential link between Ovid's text and a real-world place outside of it in order to argue for the environmental bona fides of his work?

Augustan Environmental Poetics

It is possible to argue that Ovid does not seek to write an account of the real Tomis at all in his exile poetry. But even this would not make the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* collections unconcerned with place and environment. It would merely mean that Ovid's exile poetry is about *imagined* place and environment. This seemingly simple point suggests the shortcomings of ecocritical theory that tethers environmental literature to realism and reality: it underappreciates what environmental *literature* can do best, undervaluing the literary imagination.[755] What environmental poetry is precisely well suited to do is work on readers' imagination of place, environment, and ecology.[756] What matters is not whether the Pontic region ever actually made Ovid sick and cold, but that Ovid's poetry asks us to think of it doing so. He creates poems that represent place and displacement, that imagine the human body as environmentally embedded and porous to its surroundings. Even in a text that flaunts its unreliability and potential lack of fidelity to real experience, there is important environmental thinking and imagining occurring. Such imaginative work makes its readers think about and question issues of place and environment, pushing us to reconceptualize and decenter human life in relation to the nonhuman. It has the potential to affect our perceptual, conceptual, and imaginative

[755] Knickerbocker (2012) 3 similarly remarks, "the oppositional stance of first-wave ecocriticism against textuality too easily undermines its own political aims as a form of *literary* criticism."
[756] As Bate (2000) 23 puts it, "the business of literature is to work upon consciousness."

habits—how we think about the world. This, arguably, is the real power and value of environmental literature.

Ovid helps demonstrate that environmental poetics does not need to rest on a foundation of realistic and accurate description, or on a referential theory of poetic language. Even if Ovid's words only refer to other words, and even if we see his environmental descriptions as pastiches of literary tropes, these words and tropes contribute to an imagination of place and environment, and act upon readers' own environmental imaginations. The example of Ovid shows that we do not have to believe that Meliboeus' *patria* can be found near Mantua, that the *fons Bandusiae* was Horace's real Sabine spring, or that the vague farms of the *Georgics* refer to real Italian estates in order to believe that Horace's and Vergil's texts have real things to say about place, the environment, and the nonhuman. Whether a poet takes a real location and fictionalizes it or imagines an entirely fictional land, their texts do not need to rely on any referential bond to extra-textual locations or any supposed biographical experience of place, but must simply affect readers as renderings and imaginings of particular places and more-than-human environments. This—not faithful transcription of the real world—is what defines the Augustan-era environmental poetics of the *Eclogues*, *Georgics*, and *Odes*.

For this potential to be realized, however, we need to read environmentally. That is, we must be willing to understand local place and more-than-human environments in such texts as something other than mere background settings or quasi-allegorical symbols. Environmentally oriented poetry relies on environmentally oriented reading, of the sort this dissertation has sought to model and encourage. The poetry of Vergil and Horace takes care to represent more-than-human places that we ought to read and imagine as

environments. The *Eclogues* invite us to imagine particular local places and to think of human life as place-based and informed by the assemblage of human and nonhuman beings within our local bounds. In the *Georgics*, an imagination of farming encourages us to think of all forms of life as ecologically enmeshed together, and offers a fantasy of expertise in which enough knowledge might better embed us in such webs of relation. Horace's *Odes* envisage particular sites and environmental moments, the perception of which can offer insight into our place in a more-than-human world and foster attachment to personal localities. In their own ways, these works all imagine places and environments for a variety of purposes. Only when we understand these places as environments, and take them seriously as items of attention, do these works' various thematic interests and purposes in representing place emerge.

In addition, one of the overarching claims of this dissertation has been that Vergil and Horace go beyond environmental representation. They also ask readers to imagine their works as conditioned by and originating out of local ecologies. Here, too, it matters little whether the real sounds of birds and rustling branches actually created the sonic texture of Vergil's bucolic poems, whether the instructions of the *Georgics* translate and relay the actual *signa* of an observed world, or whether Horace's lyric poems emerge out of ecstatic relations of reciprocity between the poet and his familiar haunts. What is important is that, as I have argued, the poems invite us to imagine this is the case. They represent themselves as entangled in and arising from the particularities of the local places they represent, places defined not as human cultural constructions but as assemblages of specific human and nonhuman animals, plants, objects and environmental features all interacting and becoming together. Each of these works treats local, more-

than-human place as a key concern, represents its language and poetics as shaped by the nonhuman environment, and acts upon the reader's imagination of place and ecology. This is a powerful model of what environmental poetry can be, and this is what defines the works we ought to recognize as the environmental poetry of Augustan Rome.

Bibliography

Abram, D. 1996. *The Spell of the Sensuous: Perception and Language in a More-than-human World*. New York.

Abrams, M.H. 1965. "Structure and Style in the Greater Romantic Lyric." In *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle*, ed. F.W. Hilles and H. Bloom. New York, 527-60.

Alaimo, S. 2010. *Bodily Natures: Science, Environment, and the Material Self.* Bloomington, IN.

Albrecht, M. von. 1991. "Natur und Landschaft in der römischen Lyrik dargestellt an Frühlingsgedichten (Catull, 46; Horaz, *Carm.* 1.4; 4.7; 4.12)." *Ktèma* 16: 147-59.

Alpers, P. 1979. *The Singer of the Eclogues*. Berkeley.

Alpers, P. 1996. *What is Pastoral?* Chicago.

Altman, I. and S. Low, eds. 1992. *Place Attachment*. New York.

Ando, C. 2002. "Vergil's Italy: Ethnography and Politics in First-Century Rome." In *Clio and the Poets*, ed. D. Levene and D. Nelis. Leiden.

Apostol, R. 2015. "*Urbanus es, Corydon*: Ecocritiquing Town and Country in *Eclogue* 2." *Vergilius* 61: 3-28.

Armstrong, D. 1989. *Horace*. New Haven.

Armstrong, D., J. Fish, P. Johnston, and M. Skinner, eds. 2004. *Vergil, Philodemus, and the Augustans*. Austin, TX.

Armstrong, R. 2009. "Against Nature? Some Augustan Responses to Man-made Marvels." In *Paradox and the Marvellous in Augustan Literature and Culture*, ed. P. Hardie. Oxford. 75-94.

Asmis, E. 2004. "Sound and Sense in Philodemus' Poetics." *Cronache Ercolanesi* 34: 5 -27.

Aubin, R.A. 1936. *Topographical Poetry in XVIII-century England.* New York.

Bachelard, G. 1957. *La Poétique de l'espace.* Paris.

Bacon, H. 2001. "Frost and the Ancient Muses." In *The Cambridge Companion to Robert Frost*, ed. Robert Faggen. Cambridge. 75-100.

Baldo, G. and E. Cazzuffi, eds. 2013. *Regionis forma pulcherrima: percezioni, lessico, categorie del paesaggio nella letterature latina.* Florence.

Barad, K. 2007. *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning.* Durham, NC and London.

Baraz, Y. 2015. "Sound and Silence in Calpurnius Siculus." *AJPh* 136: 91-120.

Barchiesi, A. 1996. "Poetry, Praise, and Patronage." *Classical Antiquity* 15: 5-47.

Barchiesi, A. 1997. *The Poet and the Prince: Ovid and Augustan Discourse.* Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Barchiesi, A. 2009. "Rituals in Ink: Horace on the Greek Lyric Tradition." In *Matrices of Genre: Authors, Canons, and Society*, ed. M. Depew and D. Obbink. Cambridge, MA.

Barrell, J. 1972. *The Idea of Landscape and the Sense of Place 1730-1840: An Approach to the Poetry of John Clare.* Cambridge.

Barrell, J. and J. Bull, eds. 1974. *The Penguin Book of English Pastoral Verse.* London.

Bate, J. 1991. *Romantic Ecology: Wordsworth and the Environmental Tradition.* London.

Bate, J. 2000. *The Song of the Earth.* London.

Batinski, E.E. 1991. "Horace's Rehabilitation of Bacchus." *CW* 84: 361-78.
Batstone, W. 1997. "Virgilian Didaxis: Value and Meaning in the *Georgics*." In *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, ed. C. Martindale. 125-144.
Bearzot, C. 2017. "Ancient Ecology: Problems of Terminology." In *Pollution and Environment in Ancient Life and Thought*, ed. O. Cordovana and G.F. Chiai. 51-9.
Berg, W. 1974. *Early Virgil*. London.
Best, S. and S. Marcus. 2009. "Surface Reading: An Introduction." *Representations* 108: 1-21.
Betensky, A. 1979. "The Farmer's Battles." In A. Boyle (ed.), *Virgil's Ascraean Song: Ramus Essays on the* Georgics. Berwick, Victoria, 108-19.
Bianchi, E., S. Brill, and B. Holmes. 2019. "Introduction." In *Antiquities Beyond Humanism*. ed. E. Bianchi, S. Brill, and B. Holmes. Oxford.
Bonadeo, A. 2003. *Mito e natura allo specchio: l'eco nel pensiero greco e latino.* Pisa.
Bonjour, M. 1975. *Terre Natale: Études sur le patriotisme romain.* Paris.
Bonnafé, A. 1984. *Poésie, Nature, et Sacré.* vol. 1. Lyon.
Bonnafé, A. 1987. *Poésie, Nature, et Sacré.* vol. 2. Lyon.
Bowditch, P.L. 2001. *Horace and the Gift Economy of Patronage*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Boyle, A. 1977. "Virgil's Pastoral Echo." *Ramus* 6: 121-31.
Boyle, A.J. 1986. *The Chaonian Dove: Studies in the Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid of Virgil*. Leiden.
Braund, S.H. 1989. "City and Country in Roman Satire." In *Satire and Society in Ancient Rome,* ed. S.H. Braund. 23-47.
Breed, B. 2006. *Pastoral Inscriptions*. London.
Brill, S. 2019. "Aristotle's Meta-Zoology: Shared Life and Human Animality in the *Politics*." In *Antiquities Beyond Humanism*. ed. E. Bianchi, S. Brill, and B. Holmes. Oxford.
Brodersen, K. 2004. "Mapping (in) the Ancient World." *JRS* 94: 183-90.
Brodersen, K. 2012. "Cartography." In *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, ed. D. Dueck and K. Brodersen. 99-110.
Brunschwig, J. 1986. "The Cradle Argument in Epicureanism and Stoicism." In *The Norms of Nature*, ed. M. Schofield and G. Striker. Cambridge, 113-44.
Bryant, L.R. 2013. "Black." In *Prismatic Ecology: Ecotheory Beyond Green*, ed. J.J. Cohen. 290-310.
Bryson, J.S. 2002. "Introduction." In *Ecopoetry: A Critical Introduction,* ed. J.S. Bryson. 1-13.
Bryson, J.S. 2005. *The West Side of Any Mountain: Place, Space, and Ecopoetry*. Iowa City, IA.
Buchheit, V. 1972. *Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgika: Dichtertum und Heilsweig.* Darmstadt.
Buell, L. 1995. *The Environmental Imagination: Thoreau, Nature Writing, and the Formation of American Culture*. Cambridge, MA.
Buell, L. 2005. *The Future of Environmental Criticism*. Oxford.
Buller. J.L. 1981. "The Pathetic Fallacy in Hellenistic Pastoral." *Ramus* 10: 35-52.
Burt, S. 2012. "Scenic, or Topographical, Poetry." In *A Companion to Poetic Genre*, ed. E. Martiny. 598-613.

Butler, S. 2011. *The Matter of the Page: Essays in Search of Ancient and Medieval Authors*. Madison, WI.
Butler, S. 2015. *The Ancient Phonograph*. New York.
Cairns, F. 1977. "Horace, Odes, III, 13 and III, 23." *L'Antiquité Classique*.46: 523-43.
Cairns, F. 1999. "Virgil Eclogue 1.1-2: A Literary Programme?" *HSCPh* 99: 289-93.
Cairns, F. 2012. *Roman Lyric: Collected Papers on Catullus and Horace*. Berlin.
Cairns, F. 2016. *Hellenistic Epigrams: Contexts of Exploration.* Cambridge.
Calame, C. 1999. *The Poetics of Eros in Ancient Greece.* Trans. J. Lloyd. Princeton, NJ.
Campbell, A.Y. 1924. *Horace: A New Interpretation*. London.
Campbell, B. 1996. "Shaping the Rural Environment: Surveyors in Ancient Rome." *JRS* 86: 74-99.
Campbell, B., ed. 2000. *The Writings of the Roman Land Surveyors*. London.
Carlà-Uhink, F. 2017. "*Alteram loci patriam, alteram iuris*: "Double Fatherlands" and the Role of Italy in Cicero's Political Discourse." In *Citizens in the Graeco -Roman World: Aspects of Citizenship from the Archaic Period to AD 212,* ed. L. Cecchet and A. Busetto. 259-82.
Cartault, A. 1897. *Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile*. Paris.
Carter, E., J. Donald, and J. Squires. 1993. "Introduction." In *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*, ed. E. Carter, J. Donald, and J. Squires. vii-xv.
Casey, E. 1987. *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington, IN.
Casey, E. 1997. *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*. Berkeley.
Citroni, M. 1995. *Poesia e Lettori in Roma Antica: Forme della Comunicazione Letteraria*. Bari.
Citroni, M. 2017. "Heinze, Fraenkel e alter voci: contribute sparsi alla storia e al significato del dibattito su occasione e destinario in Orazio lirico." *Dictynna* 14. No page numbers.
Claassen, J.-M. 1999. *Displaced Persons: The Literature of Exile from Cicero to Boethius*. Madison, WI.
Clark, A. and D.J. Chalmers. 1998. "The Extended Mind." *Analysis* 58: 7-19.
Clark, S. 2013. "Strange Strangers and Uncanny Hammers: Morton's *The Ecological Thought* and the Phenomenological Tradition." *Green Letters: Studies in Ecocriticism* 17: 98-108.
Clark, T. 2011. *The Cambridge Introduction to Literature and the Environment*. Cambridge.
Clark, T. 2015. *Ecocriticism on the Edge: The Anthropocene as a Threshold Concept*. London.
Clausen, W. 1994. *A Commentary on Virgil: Eclogues*. Oxford.
Clay, J.S. 1976. "The Argument of the End of Vergil's Second Georgic." *Philologus* 120: 232-45.
Clay, J.S. 2002. "Sweet Folly: Horace, *Odes* 4.12 and the Evocation of Virgil." In *Horace and Greek Lyric Poetry*, ed. M. Paschalis. Rethymon.
Cocola, J. 2016. *Places in the Making: A Cultural Geography of American Poetry.* Iowa City, IA.
Cole, S. 2004. *Landscapes, Gender, and Ritual Space: The Ancient Greek Experience.* Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Coleman, R., ed. 1977. *Vergil: Eclogues*. Cambridge.

Commager, S. 1957. “The Function of Wine in Horace’s Odes.” *TAPA* 88: 68-80.
Commager, S. 1962. *The Odes of Horace: A Critical Study.* New Haven and London.
Conington, J. and H. Nettleship, eds. [1898] 2007. *The Works of Virgil*. 5th ed. Rev. F. Haverfield. In *Conington’s Virgil: Eclogues*, ed. P. Hardie and B. Breed.
Connolly, J. 2001. “Picture Arcadia: the politics of representation in Vergil’s Eclogues.” *Vergilius* 47: 80-116.
Connolly, J. 2007. *The State of Speech: Rhetoric and Political Thought in Rome*. Princeton, NJ.
Conte, G.B. 1986. *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*. Ithaca, NY.
Conte, G.B. 2007. *The Poetry of Pathos*. Ed. S.J. Harrison. Oxford.
Convery, I., G. Corsane, and P. Davis, eds. 2012. *Making Sense of Place: Multidisciplinary Perspectives*. Woodbridge.
Copley, F.O. 1937. “The Pathetic Fallacy in Early Greek Poetry.” *AJPh* 58: 194-209.
Corey, J. and G.C. Waldrep, eds. 2012. *The Arcadia Project: North American Postmodern Pastoral.* Boise, ID.
Cornell, T.J. 2016. *The Fragments of the Roman Historians. Vol. 1.* Oxford.
Costello, B. 2003. *Shifting Ground; Reinventing Landscape in Modern American Poetry*. Cambridge, MA.
Cramer, R. 1998. *Vergils Weltsicht: Optimismus und Pessimismus in Vergils* Georgica. Berlin.
Cresswell, T. 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction.* Malden, MA.
Cronon, W. 1996. “The Trouble with Wilderness: Or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature.” *Environmental History* 1: 7-28.
Cucchiarelli, A., ed. 2012. *Publio Virgilio Marone: Le Bucoliche.* Rome.
Culler, J. 2015. *Theory of the Lyric*. Cambridge, MA and London.
Curley, D. 2004. “The Alcaic Kid (Horace, *Carm.* 3.13).” *CW* 97: 137-52.
Curtis, L. 2017. *Imagining the Chorus in Augustan Poetry.* Cambridge.
Curtius, E.R. [1953] 1983. *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*. Trans. W.R. Trask. Princeton, NJ.
Cusset, C., ed. 1999. *La nature et ses representations dans l’Antiquité.* Paris.
Dahlmann, H. 1954. “Der Bienenstaat in Vergils *Georgica*.” *AAWM* 10: 547-62.
Damon, P. 1961. *Modes of Analogy in Ancient and Medieval Verse*. Berkeley.
Dang, K. 2010. “Rome and the Sabine ‘Farm’: Aestheticism, Topography, and the Landscape of Production.” *Phoenix* 64: 102-27.
Davis, G. 1991. *Polyhymnia: The Rhetoric of Horatian Lyric Discourse.* Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Davis, G. 2007. “Wine and the Symposium.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. S.J. Harrison. 207-20.
Davis, G. 2012. *Parthenope: The Interplay of Ideas in Vergilian Bucolic*. Leiden.
Davis, P.J. 2002. “The Colonial Subject in Ovid’s Exile Poetry.” *AJPh* 123: 257-73.
Davisson, M.T. 1982. “*Duritia* and Creativity in Exile: *Epistulae ex Ponto* 4.10.” *ClAnt* 1: 28-42.
De Jong, I., ed. 2012. *Space in Ancient Greek Literature*. Leiden.
De Man, P. 1970. “Intentional Structure of the Romantic Image.” In *Romanticism and Consciousness: Essays in Criticism*, ed. H. Bloom. New York, 65-77.

Dench, E. 2013. “Cicero and Roman Identity.” In *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero*, ed. C. Steel. Cambridge.
Derametz, A. 1995. *Le Miroir des Muses: poétiques de la réfléxivité à Rome*. Villeneuve d’Ascq.
Descola, P. 2013. *The Ecology of Others*. Trans. Geneviève Godbout and Benjamin P. Luley. Chicago: Prickly Paradigm Press.
Desport, M. 1941. “L’écho de la nature et de la poésie dans les Églogues de Virgile.” *Revue des Études Anciennes* 43: 270-81.
Desport, M. 1952. *L’incantation virgilienne: Virgile et Orphée*. Bordeaux.
Dick, B.F. 1968. “Ancient Pastoral and the Pathetic Fallacy.” *Comparative Literature* 20: 27-44.
Dilke, O.A.W. 1971. *The Roman Land Surveyors: An Introduction to the Agrimensores*. New York.
Dunckel, A. 2002. “‘Mont Blanc’: Shelley’s Sublime Allegory of the Real.” In *The Greening of Literary Scholarship: Literature, Theory, and the Environment*, ed. S. Rosendale. 207-23.
DuQuesnay, I. 1981. “Vergil’s First Eclogue.” In *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar*, ed. F. Cairns. 29-182.
Dyck, A.R., ed. 2004. *A Commentary on Cicero, De Legibus.* Ann Arbor, MI.
Edmunds, Lowell. 1992. *From a Sabine Jar: Reading Horace, Odes 1.9*. Chapel Hill, NC.
Edwards, C. 1993. *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome.* Cambridge.
Edwards, C. 1996. *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City.* Cambridge.
Egerton, F.N. 2012. *Roots of Ecology: Antiquity to Haeckel.* Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Elder, J. 1985. *Imagining the Earth: Poetry and the Vision of Nature*. Urbana and Chicago.
Elliger, W. 1975. *Die Darstellung der Landschaft in der griechischen Dichtung*. Berlin.
Empson, W. 1935. *Some Versions of Pastoral.* London.
Evans, H.B. 1975. “Winter and Warfare in Ovid’s Tomis (*Tristia* 3.10).” *CJ* 70: 1-9.
Evans, H.B. 1983. *Publica Carmina: Ovid’s Books from Exile*. Lincoln, NE and London.
Evernden, N. 1996. “Beyond Ecology: Self, Place, and the Pathetic Fallacy.” In *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology,* ed. C. Glotfelty and H. Fromm. 92-104.
Fairer, D. 2011. “‘Where Fuming Trees Refresh the Thirsting Air’: The World of Eco-Georgic.” *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 40: 201-18.
Fantham, E. 2004. *The Roman World of Cicero’s De Oratore*. Oxford.
Fantuzzi, M. and R. Hunter. 2004. *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*. Cambridge.
Farrell, J. 1991. *Vergil’s* Georgics *and the Traditions of Ancient Epic: The Art of Allusion in Literary History*. New York.
Farrell, J. 1999. “The Ovidian Corpus: Poetic Body and Poetic Text.” In *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on the Metamorphoses and its Reception*, ed. P. Hardie, A. Barchiesi, and S. Hinds. 127-41.
Farrell, J. 2014. “Philosophy in Vergil.” In *The Philosophizing Muse: The Influence of Greek Philosophy on Roman Poetry*. Ed. M. Garani and D. Konstan. 61-90.
Farrell, J. 2016. “Ancient Commentaries on Theocritus’ *Idylls* and Virgil’s *Eclogues*.” In *Classical Commentaries: Explorations in a Scholarly Genre*. Ed. C. Kraus and

C. Stray. 397-418.
Feeney, D. 1999. "*Mea Tempora:* Patterning of Time in the *Metamorphoses*." In *Ovidian Transformations: Essays on the* Metamorphoses *and its Reception,* ed. S. Hinds, P.R. Hardie, and A. Barchiesi. 13-30.
Feeney, D. 2004. "Interpreting Sacrificial Ritual in Roman Poetry: Disciplines and their Models." In A. Barchiesi, J. Rüpke, and S. Stephens (eds.), *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome Held at Stanford University in February 2002*. Stuttgart, 1-22.
Feeney, D. 2006. "I shall be read." Rev. of P. Green (trans.), *Ovid: The Poems of Exile: 'Tristia' and the 'Black Sea Letters'* and J.F. Gaertner (ed. and trans.), *Ovid: Epistulae ex Ponto, Book I. London Review of Books* 28.16: 13-15.
Feeney, D. 2007. *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*. Berkeley.
Feeney, D. 2009. "Horace and the Greek Lyric Poets." In *Oxford Readings in Horace: Odes and Epodes*, ed. M. Lowrie. Oxford.
Feldherr, A. 1997. "Livy's Revolution: Civic Identity and the Creation of the *Res Publica*." In *The Roman Cultural Revolution*, ed. T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro. 136-57.
Feldherr, A. 2010. " 'Dionysiac Poetics' and the Memory of Civil War in Horace's Cleopatra Ode." In *Citizens of Discord: Rome and its Civil Wars,* ed. B. Breed, C. Damon, A. Rossi. 223-32.
Ferri, R. 1993. *I dispiaceri di un epicureo*. *Uno studio sulla poetica oraziana delle* Epistole (*con un capitol su Persio*). Pisa.
Fisher-Wirth, A. and L.-G. Street. 2013. "Editors' Preface." In *The Ecopoetry Anthology*, ed. A. Fisher-Wirth and L.-G. Street. xxvii-xxxi.
Fitch, J. 2009. "Nature in Horace." *Green Letters: Studies in Ecocriticism* 11: 23-35.
Fitter, C. 1995. *Poetry, Space, Landscape*: *Toward a New Theory*. Cambridge.
Fitton Brown, A. 1985. "The Unreality of Ovid's Tomitan Exile." *LCM* 10: 18-22.
Fitzgerald, W. 1989. "Horace, Pleasure and the Text." *Arethusa* 22: 81-104.
Fitzgerald, W. 1996. "Labor and Laborer in Latin Poetry: The Case of the 'Moretum.'" *Arethusa* 29:389-418.
Fitzgerald, W. 2016. "Resonance: the Sonic Environment of Vergil's *Eclogues*." *Dictynna* 13. No page numbers.
Fitzgerald, W. and E. Spentzou, eds.. 2018. *The Production of Space in Latin Literature*. Oxford.
Fletcher, A. 2004. *A New Theory for American Poetry: Democracy, The Environment, and the Future of Imagination.* Cambridge, MA.
Fletcher, K. 2014. *Finding Italy: Travel, Nation, and Colonization in Vergil's* Aeneid. Ann Arbor, MI.
Flintoff, E. 1974. "The Setting of Virgil's Eclogues." *Latomus* 33: 814-46.
Fowler, R. 2002. "Masculinity Under Threat? The Poetics and Politics of Inspiration in Latin Poetry." In *Cultivating the Muse: Struggles for Power and Inspiration in Classical Literature*, ed. E. Spentzou and D. Fowler. Oxford, 141-59.
Fraenkel, E. 1957. *Horace*. Oxford.
Friedländer, P. 1941. "Pattern of Sound and Atomistic Theory in Lucretius." *AJPh* 62: 16-34.

Gaertner, J.F., ed. 2005. *Ovid,* Epistulae ex Ponto, *Book I.* Oxford.
Gagliardi, D. 1982. "Il Paesaggio Siciliano delle Bucoliche e l'Arcadia." *Civiltà classica e cristiana* 3: 183-89.
Galasso, L. 2009. "*Epistulae ex Ponto.*" In *A Companion to Ovid*, ed. P.E. Knox. 194-206.
Gale, M. 1991. "Man and Beast in Lucretius and the *Georgics*." *CQ* 41: 414-26.
Gale, M. 2000. *Virgil on the Nature of Things: The Georgics, Lucretius, and the Didactic Tradition*. Cambridge.
Gamberale, L. 1995. "Aspetti del paesaggio oraziano." In *Musis Amicus: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi su Q. Orazio Flacco, Chieti, 4-6 Maggio 1993*, ed. M. Coletti and P. Domenicucci. Chietti. 91-116.
Gargola, D. 2017. *The Shape of the Roman Order: The Republic and its Spaces.* Chapel Hill, NC.
Garrard, G. 1996. "Radical Pastoral?" *Studies in Romanticism* 35: 449-65.
Garrard, G. 2012. *Ecocriticism*. London and New York.
Garrard, G., ed. 2014. *The Oxford Handbook of Ecocriticism*. Oxford.
Gasser, F. 1999. *Germana Patria: Die Geburtsheimat in den Werken römischer Autoren der späten Republik und der frühen Kaiserzeit.* Stuttgart and Leipzig.
Gaster, T. 1950. *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East*. New York.
Gee, E. 2013. *Aratus and the Astronomical Tradition*. Oxford.
Gelber, J. 2015. "Aristotle on Essence and Habitat." In B. Inwood (ed.), *Oxford Studies on Ancient Philosophy, Vol. XLVIII*. Oxford, 267-94.
Gifford, T. 1995. *Green Voices: Understanding Contemporary Nature Poetry.* Manchester and New York.
Gifford, T. 1999. *Pastoral.* London.
Gifford, T. 2006. "Post-Pastoral as a Tool for Ecocriticism." In *Pastoral and the Humanities: Arcadia Re-inscribed*, ed. M. Skoie and S. Bjørnstad-Velázquez. 14 -24.
Gifford, T. 2013. "Pastoral, Anti-Pastoral, and Post-Pastoral." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and the Environment*, ed. L. Westling. 17-30.
Gifford, T. 2016. "The Environmental Humanities and the Pastoral Tradition." In *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity*, ed. C. Schliephake. 159-73.
Gilcrest, D. 2002. *Greening the Lyre: Environmental Poetics and Ethics*. Reno and Las Vegas: Unviersity of Nevada Press.
Gilhuly, K. and N. Worman. 2014. *Space, Place, and Landscape in Ancient Greek Literature and Culture*. Cambridge.
Glotfelty, C. 1996. "Introduction: Literary Studies in an Age of Environmental Crisis." In Glotfelty and Fromm (1996), xv-xxxvii.
Glotfelty, C. and H. Fromm, eds. 1996. *The Ecocriticism Reader: Landmarks in Literary Ecology*. Athens, GA and London.
Gold, B.K. 1993. "Mitte Sectari, Rosa Quo Locorum Sera Moretur: Time and Nature in Horace's Odes." *CP* 88: 16-31.
Goldhill, S. 2010. "What is Local Identity? The Politics of Cultural Mapping." In *Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*, ed. T. Whitmash. 46-68.
Goodbody, A. 2014. "Ecocritical Theory: Romantic Roots and Impulses from Twentieth -Century European Thinkers." In *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and*

the Environment, ed. L. Westling. 61-74.
Goodfellow, M.S. 1981. "North Italian Rivers and Lakes in the *Georgics.*" *Vergilius* 27: 12-22.
Goodfellow, M.S. 2015. "Early Reception of Vergil's *Georgics*: *Protinus Italiam Concepit*." *Vergilius* 61: 43-76.
Graziosi, B. 2009. "Horace, Suetonius, and the *Lives* of the Greek Poets." In *Perceptions of Horace: A Roman Poet and his Readers*, ed. L.B.T. Houghton and M. Wyke. Cambridge. 140-60.
Greenwood, E. 2016. "Reception Studies: The Cultural Mobility of Classics." *Daedalus* 145: 41-9.
Greiner, C. and P. Sakdapolrak. 2013. "Translocality: Concepts, Applications and Emerging Research Perspectives." *Geography Compass* 7: 373-84.
Griffin, J. 1997. "Cult and Personality in Horace." *JRS* 87: 54-69.
Griffin, J. 2008. "The Fourth *Georgic*, Virgil and Rome." In *Vergil's Georgics*, ed. K. Volk. Oxford.
Grove, A.T. and O. Rackham. 2001. *The Nature of Mediterranean Europe: An Ecological History*. New Haven.
Gutzwiller, K. 1991. *Theocritus' Pastoral Analogies: The Formation of a Genre*. Madison, WI.
Gutzwiller, K. 2010. "Literary Criticism." In *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*, ed. J.J. Clauss and M. Cuypers. 337-65.
Habinek, T. 1990. "Sacrifice, Society, and Virgil's Ox-born Bees." In M. Griffith and D.J. Mastronarde (eds.), *Cabinet of the Muses: Essays on Classical and Comparative Literature in Honor of Thomas G. Rosenmeyer*. Atlanta, 209-23.
Habinek, T. 1998. *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, NJ.
Halperin, D. 1983. *Before Pastoral: Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry.* New Haven.
Halperin, D.M. 1993. "Response." In *Hellenistic History and Culture*, ed. P. Green. 127 -37.
Haraway, D. 2003. *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*. Chicago.
Haraway, D. 2008. *When Species Meet*. Minneapolis, MN.
Haraway, D. 2016. *Staying with the Trouble: Making Kin in the Chthulucene*. Durham, NC.
Hardie, P.R. 1986. *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*. Oxford.
Hardie, P.R. 1993. "*Ut Pictura Poesis?* Horace and the Visual Arts." In *Horace 2000: Essays for the Bimillenium*, ed. N. Rudd. Ann Arbor, 120-39.
Hardie, P.R. 1998. *Virgil*. Oxford.
Hardie, P.R. 2002. *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion*. Cambridge.
Harper, K. 2017. *The Fate of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire.* Princeton.
Harris, W.V. 2013. "Defining and Detecting Mediterranean Deforestation, 800 BCE to 700 CE." In *The Ancient Mediterranean Environment between Science and History*, ed. W.V. Harris. 173-94.
Harrison, S.J. 1998. "The Lark Ascending: Corydon, Corydon (Vergil, Ecl. 7.70)", *CQ*

48: 310-11.
Harrison, S.J. 2004. "Virgil's *Corycius Senex* and Nicander's *Georgica*: *Georgics* 4.116 -48." In *Latin Epic and Didactic Poetry: Genre, Tradition and Individuality*, ed. M. Gale. London, 109-23.
Harrison, S.J. 2007a. *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace*. Oxford.
Harrison, S.J. 2007b. "Horatian Self-Representations." In *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*. Ed. S.J. Harrison. Cambridge, 22-35.
Harrison, S.J. 2007c. "Town and Country." In *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. S.J. Harrison. Cambridge. 235-47.
Harrison, S.J., ed. 2017. *Horace, Odes, Book II*. Cambridge.
Hartman. G. 1982. "Wordsworth, Inscriptions, and Romantic Nature Poetry." In *From Sensibility to Romanticism: Essays Presented to Frederick A. Pottle*, ed. F.W. Hilles and H. Bloom. New York. 389-413.
Hartog, F. 1980. *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*. Trans. J. Lloyd. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Heaney, S. 2001. *Electric Light*. New York.
Heinze, R. [1923] 2009. "The Horatian Ode." In *Horace: Odes and Epodes*, ed. M. Lowrie. Oxford, 11-32.
Heise, U. 2008. *Sense of Place and Sense of Planet*. Oxford.
Heise, U., J. Christensen, and M. Niemann, eds.. 2017. *The Routledge Companion to the Environmental Humanities*. London.
Helzle, M. 2006. "Fiktion und Realität in Ovids Exildichtung am Beispiel *Epistulae ex Ponto* IV 7." *WJA* 30: 139-52.
Hexter, R. 1987. "*O Fons Bandusiae:* Blood and Water in Horace, *Odes* 3.13." In *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. M. Whitby, P.R. Hardie, and M. Whitby. Bristol and Oak Park, IL. 131-9.
Highet, G. 1949. *The Classical Tradition.* Oxford.
Hinds, S. 1985. "Booking the return trip: Ovid and Tristia 1." *PCPhS* 31: 13-32.
Hiss, T. 1990. *The Experience of Place: A New Way of Looking at and Dealing With Our Radically Changing Cities and Countryside*. New York.
Holmes, B. 2005. "'Daedala Lingua: Crafted Speech in 'De Rerum Natura.'" *AJPh* 126: 527-85.
Holmes, B. 2015. "Situating Scamander: Natureculture in the *Iliad*." *Ramus* 44: 29-51.
Holmes, B. 2016. "Foreword: Before Nature?" In *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity*, ed. C. Schliephake. ix-xiii.
Holmes, B. 2017. "The Generous Text: Animal Intuition, Human Knowledge, and Written Transmission in Pliny's Books on Medicine." In M. Formisano and P. van der Eijk (eds.), *Knowledge, Text and Practice in Ancient Technical Writing.* Cambridge, 231-51.
Holzberg, N. 2002. *Ovid: The Poet and His Work*. Trans. G.M. Goshgarian. Ithaca, NY and London.
Horden, P. and N. Purcell. 2000. *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford.
Hornbeck, C. 2014. "*Caelum Ipsum Petimus:* Daedalus and Icarus in Horace's *Odes*." *CJ* 109: 147-69.
Horsfall, N. 1998. "The First Person Singular in Horace's *Carmina*." In *Style and*

Tradition: Studies in Honour of Wendell Clausen. Ed. P.E. Knox and C. Foss. Stuttgart, 40-54.
Houser, H. 2014. *Ecosickness in Contemporary U.S. Fiction: Environment and Affect.* New York.
Howarth, W. 1996. "Some Principles of Ecocriticism." In Glotfelty and Fromm (1996), 69-91.
Hubaux, J. 1927. *Le Réalisme dans les Bucoliques de Virgile*. Liege.
Hubbard, T.K. 1998. The Pipes of Pan. Ann Arbor, MI.
Hubbell, J.A. 2017. *Byron's Nature: A Romantic Vision of Cultural Ecology.* London.
Hughes, J.D. 2011. "Ancient Deforestation Revisited." *Journal of the History of Biology* 44: 43-57.
Humboldt, A. von. 1849-58. *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe*. Vol. 1. Trans. E.C. Otté. London.
Hunt, A. 2016. *Reviving Roman Religion: Sacred Trees in the Roman World.* Cambridge.
Hunt, A. and H. Marlow. 2019. *Ecology and Theology in the Ancient World: Cross -Disciplinary Perspectives.* London.
Hunter, R. 1999. *Theocritus: A Selection.* Cambridge.
Hunter, R. 2006. *The Shadow of Callimachus: Studies in the Reception of Hellenistic Poetry at Rome.* Cambridge.
Hyde, W.W. 1915. "The Ancient Appreciation of Mountain Scenery." *CJ* 11: 70-84.
Ingleheart, J. 2006. "Ovid, Tristia 1.2: High Drama on the High Seas." *G&R* 53: 73-91.
Isayev, E. 2017. *Migration, Mobility and Place in Ancient Italy.* Cambridge.
Iser, W. 1993. *The Fictive and the Imaginary: Charting Literary Anthropology*. Baltimore.
Jachmann, G. 1922. "Die Dichterische Technik in Vergils Bukolika." *NJA* 49: 101-20.
Jaeger, M. 1997. *Livy's Written Rome*. Ann Arbor, MI.
Jahn, P. 1903. "Eine Prosaquelle Vergils und Ihre Umsetzung in Poesie Durch den Dichter." *Hermes* 38: 244-64.
James, D. and P. Tew, eds. 2009. *New Versions of Pastoral: Post-Romantic, Modern, and Contemporary Responses to the Tradition.* Cranbury, NJ.
Jameson, V. 1997. "What Words Can Do: Horace, C. 3, 13, 'O Fons Bandusiae.'"*Helios* 24: 44-59.
Janko, R., ed. 2000. *Philodemus: On Poems Book One*. Oxford.
Jenkyns, R. 1982. *Three Classical Poets: Sappho, Catullus, and Juvenal.* Cambridge, MA.
Jenkyns, R. 1989. "Virgil and Arcadia." *JRS* 79: 26-39.
Jenkyns, R. 1998. *Virgil's Experience*. Oxford.
Johnson, S. [1779] 2006. *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets: With Critical Observations on Their Works.* Ed. R. Lonsdale. Oxford.
Johnson, T. 2004. *Symposion of Praise: Horace Returns to Lyric in Odes IV*. Madison, WI.
Johnson, W.R. 1982. *The Idea of Lyric: Lyric Modes in Ancient and Modern Poetry.* Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Johnston, P. and S. Papaioannou. 2013. "Introduction. Idyllic Landscapes in Antiquity: The Golden Age, Arcadia, and the *locus amoenus*." *Acta Antiqua* 53: 133-44.
Jones, F. 2011. *Virgil's Garden*. London.

Jones, P.J. 2005. *Reading Rivers in Roman Literature and Culture*. Oxford.
Kaloudis, N. 2016. "Daphnis' Folksong: The Euphonists' Effect on the Creation of a Textual Performance." In *Voice and Voices in Antiquity*, ed. N. Slater. 208-30.
Kania, R. 2012. "Orpheus and the Reinvention of Bucolic Poetry." *AJPh* 133: 657-85.
Kania, R. 2016. *Vergil's* Eclogues *and the Art of Fiction: A Study of the Poetic Imagination*. Cambridge.
Karakasis, E. 2011. *Song Exchange in Roman Pastoral*. Berlin.
Keller, L. 2017. *Recomposing Ecopoetics: North American Poetry of the Self-conscious Anthropocene*. Charlottesville, VA.
Kennedy, D.F. 1987. "'*Arcades ambo':* Virgil, Gallus and Arcadia." *Hermathena* 143: 47-59.
Kennedy, D.F. 1992. "Augustan and Anti-Augustan: Reflections on Terms of Reference." In *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. Powell. 26-58.
Kennedy, D.F. 2013. "The Political Epistemology of Infinity." In *Lucretius: Poetry, Philosophy, Science*, ed. D. Lehoux, A.D. Morrison, and A. Sharrock. 51-67.
Kern, R. 2000. "Ecocriticism: What Is It Good For?" *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment* 7: 9-32.
Klingner, F. 1935. "Horazerklarungen." *Philologus* 90: 277-93.
Klingner, F. 1967. *Virgil: Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*. Zürich.
Knickerbocker, S. 2012. *Ecopoetics: The Language of Nature, the Nature of Language*. Amherst and Boston.
Kohn, E. 2013. *How Forests Think*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Korhonen, T. and E. Ruanoakoski. 2017. *Human and Animal in Ancient Greece: Empathy and Encounter in Classical Literature*. London.
Kraggerud, E. 1998. "Vergil Announcing the *Aeneid*: On *Georg.* 3.1-48." In H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*. London, 1-20.
Kroeber, K. 1994. *Ecological Literary Criticism*: *Romantic Imagining and the Biology of Mind.* New York.
Kronenberg, L. 2000. "The Poet's Fiction: Virgil's Praise of the Farmer, Philosopher, and Poet at the End of 'Georgics 2.'" *HSCPh* 100: 341-60.
Kronenberg, L. 2009. *Allegories of Farming from Greece and Rome: Philosophical Satire in Xenophon, Varro, and Virgil.* Cambridge.
Kurke, L. 2013. *The Traffic in Praise: Pindar and the Poetics of Social Economy*. Berkeley.
La Penna, A. 1963. *Orazio e l'ideologia del principato.* Turin.
La Penna, A. 1977. "*Senex Corycius*." In *Atti del convegno virgiliano sul bimillenario delle Georgiche*. Naples, 37-66.
Lakoff, G. and Johnson, M. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By.* Chicago.
Lana, I. 1993. *Orazio: dalla poesia al silenzio.* Venosa.
Lanata, G. 1996. "Sappho's Amatory Language." Trans. W. Robins. In *Reading Sappho: Contemporary Approaches,* ed. E. Greene. 11-25.
Larson, J. 2001. *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore.* Oxford.
Latour, B. 2004. *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*. Trans. Catherine Porter. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
Laurand, V. 2005. "La sympathie universelle: union et separation." *Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale* 4: 517-35.

Leach, E.W. 1974. *Vergil's* Eclogues: *Landscapes of Experience*. Ithaca and London.
Leach, E.W. 1988. *The Rhetoric of Space: Literary and Artistic Representations of Landscape in Republican and Augustan Rome.* Princeton.
Leclerq, R. 1996. *Le divin loisir: Essai sur les Bucoliques de Virgile*. Brussels.
Lee, M.O. 1969. *Word, Sound, and Image in the Odes of Horace*. Ann Arbor.
Lee, M.O. 1970. "Everything is Full of Gods: A Discussion of Horace's Imagery." *Arion* 9: 246-63.
Lefebvre, H. 1974. *La production de l'espace*. Paris.
Lefkowitz, M. 2016. "On Bees, Poets and Plato." In *Creative Lives in Classical Antiquity: Poets, Artists and Biography*, ed. R. Fletcher and J. Hanink. Cambridge. 177-97.
Leigh, M. 2016. "Vergil's Second Eclogue and the Class Struggle." *CP* 111: 406-433.
Levi, P. 1993. "People in a Landscape: Theokritos." In *Hellenistic History and Culture*, ed. P. Green. 111-27.
Lewicka, M. 2011. "Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years?" *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 31: 207-30.
Lieberg, G. 1982. *Poeta Creator: Studien zu einer Figur der antiken Dichtung*. Amsterdam.
Lipka, M. 2001. *Language in Vergil's Eclogues*. Berlin.
Lipka, M. 2002. "Notes on *Fagus* in Vergil's *Eclogues*." *Philologus* 146: 133-38.
Long, A.A and Sedley, D. 1987. *The Hellenistic Philosophers: Volume 1, Translations of the Principal Sources with Philosophical Commentary*. Cambridge.
Love, G.A. 1990. "Revaluing Nature: Toward an Ecological Criticism." *Western American Literature* 25: 201-15.
Love, G.A. 1992. "*Et in Arcadia Ego:* Pastoral Theory Meets Ecocriticism." *Western American Literature* 27: 195-207.
Lovejoy, A.O. and G. Boas. 1935. *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*. Baltimore.
Lowrie, M. 1997. *Horace's Narrative Odes.* Oxford.
Lowrie, M. 2009. *Writing, Performance, and Authority in Augustan Rome*. Oxford.
Lyne, R.O.A.M. 1974. "*Scilicet et tempus veniet. . .*: Virgil, *Georgics* 1.463-514." In A.J. Woodman and D. West (eds.), *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*. Cambridge, 47-66.
Mac Góráin, F. 2013. "Virgil's Bacchus and the Roman Republic." In *Augustan Poetry and the Roman Republic*, ed. D. Nelis and J. Farrell. Oxford, 124-45.
Mac Góráin, F. 2014. "The Mixed Blessings of Bacchus in Virgil's Georgics." 11. No page numbers.
Mader, G. 2002. "That St(r)ain Again: Blood, Water, and Generic Allusion in Horace's Bandusia Ode." *AJPhil* 123: 51-9.
Malkki, L. 1992. "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees." *Cultural Anthropology* 7: 24-44.
Malpas, J. 1999. *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography.* Cambridge.
Maltby, R. 1991. *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*. Leeds.
Martindale, C. 1993. "Introduction." In *Horace Made New*, ed. C. Martindale and D. Hopkins. Cambridge. 1-26.
Martindale, C. 1997. "Green Politics: The Eclogues." In *The Cambridge Companion to*

Virgil, ed. C. Martindale. 107-24.
Marx, L. 1964. *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America.* Oxford.
Marx, L. 1986. "Pastoralism in America." In *Ideology and Classic American Literature*, ed. S. Bercovitch and M. Jehlen. 36-69.
Mauduit, C. and P. Luccioni, eds. 1998. *Paysages et milieu naturels dans la literature antique.* Paris.
Mayer, R. 1983. "The Civil Status of Corydon." *CQ* 33: 298-300.
Mayer, R., ed. 2012. *Horace, Odes, Book I.* Cambridge.
McCarter, S. 2015. *Horace Between Freedom and Slavery: The First Book of* Epistles. Madison, WI.
McGann, M.J. 1969. *Studies in Horace's First Book of Epistles*. Brussels.
McGowan, M. 2009. *Ovid in Exile: Power and Poetic Redress in the* Tristia *and* Epistulae Ex Ponto. Leiden and Boston.
McInerney, J. and I. Sluiter, eds. 2016. *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity: Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination*. Leiden and Boston.
Meeker, J. 1974. *The Comedy of Survival: Studies in Literary Ecology.* New York.
Miles, G.B. 1980. *Virgil's Georgics: A New Interpretation*. Berkeley.
Miller, P.A. 1994. *Lyric Texts and Lyric Consciousness: the Birth of a Genre from Archaic Greece to Augustan Rome.* London and New York.
Mitsdörffer, W. 1938. "Vergils Georgica und Theophrast." *Philologus* 93: 449-75.
Moles, J. 2007. "Philosophy and Ethics." In *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. S. Harrison. Cambridge, 165-80.
Mommsen, T. 1892. "Zum römishen Bodenrecht." *Hermes* 27: 79-117.
Mordine, M.J. 2010. "*Sine me, liber, ibis*: The Poet, The Book and the Reader in *Tristia* 1.1." *CQ* 60: 524-44
Morgan, L. 1999. *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil's Georgics*. Cambridge.
Morton, T. 2007. *Ecology Without Nature: Rethinking Environmental Aesthetics*. Cambridge, MA.
Morton, T. 2010. *The Ecological Thought*. Cambridge, MA.
Muir, J. [1911] 1997. "My First Summer in the Sierra." In W. Cronon (ed.), *Nature Writings*. New York, 147-309.
Murley, C. 1940. "Plato's *Phaedrus* and Theocritean Pastoral." *TAPhA* 71: 281-95.
Murphy, P.D. 2000. *Farther Afield in the Study of Nature-oriented Literature*. Charlottesville, VA.
Myers, K.S. 2014. "Ovid's Self-Reception in His Exile Poetry." In *A Handbook to the Reception of Ovid*, ed. J.F. Miller and C.E. Newlands. 8-21.
Mynors, R.A.B., ed. 1969. *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*. Oxford.
Mynors, R.A.B., ed. 1990. *Virgil: Georgics*. Oxford.
Nagle, B.R. 1980. *The Poetics of Exile: Program and Polemic in the* Tristia *and* Epistulae ex Ponto *of Ovid*. Brussels.
Nappa, C. 2005. *Reading After Actium: Vergil's Georgics, Octavian, and Rome.* Ann Arbor, MI.
Nauta, R. 1994. "Historicizing Reading: The Aesthetics of Reception and Horace's 'Soracte Ode.'" In *Modern Critical Theory and Classical Literature*, ed. I.J.F. De Jong and J.P. Sullivan. Leiden, 207-30.

Nauta, R. 2006. “Panegyric in Virgil’s *Bucolics*.” In *Brill’s Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral*, ed. M. Fantuzzi and T. Papanghelis. 301-32.
Nelis, D. 2004. “*Georgics* 2.458-542: Virgil, Aratus and Empedocles.” *Dictynna* 1. No page numbers.
Nelis, D. and M. Royo, eds. 2014. *Lire la Ville; Fragments d’une archeology littéraire de Rome antique*. Bordeaux.
Nelson, S. 1998. *God and the Land: The Metaphysics of Farming in Hesiod and Vergil*. New York.
Newlands, C. 1997. “The Role of the Book in Tristia 3.1.” *Ramus* 26: 57-79.
Newman, J.K., 1967. *The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry*. Brussels.
Nicolet, C. 1988. *L’Inventaire du Monde. Géographie et politique aux origines de l’Empire romain*. Paris.
Nisbet, R.G.M. 2008. “The Style of Virgil’s *Eclogues*.” In *Vergil’s Eclogues*, ed. K. Volk. 48-63.
Nisbet, R.G.M. and M. Hubbard. 1970. *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book I.* Oxford.
Nisbet, R.G.M. and M. Hubbard. 1978. *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book II*. Oxford.
Nisbet, R.G.M. and N. Rudd. 2004. *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book III.* Oxford.
Nolan, S. 2017. *Unnatural Ecopoetics: Unlikeley Spaces in Contemporary Poetry.* Reno, NV.
North, J.A. 2005. “Religion and Rusticity.” In *Urban Society in Roman Italy*, ed. T.J. Cornell and K. Lomas. 141-56.
Nussbaum, M. 1994. *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics*. Princeton.
Nye, D. and R. Emmett, 2017. *The Environmental Humanities: A Critical Introduction.* Cambridge, MA.
Obbink, D., ed. 1995. *Philodemus and Poetry: Poetic Theory and Practice in Lucretius, Philodemus, and Horace*. New York.
Obbink, D. 2014. “Two New Poems by Sappho.” *ZPE* 189: 32-49.
Oliensis, E. 1998. *Horace and the Rhetoric of Authority*. Cambridge.
Oliensis, E. 2004. “The Power of Image-Makers: Representation and Revenge in Ovid Metamorphoses 6 and Tristia 4.” *CA* 23: 285-321.
Osgood, J. 2006. *Caesar’s Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire.* Cambridge.
Otis, B. 1963. *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry.*
Owen, S.G., ed. 1915. *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri Quinque, Ibis, Ex Ponto, Libri Quattuor, Halieutica, Fragmenta*. Oxford.
Panofsky, E. 1955. *Meaning and the Visual Arts*. Garden City, NY.
Papaioannou, S. 2013. “Embracing Vergil’s ‘Arcadia’: Constructions and representations of a literary *topos* in the poetry of the Augustans.” *Acta Antiqua* 53: 145-70.
Paraskeviotis. G.C. 2016. “The Echo in Vergilian Pastoral.” *L’Antiquité Classique* 85: 45-64.
Parry, A. 1957. “Landscape in Greek Poetry.” *Yale Classical Studies* 15: 3-29.
Parry, A. 1972. “The Idea of Art in Virgil’s *Georgics*.” *Arethusa* 5: 35-52.
Pasquali, G. [1920] 1964. *Orazio lirico: studi.* Florence.
Payne, M. 2007. *Theocritus and the Invention of Fiction*. Cambridge.
Payne, M. 2010. *The Animal Part: Human and Other Animals in the Poetic Imagination*.

Chicago.
Payne, M. 2014. "The Natural World in Greek Literature and Philosophy." In *Oxford Handbooks Online in Classical Studies*, ed. G. Williams. No page numbers.
Peacock, D.P.S. and D.F. Williams. 1986. *Amphorae and the Roman Economy: An Introductory Guide*. New York.
Perkell, C. 1989. *The Poet's Truth: A Study of the Poet in Virgil's Georgics*. Berkeley.
Perkell, C. 1996. "The 'Dying Gallus' and the Design of *Eclogue* 10." *CP* 91: 128-40.
Perkell, C. 2001. "Vergil Reading His Twentieth-Century Readers: A Study of *Eclogue* 9." *Vergilius* 47: 64-88.
Perret, J., ed. 1961. *Virgile, Les Bucoliques*. Paris.
Perret, J. 1965. *Virgile*. Paris.
Perutelli, A. 2000. "Bucolics." in *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, ed. N. Horsfall. Leiden.
Phillips, D. 2003. *The Truth of Ecology: Nature, Culture, and Literature in America*. New York.
Pieper, C. 2016. "Polyvalent Tomi: Ovid's Landscape of Relegation and the Romanization of the Black Sea Region." In *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity: Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination*, ed. J. McInerney and I. Sluiter. 408-30.
Pigeaud, J. 1977. "Nature, culture et poésie dans les Géorgiques de Virgile." Helmántica 28: 431-73.
Pilipović, J. 2013. "*Ad Sidera*: Tree-Space Symbolism in Plato's *Phaedrus* and Vergil's *Eclogues*." *Acta Antiqua* 53: 221-44.
Porter, J. 2010. "Against λεπτότης: Rethinking Hellenistic Aesthetics." In *Creating a Hellenistic World*, ed. A. Erskine and L. Llewellyn-Jones. 271-312.
Pöschl, V. 1964. *Die Hirtendichtung Virgils*. Heidelberg.
Pöschl, V. 1970. *Horazische Lyrik: Interpretationen*. Heidelberg.
Purcell, N. 2010. "Landscape." In *The Edinburgh Companion to Ancient Greece and Rome*, ed. E. Bispham, T. Harrison, and B.A. Sparkes. 123-34.
Purcell, N. 2012. "Rivers and the Geography of Power." *Pallas* 90: 373-87.
Purcell, N. 2017. "A Second Nature? The Riverine Landscapes of the Romans." In *Fluvial Landscapes in the Roman World*, ed. T.V. Franconi. 159-64.
Purves, A.C. 2010. *Space and Time in Ancient Greek Narrative*. Cambridge.
Putnam, M.C.J. 1970. *Virgil's Pastoral Art.* Princeton, N.J.
Putnam, M.C.J. 1975. "Virgil's First Eclogue: Poetics of Enclosure." In *Ancient Pastoral: Ramus Essays on Greek and Latin Pastoral Poetry*, ed. A. Boyle. 81 -104.
Putnam, M.C.J. 1979. *Virgil's Poem of the Earth: Studies in the Georgics*. Princeton, NJ.
Putnam, M.C.J. 1986. *Artifices of Eternity: Horace's Fourth Book of Odes*. Ithaca, NY and London.
Putnam, M.C.J. 2000. *Horace's Carmen Saeculare: Ritual Magic and the Poet's Art.* New Haven.
Putnam, M.C.J. 2008. *Poetic Interplay: Catullus and Horace.* Princeton.
Quinn, K. 1963. *Latin Explorations*. London.
Raber, K. 2007. "Recent Ecocritical Studies of English Renaissance Literature." *English Literary Renaissance* 37: 151-171.

Ramazani, J. 2015. *A Transnational Poetics.* Chicago and London.
Ramazani, J. 2017. "The Local Poem in a Global Age." *Critical Inquiry* 43: 670-96.
Reay, B. 2003. "Some Addressees of Virgil's *Georgics* and their Audience." *Vergilius* 49: 17-41.
Ribbeck, O., ed. 1897. *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*. 3rd ed. Leipzig.
Rigby, K. 2004a. "Earth, World, Text: On the (Im)possibility of Ecopoiesis." *New Literary History* 34: 427-42.
Rigby, K. 2004b. *Topographies of the Sacred: The Poetics of Place in European Romanticism*. Charlottesville, VA and London.
Rimell, V. 2015. *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics*. Cambridge.
Roman, L. 2014. *Poetic Autonomy in Ancient Rome*. Oxford.
Romm, J.S. 1992. *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought*. Princeton.
Rosenmeyer, P.A. 1997. "Ovid's *Heroides* and *Tristia*: Voices from Exile." *Ramus* 26: 29-56.
Rosenmeyer, T. 1969. *The Green Cabinet*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
Ross, D. 1987. *Virgil's Elements: Physics and Poetry in the* Georgics. Princeton.
Roth, R. 2007. "Varro's *picta Italia* (*RR* I.ii.1) and the Odology of Roman Italy." *Hermes* 135: 286-300.
Roudometof, V. 2016. "Theorizing Glocalization: Three Interpretations." *European Journal of Social Theory* 19: 391-408.
Rowlands, M. 2010. *The New Science of the Mind: From Extended Mind to Embodied Phenomenology*. Cambridge, MA.
Rudd, N. 1960. "Patterns in Horatian Lyric." *AJPhil* 81: 373-92.
Rudd, N. 1993. "Horace as a Moralist." In *Horace 2000: A Celebration,* ed. N. Rudd. 64-88.
Rueckert, W. [1978] 1996. "Literature and Ecology: An Experiment in Ecocriticism." In Glotfelty and Fromm (1996). 105-23.
Ruskin, J. [1856] 1904. *The Works of John Ruskin.* Ed. E.T. Cook and A. Wedderburn. Vol. 5. London.
Said, E.W. 2000. *Reflections on Exile, and Other Essays*. London.
Saunders, T. 2006. "'Using Green Words' or 'Abusing Bucolic Ground.'" In *Pastoral and the Humanities: Arcadia Re-inscribed*, ed. M. Skoie and S. Bjørnstad -Vélazquez. 3-13.
Saunders, T. 2008. *Bucolic Ecology: Virgil's* Eclogues *and the Environmental Literary Tradition*. London.
Sayre, L. 2016. "'How/to make fields fertile': Ecocritical Lessons from the History of Virgil's *Georgics* in Translation." In *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity*, ed. C. Schliephake. 175-96.
Schafer ([1977] 1993) *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World*. New York.
Schama, S. 1995. *Landscape and Memory*. New York.
Scheidel, W. 2004. "Human Mobility in Roman Italy, I: The Free Population." *JRS* 94: 1 -26.
Scheidel, W. 2005. "Human Moility in Roman Italy, II: The Slave Population." *JRS* 95: 64-79.
Scheidel, W., ed. 2018. *The Science of Roman History: Biology, Climate, and the Future*

of the Past. Princeton.
Schiesaro, A. 1997. "The Boundaries of Knowledge in Virgil's *Georgics*." In T. Habinek and A. Schiesaro (eds.), *The Roman Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge, 63-89.
Schiesaro, A. 2009. "Horace's Bacchic Poetics." In *Perceptions of Horace: A Roman Poet and his Readers*. Ed. L.B.T. Houghton and M. Wyke. Cambridge, 61-79.
Schiller, F. [1795-6] 1985. "On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry." Trans. J.A. Eliot, mod. H.B. Nisbet. In *German Aesthetic and Literary Criticism: Winckelmann, Lessing, Hamann, Herder, Schiller, Goethe*, ed. H.B. Nisbet. Cambridge, 180-232.
Schliephake, C. 2016a. "Introduction." In *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity*, ed. C. Schliephake. 1-15.
Schliephake, C., ed. 2016b. *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity*. Lanham, MD.
Schlögel, K. 2016. *In Space We Read Time: On the History of Civilization and Geopolitics*. New York.
Schmidt, E.A. 1972. *Poetische Reflexion: Vergils Bukolik*. Munich.
Schmidt, E.A. 1975. "Arkadien: Abendland und Antike." *Antike und Abendland* 21: 36 -57.
Schmidt, E.A. 1987. *Bukolische Leidenschaft, oder, Über antike Hirtenpoesie*. Frankfurt.
Schmidt, E.A. 1997. *Sabinum: Horaz und sein Landgut im Licenzatal*. Heidelberg.
Schmidt, E.A. 2008. "Arcadia: Modern Occident and Classical Antiquity." In *Vergil's Eclogues*, ed. K. Volk. 16-47.
Schofield, M. 2003. "Stoic Ethics." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Stoics*, ed. B. Inwood. Cambridge, 233-56.
Schönbeck, G. 1962. *Der Locus Amoenus von Homer bis Horaz.* Cologne.
Scigaj, L. 1999. *Sustainable Poetry: Four American Ecopoets*. Lexington, KY.
Segal, C. 1963. "Nature and the World of Man in Greek Literature." *Arion* 2: 19-53.
Segal, C. 1966. "Orpheus and the Fourth Georgic: Vergil on Nature and Civilization." *AJPh* 87: 307-25.
Segal, C. 1969. "Horace, Odes 2.6 (*Septime, Gadis aditure mecum*): Poetic Landscape and Poetic Imagination." *Philologus* 113: 235-53.
Segal, C. 1981. *Poetry and Myth in Ancient Pastoral*. Princeton, NJ.
Sellar, W.Y. 1897. *The Roman Poets of the Augustan Age: Virgil.* Oxford.
Shackleton Bailey, D.R., ed. 1985. *Q. Horati Flacci Opera*. Stuttgart.
Sharrock, A. 1994. *Seduction and Repetition in Ovid's* Ars Amatoria 2. Oxford and New York.
Sider, D., ed. 1997. *The Epigrams of Philodemos: Introduction, Text, and Commentary.* New York and Oxford.
Sider, D. 2001. "'As is the generation of leaves' in Homer, Simonides, Horace and Stobaeus." In *The New Simonides: Contexts of Praise and Desire*, ed. D.D. Boedeker and D. Sider. 263-93.
Skoie, M. 2006. "City and Countryside in Vergil's *Eclogues*." In Sluiter and Rosen (2006). 297-325.
Slater, W.J. 1971. "Pindar's House." *GRBS* 12: 141-52.
Slatkin, L. 2004. "Measuring Authority, Authoritative Measures: Hesiod's *Works and Days*." In *The Moral Authority of Nature*, ed. L. Daston and F. Vidal. Chicago, 25-49.

Sluiter, I. and R. Rosen, eds. 2006. *City, Countryside, and the Spatial Organization of Value in Classical Antiquity*. Leiden.
Snell, B. 1953. *The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought*. Trans. T. Rosenmeyer. Oxford.
Snyder, G. 1980. "Poetry, Community & Climax." In *The Real Work: Interviews & Talks, 1964-1979,* ed. W.S. McLean. New York.
Soja, E. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies. The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London.
Soja, E. 1996. *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-and-Imagined Places*. Malden, MA.
Soper, K. 1995. *What is Nature? Culture, Politics and the Non-Human*. Oxford.
Spencer, D. 2010. *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity*. Cambridge.
Spurr, M.S. 1986. "Agriculture and the 'Georgics.'" *Greece & Rome* 33: 164-87.
Steele, F. 1981. *The Sense of Place*. Boston.
Street, L.-G. 2013. "The Roots of It." In *The Ecopoetry Anthology*, ed. A. Fisher Wirth and L.-G. Street. xxxvii-xl.
Striker, G. 1991. "Following Nature: A Study in Stoic Ethics." *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy* 9: 1-73.
Syndikus, H.P. 1972. *Die Lyrik des Horaz. Eine Interpretation der Oden. I. Erstes und zweites Buch*. Darmstadt.
Syndikus, H.P. 1973. *Die Lyrik des Horaz. Eine Interpretation der Oden*. II. *Drittes und viertes Buch.* Darmstadt.
Tacoma, L. 2016. *Moving Romans: Migration to Rome in the Principate*. Oxford.
Tarrant, R. 2007. "Horace and Roman Literary History." In *The Cambridge Companion to Horace*, ed. S.J. Harrison. Cambridge, 63-76.
Thibodeau, P. 2001. "The Old Man and his Garden (Verg. *Georg.* 4, 116-148)." *MD* 47: 175-95.
Thibodeau, P. 2011. *Playing the Farmer: Representations of Rural Life in Vergil's Georgics*. Berkeley.
Thilo, G., ed. (1887) *Servii Grammatici Qui Feruntur in Vergilii Bucolica et Georgica Commentarii*. Leipzig.
Thomas, R.F. 1982. *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry*. Cambridge.
Thomas, R.F. 1983. "Callimachus, the *Victoria Berenices*, and Roman Poetry." *CQ* 33: 92-113.
Thomas, R.F. 1987. "Prose into Poetry: Tradition and Meaning in Virgil's *Georgics*." *HSPh* 91: 229-60.
Thomas, R.F. 1988a. *Virgil. The Georgics Volume I, Books I-II*. Cambridge.
Thomas, R.F. 1988b. *Virgil. The Georgics Volume II, Books III-IV*. Cambridge.
Thomas, R.F. 1991. "The 'Sacrifice' at the End of the *Georgics*, Aristaeus, and Vergilian Closure." *CP* 86: 211-18.
Thomas, R.F. 1992. "The Old Man Revisited: Memory, Reference, and Genre in Virg., Georg. 4, 116-48." *MD* 29: 35-70.
Thomas, R.F., ed. 2011. *Horace: Odes Book IV and Carmen Saeculare*. Cambridge.
Thommen, L. 2012. *An Environmental History of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Trans. P. Hill. Cambridge.
Tissol, G. 2005. "Maimed Books and Maimed Authors: *Tristia* 1.7 and the Fate of the

Metamorpohses." In *Defining Genre and Gender in Latin Literature: Essays Presented to William S. Anderson on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. W. Batsone and G. Tissol. 97-112.
Tissol, G., ed. 2014. *Ovid;* Epistulae ex Ponto, *Book I.* Cambridge.
Troxler-Keller, I. 1964. *Die Dichterlandschaft des Horaz*. Heidelberg.
Tsing, A. 2012. "Unruly Edges: Mushrooms as Companion Species." *Environmental Humanities* 1: 141-54.
Tuan, Y. [1974] 1990. *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes and Values*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.
Tuan, Y. 1977. *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*. Minneapolis.
Uglione, R., ed. 1998. *L'uomo antico e la natura*. Turin.
Van den Berg, J.H. 1970. "The Subject and his Landscape." In *Romanticism and Consciousness: Essays in Criticism*, ed. H. Bloom. New York, 57-65.
Van Sickle, J.B. 1967. "The Unity of the Eclogues: Arcadian Forest, Theocritean Trees." *TAPhA* 98: 491-508.
Vasaly, A. 1993. *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*. Berkeley.
Videau-Delibes, A. 1991. *Les* Tristes *d'Ovide et l'élégie romain: Une poétique de la rupture.* Paris.
Volk, K. 2008. "Introduction: Scholarly Approaches to the *Georgics* since the 1970s." In K. Volk (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Vergil's* Georgics. Oxford, 1-13.
Volk, K. 2010. "Aratus." In J.J. Clauss and M. Cuypers (eds.), *A Companion to Hellenistic Literature*. Malden, MA, 197-210.
Voros, G. 1997. *Notations of the Wild: Ecology in the Poetry of Wallace Stevens.* Iowa City, IA.
Walker, A.D. 1997. "Oedipal Narratives and the Exilic Ovid." *Ramus* 26: 194-204.
Webb, R. 2009. *Ekphrasis, Imagination, and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*. Farnham and Burlington.
Wendel, C., ed. 1914. *Scholia in Theocritum Vetera*. Leipzig.
West, D. 1967. *Reading Horace.* Edinburgh.
West, D. 1995. *Horace Odes I: Carpe Diem.* Oxford.
West, D. 1998. *Horace Odes II: Vatis Amici*. Oxford.
West, D. 2002. *Horace Odes III: Dulce Periculum.* Oxford.
Westling, L., ed. 2013. *The Cambridge Companion to Literature and the Environment.* Cambridge.
Whitmarsh, T. 2010. "Thinking Local." In T. Whitmarsh (ed.), *Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World*. Cambridge, 1-16.
Wilkinson, L.P. 1945. *Horace and his Lyric Poetry*. Cambridge.
Wilkinson, L.P. 1955. *Ovid Recalled*. Cambridge.
Wilkinson, L.P. 1966 "Virgil and the Evictions." *Hermes* 94: 320-324.
Wilkinson, L.P. 1969. *The Georgics of Virgil: A Critical Survey*. London.
Wilkinson, L.P. 2008. "Pindar and the Proem to the Third *Georgic*." In K. Volk (ed.), *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Vergil's* Georgics. Oxford, 182-88.
Williams, G. 1994. *Banished Voices: Readings in Ovid's Exile Poetry.* Cambridge.
Williams, G. 2002a. "Ovid's Exile Poetry: *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto* and *Ibis*." In *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. P. Hardie. 233-45.

Williams, G. 2002b. “Ovid’s Exilic Poetry: Worlds Apart.” In *Brill’s Companion to Ovid*, ed. B.W. Boyd. 337-81.
Williams, R. 1973. *The Country and the City.* London.
Williams, R. 1980. *Problems in Materialism and Culture: Selected Essays.* London.
Williams, R. 1983. *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society.* New York.
Winkler, K., K. Seifert, and H. Detering. 2012. “Literary Studies and the Spatial Turn.” *Journal of Literary Theory* 6: 253-270.
Winterbottom, M. 1976. “Virgil and the Confiscations.” *G&R* 23: 55-59.
Witek, F. 2006. *Vergils Landschaften*. Zürich.
Woodman, A.J. 1972. “Horace’s Odes *Diffugere nives* and *Solvitur acris hiems*.” *Latomus* 31: 768-76.
Woodman, A.J. 1974. “*Exegi monumentum*: Horace, *Odes* 3.30.” In *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*, ed. T. Woodman and D. West. London and New York. 115-28.
Woolf, G. 2016. “Movers and Stayers.” In *Migration and Mobility in the Early Roman Empire*, ed. L. de Ligt and L. Tacoma. Leiden. 438-61.
Worman, N. 2015. *Landscape and the Spaces of Metaphor in Ancient Literary Theory and Criticism*. Cambridge.
Wormell, D.E.W. 1971. “*Apibus quanta experiential parcis.* Virgil *Georgics* 4.1-227.” In H. Bardon and R. Verdière (eds.), *Vergiliana: Recherches sur Virgile*. Leiden, 429-35.
Wright, J.R.G. 1983. “Virgil’s Pastoral Programme: Theocritus, Callimachus and *Eclogue* 1.” *PCPhS* 29: 107-60.
Zanker, G. 1981. “Enargeia in the Ancient Criticism of Poetry.” *RhM 124: 297-311.*
Zapf, H., ed. 2016. *Handbook of Ecocriticism and Cultural Ecology.* Berlin and Boston.
Zetzel, J. 2003. “Plato with Pillows: Cicero on the Uses of Greek Culture.” In *Myth, History, and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in Honour of T.P. Wiseman*, ed. D. Braund and C. Gill. 119-38.