

Moreover, B. and H. do not comment on the heavy clausula at 51.5 *hostibūs spēctāndām strāgem īnsistūnt*, which prepares the darkness of the sentences to follow. (In general, it is a pity that, in a commentary of this scale, Livy's prose rhythm is not discussed; H. Aili's 1979 monograph remains the standard work here; see also T. Keeline and T. Kirby, *JRS* 109 [2019], 189, for Livy's preference for non-Ciceronian clausulae.)

But all these are mere quibbles. There is no question that this volume will be the standard commentary on Book 22 as well as an authoritative work of reference in Livian studies for years, if not decades to come.

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## AENEID 6 AND ITS LITERARY CONNECTIONS

GLADHILL (B.), MYERS (M. Y.) (edd.) *Walking through Elysium. Vergil's Underworld and the Poetics of Tradition. (Phoenix Supplementary Volume 59.)* Pp. viii + 302. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2020. Cased, CAD\$79. ISBN: 978-1-4875-0577-6.

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The volume under review, based on papers delivered at the Vergilian Society's Symposium Cumanum in 2013, is a welcome addition to the scholarship on *Aeneid* 6. Gathering thirteen stimulating, challenging and rewarding essays by some of the leading researchers in their fields, it specifically aims to interrogate the dynamics of reception through Virgil's underworld book, analysed both as a significant artefact of the reception of prior Greek and Roman literature and culture and as 'an inflection point, to which authors time and again return in order to meditate on life, death, and rebirth' (p. 7). While its coverage is by no means comprehensive – the contributions focus primarily on the Latin literary tradition –, the collection ranges widely through time and space, each chapter examining 'a precise moment of literary reception and refraction' (p. 7). Somewhat against the grain for a reception-oriented collection of this kind, the papers are not organised chronologically. Instead, readers are made to follow in Aeneas' footsteps through *Aeneid* 6, from A. Barchiesi's opening chapter on the woods of Cumae to G. Parker's concluding study of his departure through the Gates of Sleep. This distinctive arrangement is one of the volume's strengths, tying together its eclectic subject-matter while helping to maintain a consistent focus on *Aeneid* 6 as 'the overarching, organizational principle of its reception' (p. 8).

The collection starts off on a strong footing with Barchiesi's contribution, which analyses Virgil's novel construction of the Cumaean *silvae* as a katabatic space via a sensitive comparative analysis of woods and wildernesses in earlier epic poetry. By combining this underworld with the idea of a first encounter with wild Italy, Barchiesi argues, Virgil points up the proto-colonial implications of the narrative, while the Trojans' early interventions on the Cumaean landscape, including deforestation, in turn anticipate the infrastructure works conducted by Agrippa in the Avernus area. This leads

into E. Pillinger's fascinating study of Statius' *Silvae* 4.3, his poem celebrating the completion of the Via Domitiana from Rome to Cumae. Pillinger contends that Statius uses the dynamics of distance, time and speed, as experienced by a traveller on the new road, 'to describe his own navigation of literary history' (p. 31) in relation to *Aeneid* 6, a literary excursion that culminates in a surprising encounter with the Sibyl. The immediacy of the poem's short hendecasyllabic lines (which, at 163 verses, suggests the *carmen figuratum* of a long, narrow road), the directness of the journey and the din of the road's construction, Pillinger observes, complement the Sibyl's 'strangely straightforward' (p. 38) flattery of Domitian, as Virgil's priestess is transposed into the *Silvae*'s world of hyperbolic imperial praise.

Leaping ahead to the Victorian era, M. Kilgour examines Mary Shelley's treatment of the theme of prophecy in her post-apocalyptic novel *The Last Man*, which recounts a narrative purportedly pieced together from the Sibylline leaves. After a wide-ranging survey of medieval and early modern literary receptions of Anchises' revelation of the Roman future in *Aeneid* 6, Kilgour connects Shelley's fatalistic view of history in *The Last Man* to the tragic death of Marcellus, the latter seen by the author as foreshadowing her own devastating recent loss: 'As Virgil had foreseen, the future is simply a repetition of the past, the replaying of the untimely death of young men who for Shelley are all figures for her drowned husband [Percy]' (p. 72). As in the *Aeneid*, Kilgour remarks, the novel's densely allusive texture – drawing on a dizzying array of other authors in addition to Virgil, from Homer to Fénelon and Marvell – merely 'increases the sense of predetermination: the story has already been written, and is just replayed over and over' (p. 72). M. Soranzo's chapter examines allegorical interpretations of the golden bough by Baptista Mantuanus and Giles of Viterbo, two mendicant friars from early Renaissance Italy. Providing rich background information on both authors, Soranzo shows how Mantuanus and Giles blended humanistic learning with the allegorical tendency of late antique and medieval commentators, simultaneously 'adapt[ing] their exegetical practice to the distinctive spirituality of their orders' (p. 90). In Soranzo's reading the friars' distinctive approach to *Aeneid* 6 is best understood as 'a case of how religious identities were negotiated against [the] competing options' (p. 78) offered by the Church and other institutions of learning in the early modern period.

We advance to the underworld with M. Herrero de Jáuregui's analysis of the brief, transitional passages that describe Aeneas' movement through the infernal regions. His chapter carefully situates the manner of Aeneas' walking within the various poetic and ritual traditions of *katabasis*, taking into account Homeric and tragic antecedents, the Orphic Tablets and Plutarch's description of the experience of mystic initiates (fr. 167 Sandbach). It concludes with an interesting discussion of the Roman context, noting the affinities between Aeneas' walking tour of Hades and the male initiation ritual, the *deductio in forum* (p. 106). Engaging in an excellent close reading of many passages, Myers untangles the complex interactions between Virgil's portrayal of dead lovers in the *lugentes campi* (*Aen.* 6.440–76) and representations of the underworld in Latin love elegy before and after *Aeneid* 6, concentrating in particular on the Virgilian response to Tibullus 1.3. As Myers argues convincingly, the phrase *durus amor* (*Aen.* 6.442) foregrounds the intergeneric polarity between Virgil's epic underworld and the elegiac Elysium of his Tibullan model, where *tener amor* (1.3.57) awaits lovers and love poets; by characterising love as *durus* and locating it by contrast in the *lugentes campi*, he suggests, Virgil offers a corrective to Tibullus' Elysian afterlife, which had conspicuously 'elide[d] the disappointments and disasters of love' (p. 126).

Following neatly on, A. Keith examines Ovid's varied allusive interactions with *Aeneid* 6, from his first book of love elegies to his poetry of exile. Keith's treatment of the house of

Sleep in *Metamorphoses* 11 (pp. 138–42) is a particular highlight, skilfully explicating the poet's self-reflexive emulative engagement in this passage with the whole of the prior epic tradition concerning the relationship between Sleep and Death. Gladhill then proceeds to the Neronian age with a lively discussion of Virgil's tragic reception in Seneca's *Hercules furens*, *Phaedra* and *Oedipus*. Seneca is shown to activate *Aeneid* 6 'at every register of language and narrative' (p. 169), revealing in the process his keen understanding of Virgilian thematics and atmospherics. So pervasive is the presence of *Aeneid* 6 that it functions, for Gladhill, 'almost like a character within the tragedy, something that has an active role in filtering and distilling the content of the drama' (p. 169). F. Stok contributes a detailed investigation of Servius' comment on the list of sinners and punishments at *Aen.* 6.580–620. After highlighting the surprising convergence of Lucretian, Neoplatonic and Christianising exegetical traditions in Servius' allegorical interpretation of this episode, Stok suggests that his characterisation of Virgil's infernal punishments as poetic fiction – a reading shared by Ambrose, Augustine and Paulinus of Nola – reflects a desire to accommodate the Christian users of Servius' commentary.

Pressing onward into Elysium, L. Curtis reconsiders Horace's engagement with Virgil's Elysian chorus (*Aen.* 6.642–62) in the *Carmen saeculare*, focusing on the poets' shared allusions to Greek performance culture. As Curtis astutely observes, by adapting Virgil's imagined underworld *choreia* to the ritual performance context of Augustus' *ludi saeculares* Horace 'appropriates the Roman reception of ancient Greek song culture from epic back to the lyric domain of the public choral voice' (p. 188). Thus aligning poetic form and function, Horace's generic transformation can be viewed as part of his broader project in the *Odes* and *Carmen saeculare* to reclaim 'for his new Roman setting the pragmatic authority of the Greek lyric tradition' (p. 199). The following chapter by E. Gowers, another highlight of the collection, investigates Homer's absence among the dead poets of Elysium: while his omission is compensated for in part by intertextuality – the reunion of Aeneas and Anchises alludes, via Cicero and Lucretius, to Ennius' dream encounter with Homer's shade in the *Annales* –, Gowers proposes that the poet may not yet have died at the time of Aeneas' descent. Taking into account Homer's contested birthdate and Anchises' thousand-year cycle of reincarnation (cf. *Aen.* 6.748), Gowers goes on to consider the intriguing possibility that, within the world of the *Aeneid*, Homer will eventually be reborn as Virgil.

J. Mackey offers a nuanced and informative discussion of Monica and Augustine's vision of the saints at Ostia in *Confessions* 9. Mackey argues that Augustine closely modelled his account on the meeting of Aeneas and Anchises in Elysium, but superimposed a Neoplatonic interpretation onto *Aeneid* 6 by substituting Anchises' eschatological speech with a Latin translation of Plotinus' *Enneads*. At the same time, Virgil's pageant of Roman heroes offered Augustine a 'social' model of revelatory experience (absent from the Plotinian intermediary) that was congenial to his Christian philosophy: '... the ascent at Ostia, like the revelation in Virgil's underworld, depicts not merely a vision shared *with* others but also a vision *about* others, about another community, whether of saints or of heroes, towards which the visionary, in one way or another, tends' (p. 234). We take leave of Virgil's underworld, and the volume, with Parker's examination of the Gates of Sleep in the light of spiritualist philology. Following a useful overview of critical approaches to this enigmatic passage from Servius onwards, Parker considers the unorthodox textual practice of W.F. Jackson Knight, which involved the attempt to communicate directly with Virgil's shade. Parker concludes with a thought-provoking discussion of the links between spiritualism and classical philology, and its methodological implications, noting the extreme degree to

which spiritualist scholars indulge the interpretive tyranny of the author, who is elevated in death to the position of ‘ultimate arbiter of meaning’ (p. 252).

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## SOLITARINESS AND POETRY IN LATIN LITERATURE

KACHUCK (A. J.) *The Solitary Sphere in the Age of Virgil*. Pp. xiv + 316. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021. Cased, £64, US\$99. ISBN: 978-0-19-757904-6.

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In K.’s ‘ternary’ model for Roman culture, *solitudo* joins the engrained opposition between *negotium* and *otium* to offer a dynamic account of the individual in the ‘age of Virgil’. This tripartite relation between public, private and solitary ‘spheres’ derives not only from a careful reading of the life-works of Cicero, Virgil, Horace and Propertius – treated in five central chapters (Virgil, fittingly, gets two) – but also from typologies ranging from the spatialisation of the Roman home (*patria, domus, cubiculum*; p. 20) or the inclusion of sacrifices ‘for individuals’ (*pro singulis*) within *privata* and *publica sacra* (p. 12), to the tri-functionality of G. Dumézil’s theory of Indo-European culture and J.-P. Vernant’s threefold qualities of the *soi* (pp. 13, 3). The widespread applicability and clarity of this model enriches K.’s literary readings and gives me hope that this study may galvanise a broader critical turn towards the complex reflexivity that characterises so much of Roman culture, yet which is all too often lost amid preoccupations with public personae and private ‘self-fashioning’ – without a robust sense for *solitudo*.

K.’s purpose is thus as much about restoring a solitude that has ‘been mostly denied to the Romans’ (p. 246) as it is about reading the tradition of Roman poetry around and inside the solitary sphere itself. These two halves of the main argument meet in K.’s programmatic recuperation of solitary – and silent – reading and writing as an exceptional yet ‘still highly thinkable, and practicable [Roman] reality’ (p. 21). With this claim K. rebukes the ‘modern myth of the ancient reader who can read only out loud’ that he, following E. Valette-Cagnac (*Rites et Pratiques* [1997]), attributes to the (anti-)Romantic prejudices of Nietzsche. But, more to the point, K.’s lonely Roman reader – ‘never less alone than when alone’ (Cic. *Off.* 3.1) – enables his own readings to inhabit the same solitary sphere as readers both ancient (cf. the Virgilian *vitae* as literary interpretations, pp. 146–50; or Crassicius’ ‘possessive’ commentary on Cinna’s *Smyrna*, p. 257) and modern (touchstones are Petrarch, Montaigne, Milton, Flaubert etc.). For K., then, solitude is both a theme and a method – an anthropological claim that should shake up received opinion and a hermeneutics that unites cubicular readers throughout ‘our long age of Virgil’ (p. 44).

Less periodisation and more magnetic pull, this ‘age of Virgil’ serves as the study’s endpoint even when sequence denies it. The chapters move in rough chronological order, passing through Virgil from Cicero’s ‘last’ generation into the twilight of the Augustan age with Horace and Propertius. Yet the horizon remains the Virgilian solitude that the second chapter identifies with Meliboeus, whose role as Virgil’s ‘first speaker’ is to