war dieses Kind nur ein Symbol gewesen, ein Symbol für die fast überschwengliche Hoffnung, die die viel gequälten Römer mit der in der *pax Brundisina* vereinbarten Ehe verbunden hatten. Daß andere Prätendenten auftauchten, die behaupteten, von Vergil gemeint zu sein, daß das Christentum das Gedicht für die Geburt seines Christus beanspruchte, ist in diesem Zusammenhang ohne Belang.

Hamburg   Hans Joachim Mette

THE SALII ON THE SHIELD OF AENEAS: AENEID 8, 663–6

The scenes represented on the Shield of Aeneas (*Aen.* 8, 626–728) are the following:

(1) the She-Wolf and Twins (630–4);
(2) the rape of the Sabine women and the subsequent war between Romulus and Titus Tatius (635–8);
(3) the ceremonial of the peace-treaty which ended the war (639–41);
(4) the savage punishment of Mettus Fufetius by Tullus Hostilius (642–5);
(5) Porsenna besieging Rome to restore Tarquinius Superbus (646–8);
(6) the exploits of Horatius Cocles and Cloelia (649–51);
(7) Manlius defending the Capitol and the Gauls' night attack (652–62);
(8) *hic exsultantis Salios nudosque Lupercos*
   lanigerosque apices et lapsa ancilia caelo
   extuderat (sc. *Vulcanus*), *castae ducebant sacra per urbem*
   pilentis matres in mollibus. (663–6);
(9) (*hinc procul*) Catiline punished in Tartarus, Cato administering justice to the righteous (666–70);
   (671–4), the sea with billows and dolphins, is purely decorative, setting the scene for
(10) the naval engagement off Actium (675–703);
(11) the intervention of Apollo, the rout of Antony's forces and the flight of Cleopatra (704–13);

(12) Augustus' triumphal entry into Rome with festival and
    rejoicing (714-9);
(13) seated in front of Apollo's temple Augustus reviews the
    spoils and captives (720-8).

Disagreement is possible about the precise number of *separately*
visualised scenes, about the extent to which Virgil in fact *visua-
lised* any of them (or wished his audience to do so), about their
relative disposition on the Shield, and about the extent of Vir-
gil's debt (if any) to the artistic example of one or more decorated
shields. But scholars have been chiefly exercised to discover
what principle(s) Virgil observed in selecting his material: why
these scenes, (1)-(9), to represent over seven hundred years of
Roman history?

   Heyne[1]) looked for a *certum iudicium,* failed to find it, and
blamed Virgil. W. Warde Fowler[2]) found "a long list, not so
much of triumphs, as of escapes from terrible perils both moral
and material", but "lines 663-666 come in very abruptly and
awkwardly" and "the passage usually[3]) quoted here, Livy 5, 25,
has no relation to the invasion of the Gauls". D. L. Drew[4]) sug-
gested that the scenes exemplify, successively, the four cardinal
Augustan virtues of *virtus, clementia, iustitia* and *pietas,* while
Brooks Otis[5]) sees as the main theme "the constant opposition
of *virtus, consilium* and *pietas* to the forces of violence in all Ro-
man history". The inadequacies of these two schemes, which
both encourage the belief that lines 663-6 can be adequately ex-
plained as an example of *pietas,* are exposed by D. E. Eichholz[6]).
Eichholz sees the solution in terms of literary technique: the
scenes are not connected by theme but by the tempo of the nar-
rative, by which Virgil controls the mind's eye of the reader in
its sweep across the panorama of Roman history, while hinting
broadly (in phrases like *hinc procul*) that there is more to be seen
than is described. On this view the Salii-scene not only is time-
less, but is meant to be, to suspend the reader's disbelief a very
great height above distracting thoughts about chronology. J. G.

   1) Excursus IV to *Aen.* 8 in C. G. Heyne – G. P. E. Wagner, *Virgilii
Opera,* 4th ed., 5 vols., Leipzig and London 1830-1841.
   2) *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (Oxford 1918), 103 and 106.
   3) By e. g. T. E. Page, *The Aeneid of Virgil* VII–XII (Macmillan
1900).
   4) *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (Oxford 1927), 26 ff.
   5) *Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1963), 341 f.
   6) *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 6 (1966-7), 45-9.

Griffith[7]) points out that the undescribed interstices of the Shield can be filled from the Parade of Heroes in *Aen.* 6 to produce "a selective yet satisfyingly inclusive epitome of the Roman past". This is an important observation: Tullus and Tarquin are the only personalities named in both the Parade and the Shield; non-repetition was almost certainly a consciously observed principle; but its effect is negative, determining why what is not on the Shield is not there, not why what is there is. Griffith accounts for the Salii-scene by postulating a connection with the Tullus-scene: *Tullus in re trepida* (when Mettus Fufetius had treacherously withdrawn his troops and exposed the Roman flank) *duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori* (Livy 1, 27, 7); and the two scenes are structurally related in a chiastic grouping. Such an appeal to structuralism would gain in plausibility if it could be shown to operate elsewhere on the Shield; as an *ad hoc* solution for the Shield's most difficult problem it is unconvincing[8]).

According to the introductory statement the Shield portrays *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos* (626) ... *pugnataque in ordine bella* (629). The chronological ordering of the material (*in ordine*) is evident and undisputed[9]). I suggest that the one unifying theme is successful warfare (*triumphos-bella*); any specific conflict naturally involves preliminaries, personalities and consequences, and any of these may become, or may be used as, a symbol of the conflict. Hence the Shield pictures scenes not only of actual hostilities (2, 5, 11, 12), with the *causa belli* (2, 5), associated feats of individual heroism (6, 9), and the birth of the warrior-leader (1), but also of events following success on the battlefield, *triumphus* in its strict sense (13, 14),

7) *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 7 (1967–8), 54–65.
8) I offer the following thesis-abstract to a learner critic of the structuralist school: "The key to an understanding in depth of the first section of the Shield (*Aen.* 8, 630–70) lies in the realisation that its nine scenes are arranged chiastically around scene 5; scenes 1 and 9 both represent a pair (the Twins; Catiline and Cato); the *raptae Sabinae* of scene 2 become, synoecised, the *castae matres* of scene 8; scenes 3 and 7 are static-pictorial and contrast sharply with the individually-active 4 and 6; this evidently conscious arrangement highlights the central scene 5, where the threat of foreign domination designedly prefigures the Shield's own centrepiece, the threat of an oriental domination by Antony and Cleopatra".
9) Line 654 *Romuleoque recens horrebat regia culmo* can be so interpreted as to neutralise chronological implications; but there is much to be said for transposing it (with the *editio Parmensis,* Ribbeck, Mackail and others) from its position after 653 (*stabat...*) to follow 641 (*stabant...*).

the ceremonial of the peace-treaty (3), the punishment of a treacherous ally (4), and posterity's verdict on the combatants in civil wars (9).

A reader reaching the Salii-scene would, therefore, be predisposed to think of it as following the previous episode in time, and, since it involves no hostilities and no personalities and as a collective group[10]) does not hint at preliminaries to another conflict, as a *consequence* of the previous episode; not only *post Gallos* but also *propter Gallos*. The immediate consequence of the withdrawal of the Gauls had in fact been a realisation on the part of the Romans of the extent of the devastation caused and the depth of the humiliation inflicted. Patriotic fabrication, embellished by Livy[11]), had transformed a catastrophe into at least a moral victory, and had not stopped short of actually inventing a *triumphus*. It had magnified and multiplied the exploits of the national face-saver, M. Furius Camillus. His very name, or nickname (*camillus*, an aristocratic boy in priestly service), doubtless gave direction to the stories which made of him a scrupulous defender of the faith, *diligentissimus religionum cultor* (Livy 5, 50, 1). When he urges the Romans not to transplant themselves to Veii in despair at the virtual destruction of Rome, the Livian Camillus puts his whole stress on the sanctity and protective power of the gods and the *sacra publica populi Romani,* not least the *ancilia*: *ne omnia generatim sacra omnesque percenseam deos ... quid de ancilibus vestris, Mars Gradive tuque, Quirine pater?* (Livy 5, 52, 6 f.); and the last words Livy puts into his mouth (5, 54, 7) are *hic (sc. in Capitolio) Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis di.* It seems highly probable that Virgil, having brought himself by inescapable chronology to the aftermath of the Gallic withdrawal, did not simply think of Camillus and reject him because he had already been explicitly named in the Parade of Heroes (*Aen.* 6, 825), but thought specifically of the Livian Camillus and his attachment to the cults of Rome. The first major section of the Shield (630–666), clearly separated from what follows by *hinc procul,* a lapse of more than three centuries, and a leap from this world to the next, not only covers material covered in Livy's first pentad, but ends on the

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10) The *Salii alone,* with a ritual war-dance to open the campaigning season, might suggest a pre-war scene.

11) Virgil too embellished written tradition if *Aen.* 6, 825 *referentem signa Camillum* refers to a recovery of Roman standards from the Gauls.

same note in the same situation. This can hardly be coincidence. But if Virgil was acquainted with the broad plan of Livy's first pentad, he was not derivative in any narrow sense[12]).

Livy records two occasions during the primacy of Camillus when a grateful state honoured its *matronae* for their financial assistance. When, in 395 B. C., after the fall of Veii, the matrons contributed their gold for the making of a *crater* to be dedicated to Apollo at Delphi, in fulfilment of Camillus' vow of a tithe of the booty, *grata ea res ut quae maxime senatui unquam fuit*; *honoremque ob eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum ut pilento ad sacra ludosque, carpentis festo profestoque uterentur* (Livy 5, 25, 9). Again, in 390 B. C., because they had contributed gold to the ransom money paid to the Gauls, *matronis gratiae actae honosque additus ut earum sicut virorum post mortem sollemnis laudatio esset* (Livy 5, 50, 7). If Virgil's Salii-scene, in which *castae ducebant sacra per urbem/pilentis matres in mollibus* (which gains in point if the *sacra* included those recently returned to Rome after being sent for safe-keeping to Caere during the invasion, and this was (one of) their first parade(s) after return, perhaps even their reinstalment), refers to events *after* the Gallic withdrawal, Virgil cannot have derived the detail *pilentis in mollibus* mechanically from Livy. It might be argued that Virgil remembered and accepted Livy's statement that *pilenta* were granted in 395 B. C., and so not unnaturally concluded that they were available for use thereafter, and were so used in 390 B. C. But this hardly accounts for their prominence in the Salii-scene. It looks as if Virgil was following a tradition that in 390 B. C. *matronae* were rewarded with *pilenta* not with *laudationes*. Such a tradition exist-

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12) Much discussion has taken place about the cause, in terms of influence, of such significant similarities as can be detected between the *Aeneid* and Livy's first decad. Livy's first pentad was completed by 27 B. C. (see T. J. Luce, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 96 (1965), 209–240). In 26 B. C. Virgil seems to have had neither a prose-sketch of the *Aeneid* nor any section in verse ready to show Augustus (*Vita Donati* 31 f.). His realisation of the need for "profounder studies" (Macrobius, *Sat.* 1, 24, 11) may have resulted partly from seeing Livy's first pentad. That Virgil was in fact influenced by Livy's early books (which does not, of course, preclude the likelihood that each author independently consulted the same earlier sources) is becoming an established view of modern criticism: see Augusto Rostagni, *Scritti Minori* II. 2 (Romana) (Torino 1956), 201–221, especially 208 note 1 (bibliography), Vincenz Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg 1963), 95 note 381 and 117 note 489 (bibliography).

ed, represented by Diodorus 14, 116, 9 (after the Gallic withdrawal) λέγουσι δέ τινες καὶ διότι τὸν χρυσοῦν κόσμον αἱ γυναῖκες εἰς τὴν κοινὴν σωτηρίαν εἰσενέγκασαι ταύτης ἔτυχον παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τιμῆς, ὥστ᾽ ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν ἐφ᾽ ἁρμάτων ὀχεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν πόλιν[13]).

I have argued that the solution to the problem of the Salii-scene lies in pursuing the preceding chronological arrangement in broad terms, *per annos*. The same principle can be pressed, in narrow terms, *per dies*. According to Plutarch, *Camillus* 30, 1 the Gauls withdrew from Rome about the 13th February; περὶ τὰς Φεβρουαρίας εἰδοὺς ἐξέπεσον. Afterwards, also according to Plutarch, Camillus celebrated a triumph, the priests and ministers of the gods (ζάκοροι θεῶν = *camilli*) brought the sacred objects out of hiding to the great joy of the people, and Camillus sacrificed to the gods, purified the city, and set about building and rebuilding temples. (When Augustus does the same, on the Shield, *Aen.* 8, 714–9, scene 12, the matrons are again in evidence, *omnibus in templis matrum chorus*). This ferment of religious activity could not have failed, certainly to the mind of someone looking back over more than three centuries, to make more spectacular the two most eye-catching ceremonies which followed next in succession after 13th February: the *Lupercalia* on 15th February, and on 1st March the taking down of the *ancilia* in the *Regia* by the *Salii*, to be used in their dances throughout the month, until they returned them to the *Regia* on 24th March. Also on 1st March falls the festival of the *Matronalia*.

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13) The historical truth of all the variant versions may be questioned: *laudationes* at the funerals of women are not attested until a much later period, and *pilenta* and *carpenta* belong to the undatable past (see R. M. Ogilvie, *Livy* I–V (Oxford 1965), 741).