

THE CAMBRIDGE COMPANION TO
VIRGIL

The poet Virgil remains the most significant and influential figure in Latin literature, and this expanded and updated Companion covers his life, work and reception from antiquity to the present. The *Aeneid*, the *Eclogues*, the *Georgics* and the *Appendix Vergiliana* are all discussed, as are art, history, politics and philosophy. Virgil's literary style is carefully explored along with poetic traditions before and since, and chapters engage with his poems and their reception from perspectives including intertextuality, narratology, gender theory, philology and historicism. Leading authors cover topics from translations and commentaries to genre, authority and characterization, providing revised and updated recommendations for further reading. This volume is an accessible introduction to Virgil and his legacy for students and teachers, while also providing wide-ranging and in-depth investigations that will appeal to scholars of classical literature and other disciplines.

Fiachra Mac Góráin is Associate Professor of Classics at University College London. He has published extensively on Virgil and his reception and is regularly invited to speak about him in various countries around the world. He has also engaged in consultancy work for the BBC.

Charles Martindale is Emeritus Professor of Latin at the University of Bristol. His work focuses on Latin poetry (including Virgil), reception studies, English/Classics relationships and aesthetics, and he has published five authored or co-authored books and twelve edited or co-edited volumes, among them the five-volume *Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature*. A special issue of *Classical Receptions Journal* was devoted to his pioneering work *Redeeming the Text* (1993).

A complete list of books in the series is at the back of this book.



Frontispiece: Simone Martini, Frontispiece to Petrarch's Virgil Manuscript (between 1338 and 1344), Biblioteca Ambrosiana (S.P. 10, 27), Milan. Photo courtesy of the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana. (This photograph is the property of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. All rights reserved. No reproductions allowed.)

The picture is an allegory showing Virgil seated beneath a tree composing one of his books. The figure drawing aside the muslin curtain is the fourth-century grammarian Servius, whose commentary on Virgil was an influential source for later writers and readers: he symbolically 'reveals' Virgil to posterity. The other figures personify Virgil's books: Aeneas stands beside Servius, while below them a farmer pruning a vine represents the *Georgics*, and a shepherd symbolises the *Eclogues*. The two Latin inscriptions make the meaning of the image clear: 'Italy, benevolent country, you nourish famous poets. Thus this one [Virgil] enables you to achieve Grecian genius', and 'This is Servius, who recovers the mysteries of eloquent Virgil so they are revealed to leaders, shepherds and farmers.' The miniature was painted for Petrarch between 1338 and 1344 when he recovered his prized manuscript copy of Virgil's work, which had been stolen in 1326. See Houghton, pp. 143–4.

THE CAMBRIDGE
COMPANION TO
VIRGIL

SECOND EDITION

EDITED BY
FIACHRA MAC GÓRÁIN
University College London

CHARLES MARTINDALE
University of Bristol



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press & Assessment
 978-1-316-62134-9 — The Cambridge Companion to Virgil
 Charles Martindale, Fiachra Mac Góráin
 Frontmatter
[More Information](#)



CAMBRIDGE
 UNIVERSITY PRESS

Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
 One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
 477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
 314-321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre, New Delhi – 110025, India
 103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment,
 a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of
 education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org
 Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781316621349

DOI: 10.1017/9781316756102

© Cambridge University Press & Assessment 1997, 2019

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions
 of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take
 place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 1997
 Sixth printing 2008
 Second edition 2019

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication data

Names: Mac Góráin, Fiachra, editor. | Martindale, Charles, editor.

Title: The Cambridge companion to Virgil /

edited by Fiachra Mac Góráin, Charles Martindale.

Description: Second edition. | Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018049105 | ISBN 9781107170186 (hardback) |

ISBN 9781316621349 (pbk.)

Subjects: LCSH: Virgil – Criticism and interpretation.

Classification: LCC PA6825.C35 2019 | DDC 873/.01–dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2018049105>

ISBN 978-1-107-17018-6 Hardback

ISBN 978-1-316-62134-9 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence
 or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this
 publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will
 remain, accurate or appropriate.

CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	page viii
<i>List of Contributors</i>	xi
<i>Preface to the Second Edition</i>	xiii
<i>Preface to the First Edition</i>	xv
1 Introduction: ‘The Classic of All Europe’	I
CHARLES MARTINDALE	
 PART I RECEPTIONS	
2 Modern Receptions and their Interpretative Implications: The Case of T. S. Eliot	23
DUNCAN F. KENNEDY	
3 Aspects of Virgil’s Reception in Antiquity	43
RICHARD TARRANT	
4 <i>The Appendix Vergiliana</i>	63
SCOTT MCGILL	
5 Augustine’s Virgil	77
GILLIAN CLARK	
6a The Virgil Commentary of Servius	88
DON FOWLER (REVISED BY SERGIO CASALI AND FABIO STOK)	
6b Post-classical Commentary	95
SERGIO CASALI AND FABIO STOK	

CONTENTS

7	Virgil in English Translation COLIN BURROW	109
8	Virgils from Dante to Milton COLIN BURROW	128
9	Virgil in Art L. B. T. HOUGHTON	141

PART II FORMS

10	Green Politics: The <i>Eclogues</i> CHARLES MARTINDALE	173
11	Virgilian Didaxis: Value and Meaning in the <i>Georgics</i> WILLIAM W. BATSTONE	193
12	Virgilian Epic DUNCAN F. KENNEDY	216
13	Closure and the Book of Virgil ELENA THEODORAKOPOULOS	226

PART III CONTEXTS

14	Poetry and Power: Virgil's Poetry in Contemporary Context RICHARD TARRANT	243
15	Rome and its Traditions JAMES E. G. ZETZEL	263
16	Virgil and the Cosmos: Religious and Philosophical Ideas SUSANNA BRAUND	279
17	Virgil's Intertextual Personae JOSEPH FARRELL	299
18	Virgil and Tragedy PHILIP HARDIE	326

CONTENTS

PART IV THEMES

19	Virgil as a Poet	345
	VICTORIA MOUL	
20	Virgil's Style	368
	JAMES J. O'HARA	
21	Character in Virgil	387
	HELEN LOVATT	
22a	Virgilian Narrative: Storytelling	400
	DON FOWLER (REVISED BY ALESSANDRO BARCHIESI)	
22b	Virgilian Narrative: Ecphrasis	413
	ALESSANDRO BARCHIESI	
23	Sons and Lovers: Sexuality and Gender in Virgil's Poetry	425
	ELLEN OLIENSIS	
24	Authority	445
	FIACHRA MAC GÓRÁIN	

ENVOIS

25	The Death of Virgil	461
	FIONA COX	
26	Virgil: The Future?	472
	FIACHRA MAC GÓRÁIN	
	<i>Dateline Compiled by Genevieve Liveley</i>	479
	<i>Works Cited</i>	483
	<i>Index Locorum</i>	531
	<i>Index Nominum et Rerum</i>	539

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Frontispiece: Simone Martini, Frontispiece to Petrarch's Virgil Manuscript (between 1338 and 1344), Biblioteca Ambrosiana (S.P. 10, 27), Milan. Photo courtesy of the Veneranda Biblioteca Ambrosiana. (This photograph is the property of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana. All rights reserved. No reproductions allowed.) page ii
1. *Virgil Seated between Two Muses* (third century), mosaic from Hadrumetum, Bardo Museum, Tunis. 143
 2. Master of the Grüninger Workshop, *Eclogue 4*, from *Publii Virgilii Maronis Opera*, ed. Sebastian Brant (1502). Image from the Warburg Institute, University of London. 144
 3. Crispijn de Passe the Elder, *Eclogues 4 and 5*, from *Compendium Operum Virgilianorum* (1612). Image from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 145
 4. Apollonio di Giovanni, *Neptune Calms the Storm Caused by Aeolus at Juno's Request*, cassone panel, c. 1460, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Jarves Collection). 147
 5. Marcantonio Raimondi (after Raphael), *Quos ego* (c. 1518). Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. 148
 6. *Portrait of Virgil* (early fifth century?), miniature from the Roman Virgil, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Codex Vat. Lat. 3867, fol. 3v), Vatican City. © 2018 Photo Art Resource/SCALA, Florence. 150
 7. *Virgil and Horace*, from L. W. Yaggy and T. L. Haines, *Museum of Antiquity* (1882). Image © Ivy Close Images / Alamy stock Photo. 151
 8. Samuel Palmer and A. H. Palmer, *Eclogue 9* (1883). Image from the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, Achenbach Foundation for Graphic Arts. 152
 9. Raphael, *Fire in the Borgo* (1514), Stanza dell' Incendio del Borgo, Vatican City. © Fratelli Alinari IDEA S.p.A. / Getty Images. 153

ILLUSTRATIONS

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| 10. | Gianlorenzo Bernini, <i>Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius</i> (c. 1618–19), Galleria Borghese, Rome. © Archivi Alinari, Firenze. | 154 |
| 11. | Federico Barocci, <i>The Flight of Aeneas from Troy</i> (1598), Galleria Borghese, Rome. © De Agostini / V. Pirozzi / Getty Images. | 155 |
| 12. | Quentin Metsys the Younger, <i>Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I</i> (' <i>Sieve Portrait</i> ') (c. 1583), Pinacoteca Nazionale, Siena. © DEA / G. Dagli Orti / Getty Images. | 156 |
| 13. | Bernardino di Betto (Pinturicchio), <i>Enea Silvio Piccolomini Departs for the Council of Basel</i> (1502–3), Piccolomini Library, Siena. © Lucas Schifres / Getty Images. | 157 |
| 14. | Claude Lorrain, <i>Ascanius Shooting the Stag of Sylvia</i> (1682), Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford. | 158 |
| 15. | Giovanni Battista Moroni, <i>Portrait of a Young Man</i> (c. 1560). © National Gallery, London. | 160 |
| 16. | Sir James Thornhill, <i>King George I and his Family with Allegorical Figures</i> (1725), Painted Hall, Old Royal Naval College, Greenwich. Image from Jigsaw Design & Publishing. | 161 |
| 17. | Agostino Carracci, <i>Omnia vincit amor</i> (1599). Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. | 163 |
| 18. | Domenico Ghirlandaio, <i>Cumaean Sibyl</i> (1483–6), Cappella Sassetti, S. Trinità, Florence. Photograph: L. Houghton. | 164 |
| 19. | Ludger tom Ring, <i>Virgil</i> (c. 1538), Westfälisches Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte, Münster. Image from the Digital Images and Slides Collection, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University. | 165 |
| 20. | Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, <i>Virgil Reading the Aeneid to the Emperor Augustus</i> (1812–19), Musée des Augustins, Toulouse. | 166 |
| 21. | Lucas van Leyden, <i>Virgil in the Basket</i> (1525). Image from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. | 168 |
| 22. | Charles I before his execution. Frontispiece to [John Gauden], <i>Eikon Basilike. The Pourtracture of His Sacred Majestie in His Solitudes and Sufferings</i> . [London: printed by William Bentley], 1648 [i.e. 1649]. | 365 |

CONTRIBUTORS

ALESSANDRO BARCHIESI is Professor of Classics at New York University.

WILLIAM W. BATSTONE is Professor of Classics at The Ohio State University.

SUSANNA BRAUND holds a Canada Research Chair in Latin Poetry and its Reception at the University of British Columbia.

COLIN BURROW is a Senior Research Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford.

SERGIO CASALI is Associate Professor of Latin Language and Literature at the University of Rome, Tor Vergata.

GILLIAN CLARK FBA is Professor Emerita of Ancient History at the University of Bristol.

FIONA COX is Associate Professor in French and Comparative Literature at the University of Exeter.

JOSEPH FARRELL is Professor of Classical Studies at the University of Pennsylvania.

DON FOWLER was Fellow and Tutor in Classics at Jesus College, Oxford.

PHILIP HARDIE is a Senior Research Fellow at Trinity College, Cambridge.

L. B. T. HOUGHTON is an Honorary Research Fellow of the Department of Greek and Latin, University College London.

DUNCAN F. KENNEDY is Professor Emeritus of Latin Literature and the Theory of Criticism at the University of Bristol.

HELEN LOVATT is Professor of Classics at the University of Nottingham.

CONTRIBUTORS

FIACHRA MAC GÓRÁIN is Associate Professor of Classics at University College London.

CHARLES MARTINDALE is Professor Emeritus of Latin at the University of Bristol.

SCOTT MCGILL is Professor of Classical Studies at Rice University in Houston, Texas.

VICTORIA MOUL is Associate Professor of Early Modern Latin and English at University College London.

JAMES J. O'HARA is George L. Paddison Professor of Latin at The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

ELLEN OLIENSIS is Professor of Classics and Comparative Literature at the University of California, Berkeley.

FABIO STOK is Professor of Latin Literature and the Classical Tradition at the University of Rome, Tor Vergata.

RICHARD TARRANT is Pope Professor Emeritus of the Latin Language and Literature at Harvard University.

ELENA THEODORAKOPOULOS is Senior Lecturer in Classics at the University of Birmingham.

JAMES E. G. ZETZEL is Charles Anthon Professor Emeritus of the Latin Language and Literature at Columbia University.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The original *Cambridge Companion to Virgil* (1997) was significantly the first in that series devoted to a single classical author. After two decades' worth of advancements in the field it was felt to be due a renewal. The second edition follows the philosophy of the first in providing what we hope are stimulating contributions on various aspects of Virgil that together offer an overview of Virgilian studies as now constituted.

Much valuable work on Virgil has of course been published since 1997. All chapters have been revised and updated here to take account of this work, some extensively, others more lightly, but all referencing recent publications (the only exception is Chapter 15, which, at the author's request, remains as it was in 1997, though we have added to the Further Reading). Partly in response to reviewers' criticisms, and partly in line with our own view, we have commissioned nine completely new chapters, including chapters on such central topics as characterization, intertextuality, authority, the defining qualities of Virgil's poetry, and his influence on the visual arts. We have also reorganized the sections, while still starting with reception, for the reasons given in the Introduction. Some reviewers were unhappy with the stress on reception, but since 1997 the importance of classical reception studies has been widely acknowledged; and the way Virgil is read today depends in large part on the responses of earlier ages. Indeed the revised Companion helps to flesh out the story further. A somewhat perverse decision was taken in 1997 to exclude the *Appendix Vergiliana* on the grounds of spurious authorship. A number of those poems, including the *Culex*, were long taken to be genuine works of Virgil, and the collection played a significant role in establishing what 'Virgil' signified – we accordingly remedy this omission with a new chapter. We have also added a chapter on St Augustine, a close and intelligent reader of the poems who had an authority comparable to Virgil's, and influenced subsequent Christian readings, particularly in the Middle Ages and Renaissance; and one on post-classical commentary, since commentaries have always had a fundamental impact on the way Virgil's

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

works have been read. Critics of the first edition also commented on its anglophone emphasis; we have tried to mitigate this shortcoming, particularly with regard to bibliography. All the original chapters remain available through the Cambridge Companions website.

We are very grateful to the authors for their cooperation. We thank Nick Freer and Daniel Hadas for bibliographical advice; Luke Houghton and Oliver Clamp for help with the index; and Nik Nicheperovich for his work on the bibliography and technical assistance. At Cambridge University Press we thank Sarah Starkey, Sophie Taylor, and their production team, including Sarah Green and her colleagues at Newgen Publishing UK Ltd. Finally, we extend particular thanks to Michael Sharp at Cambridge University Press for his help and guidance throughout.

Fiachra Mac Góráin, London
Charles Martindale, York
April, 2018

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

cui fidus Achates
it comes et paribus curis vestigia figit.

The Concise Oxford English Dictionary defines a *fidus Achates* as ‘devoted follower, henchman’; and one of the aims of this Companion is to be as helpful as possible to its readers. It is devised for anyone, whether a classicist or not, who is seeking guidance and orientation for a fuller understanding of Virgil. We have assumed that most of those who consult this volume will have read parts of Virgil’s poetry if only in translation – for those with Latin the best introduction is to read some of the texts with a good commentary, of which there are many. We certainly cannot attempt to replicate the work of the commentators here; rather we offer a series of essays on topics which can constitute useful entry-points for the devoted student of Virgil. And though we aim to help and to provide what is sometimes called ‘basic information’, we do not seek to simplify or to offer any sort of bland orthodoxy. We assume that our readers (even if not expert on the subject) are seeking intelligent and sophisticated comment, and we hope that the book will prove exciting as well as useful, and will point to the shape of Virgilian scholarship and criticism to come.

This book is very much a collaborative endeavour; and I am grateful to all the contributors for responding so positively to the various demands made upon them. Genevieve Liveley took time off from her PhD to assist me most efficiently in the editorial work; she is also responsible for the ‘List of Works Cited’ and for the ‘Dateline’. I would particularly like to thank Pauline Hire of Cambridge University Press who gave patient help and advice throughout to a sometimes recalcitrant editor. Finally I would like to express my general pleasure in the task; all those who have helped to produce this book,

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

whatever their differences of view about particulars, would surely be happy to be described as devoted followers of the poet whom Dante hailed with the words *tu se' lo mio maestro e 'l mio autore*.

Charles Martindale
Bristol, October 1996