

*Invidia infelix: Vergil, Georgics 3. 37-39*

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Invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum  
 Cocyti metuet tortosque Ixionis anguis  
 Immanemque rotam et non exsuperabile saxum.

Much ink has been spent on the prologue to *Georgics* 3. The prospects for making any considerable new contribution to the understanding of that prologue are in consequence not good. A little new light can nonetheless perhaps be shed on the vexed question of the relationship of verses 37-39, the description of *invidia* in the *sedes scelerata* of the Underworld, to what goes before. Do these lines belong to the program of embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple or not?<sup>1</sup> In the immediately preceding passage (vv. 26-36) Vergil has described the chryselephantine reliefs that are to adorn the doors of the temple which he proposes to erect in Octavian's honor on the banks of the Mincius at Mantua, and the statues in Parian marble that are to stand in that edifice. In these lines Vergil makes it very clear that he is describing works of art that he will have made or set up: (1) *in foribus pugnam ex auro solidoque elephanto / Gangaridum faciam* (vv. 26-27); (2) *addam urbes Asiae domitas* (v. 30); (3) *stabunt et Parii lapides*,

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<sup>1</sup>Part of the temple's decoration: E. Norden, "Vergilstudien," *Hermes* 28 (1893), pp. 520 ff.; T. E. Page, ed., *P. Vergili Maronis, Bucolica et Georgica* (London 1898), p. 295; apparently W. Richter, ed., *Vergil, Georgica* (Munich 1957), pp. 268 ff.; F. Klingner, *Virgil* (Zurich 1967), p. 282; V. Buchheit, *Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgica* (Darmstadt 1972), p. 146. Not part of the temple's decoration but a bridge back to the literary discussion, in which Vergil proclaims or threatens the defeat of his literary rivals: K. Büchner, "P. Vergilius Maro," *RE* (1955), pp. 270 ff.; W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom* (Wiesbaden 1960), pp. 183 ff.; U. Fleischer, "Musentempel und Oktavianehrung des Vergil im Proömium zum dritten Buch der *Georgica*," *Hermes* 88 (1960), pp. 311-19. Probably not part of the temple decoration: L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969), pp. 170 ff.

*spirantia signa* (v. 34).<sup>2</sup> But in the case of the *Invidia*-vignette Vergil does not speak of having the scene made nor is there any mention of the material from which it is to be made nor of the form which it is to take. The principal reasons for thinking that in verses 37-39 Vergil is still describing the embellishments of the Octavian-temple are:

(1) these verses seem to belong to a discrete section of the prologue in which works of art are described and which ends at verse 40 with the poet's announcing that he will now resume the theme that he had promised in verses 1 ff. (*interea Dryadum silvas saltusque sequamur*);

(2) the verb *metuet* is, like the preceding verbs *faciam*, *addam* and *stant*, in the future, a circumstance which leads the reader to think that it is still the decoration of the temple that is at issue. The main obstacle to taking the lines in this way is that it is hard to envisage where the scene is to be placed, what it could possibly look like and in what medium it is to be rendered.<sup>3</sup>

I shall attempt in this study to show that Vergil might well have envisaged such a scene rendered in relief or as free-standing statuary. It is not my wish, however, to suggest that he is describing a scene whose details he had clearly before his mind in their every particular, and whose physical relationship to the other embellishments of the temple he had worked out, but rather that he could in a general sort of way have conceived of such a scene. The elements of which the vignette is made up he could have seen in paintings, worked in relief or rendered in free-standing sculpture, and some he could have seen in combination with each other. I would argue that Vergil has in fact constructed the scene out of elements that he had himself seen; that is, his inspiration is more visual than literary, though the latter element will also have played a part. If the *Invidia*-vignette is part of the description of the temple, a second and distinct question arises, which will be dealt with in the second part of this study; namely, what the scene's meaning is within the program of artistic embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple.

The elements in the *invidia*-scene are the following: *Invidia* personified, portrayed in a state of fear and unhappiness; she is unhappy (*infelix*) as *invidi* and *phthoneroi* necessarily are by the nature of their condition, since the prosperity of others causes them anguish, and

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<sup>2</sup>Compare the use of *facere* and *addere* at *Aen.* VIII. 626-728 in the description of the shield made by Vulcan for Aeneas: *fecerat* (vv. 628, 630); *addiderat* (v. 637); *hinc procul addit* (v. 666).

<sup>3</sup>So Wilkinson (above, note 1), p. 170.

since the sight of prosperity is everywhere visible;<sup>4</sup> her fear is prompted by the sight of the Furies, the stern Cocytus, Ixion on his wheel with snakes wrapped about him and the rock that cannot be mastered (i.e. that of Sisyphus). We have then to imagine a scene in which a female figure cringes before the Furies; and in which the River Cocytus, Ixion bound to his wheel and wreathed in snakes, and Sisyphus pushing his rock are also represented. These are the elements for which antecedents in the visual arts are to be sought.

The evidence to be considered will be organized under the following categories: (1) literary evidence for representations of *Invidia/Phthonos*, (2) representations of *Invidia/Phthonos*, (3) literary descriptions of representations of the Underworld; (4) representations of the Impious in the Underworld; (5) the other evidence falling under none of the preceding categories.

### (1) Literary Evidence for Representations of *Invidia/Phthonos*

The earliest piece of evidence which falls under this heading is [Demosthenes] 25. 52, where Aristogeiton, against whom the speech is directed, is said to exist in a world that is devoid of normal human relationships and to go around in the company of what painters portray alongside the impious (*asebeis*) in Hades; namely, Curse, Blasphemy, *Phthonos*, Discord and Strife. That is, there were paintings in which *Phthonos* amongst other evils was depicted in the Underworld in the company of the *asebeis*. By *asebeis* in contexts such as this one are meant in general all those who have committed certain sorts of grave crimes in their lifetime, but especially certain exemplary sinners such as Tantalus, Tityus, Sisyphus and, at least from Hellenistic times, Ixion. In the Underworld the *asebeis* were said to occupy the  $\chi\hat{\omega}\rho\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\beta\hat{\omega}\nu$

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<sup>4</sup>The defining characteristic of *phthonos* or *invidia* was the distress that the good fortune of others causes the *phthoneros* or *invidus*: compare Pl. *Phil.* 50a, *Def.* 416; Arist. *Rhet.* 1386b18-20; Cic. *Tusc.* IV. 8. 17, *invidentiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti. Invidia infelix* will then mean *Invidia* in her characteristic state of unhappiness. In Stat. *Silv.* II. 6 *Invidia infelix* (v. 69) becomes *tristis Rhamnusia* who surveys a youth in his beauty with *vultus torvus* (v. 73) and who tortures herself at the sight (*seseque videndo I torsit et invidia vv.* 76-77). The emaciation that *Livor* in his unhappiness causes himself is an *infelix macies* at *Anth. Lat.* 636. 11; at Sen. *Oct.* 485 *invidia* is *tristis*, and Ovid portrays his *Invidia* groaning, sighing and scowling (*Ingenuit vultumque una ac suspiria duxit, Metam.* II. 774). The rendering "accursed" preferred by most of those cited in note 1 above misses the point. Fleischer (p. 311) treats *infelix* as a content-free *epitheton ornans* and somewhat puzzlingly says that *felix* in the *Georgics* often has its original force of *fecundus*.

or in Latin the *sedes scelerata* or some variant on that.<sup>5</sup> One or more of these paradigmatic *asebeis* were presumably represented in paintings of the type described by pseudo-Demosthenes as a means of identifying the exact locale of the scene.

As for the way in which *Phthonos* was depicted in such paintings, Plutarch in his discussion of the Evil Eye in the *Quaestiones Conviviales* says that painters make brave efforts to capture the evil that permeates even the bodies of those filled with *phthonos* when they sketch the countenance of *Phthonos* (*Mor.* 681e); that is, they attempt to convey the malice of *phthonos* through the facial expression of the *phthoneros* portrayed. Lucian, on the other hand, tells how *Phthonos* was represented in a particular painting, Apelles' famous *Calumny*. In it *Calumny* herself was portrayed led by a pale and ugly male figure, with a sharp look to his eyes and the appearance of one who has become emaciated as the result of a long disease; this Lucian suggests was *Phthonos* (*Cal.* 5).

## (2) Representations of *Phthonos/Invidia*

Preeminent in this category, both because of its intrinsic interest and because it is the key to the identification of a number of figurines with similar features as representations of *Phthonos*, is the mosaic from Skala in Kephallenia, first published in 1962.<sup>6</sup> Its subject matter is a naked youth with arms crossed over on his chest and his hands clasping his throat. He is being attacked by four large felines, two at his shoulders and two on his abdomen, which is disfigured by a terrible, vertical wound. Below the figure, an inscription which is an amalgam of dedication and warning announces that the figure represented is a likeness of *Phthonos*, drawn by the painter and rendered in stone by Krateros.<sup>7</sup> The hands clasping the throat represent either the *phthoneros* in his unhappiness trying to do away with himself by strangulation, or his choking with pent-up emotion over the good fortune of others, or a combination of both of these notions. The gesture portrayed is exactly that

<sup>5</sup>[Pl.] *Axioch.* 371e-372a is the *locus classicus* on the *χώρος ἀσεβῶν*. It describes a place that contains the unfilled water jars of the Danaids, the thirst of Tantalus, the entrails of Tityus ever being eaten and ever growing again, and the *πέτρος ἀνήμετος* (*non exsuperabile saxum*, *Georg.* 3. 39) of Sisyphus. Compare Luc. *Ver. Hist.* 2. 23, 26; and for the *sedes scelerata*, Tib. I. 3. 67, Ov. *Metam.* IV. 456; for the *sedes atque regio sceleratorum*, Cic. *Cluent.* 171; and for the *sceleratum limen*, Verg. *Aen.* VI. 563.

<sup>6</sup>The primary publication is by B. Kallipolitis, *Deltion* 17A (1961-62), pp. 1-31.

<sup>7</sup>ὦ Φθόνε, καλίστου τήνδε ὀλοῆς φρενὸς εἰκόνα γράψαι  
ζωγράφος ἦν Κράτερος θήκατο λαυρήν. (1-2)

attributed by Silius Italicus to the personification of *livor* seen by Scipio Africanus in the entrance-chamber to the Underworld (*hinc angens utraque manu sua guttura Livor*, XIII. 584), although it remains uncertain whether it represents, as it seems to in Silius, *Phthonos'* trying to kill himself in his misery or simply his choking involuntarily over the good fortune of others.<sup>8</sup> The wound in his abdomen signifies the hurt that the *phthoneros* does himself when he looks with *phthonos* on the prosperity of others.<sup>9</sup>

The motif of choking and that of the self-inflicted wound are found either separately or in combination on a number of other representations of *Phthonos* rendered in a variety of media. I shall describe only a few of them.<sup>10</sup> A Greco-Egyptian terra-cotta figurine published by P. Graindor has a man choking himself. He has a preternaturally long phallus that hangs down between his legs and comes to rest on an eye that lies at his feet.<sup>11</sup> The presence of the eye attacked by a phallus, a motif well-known from apotropaea against the Evil Eye, makes it all the more likely that what we have in this figurine is *Phthonos* choking. Both choking and wounding are present on a Janus-like terra-cotta figurine now in Leiden.<sup>12</sup> One side is a male figure choking himself and the other a female figure with a wound in the abdomen, which she pulls open with her hands. Choking and the emaciation characteristic of *phthoneroi*<sup>13</sup> are to be seen in a small bronze figurine, probably of Alexandrian origin, now in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens.<sup>14</sup> The mouth of the figurine is portrayed with lips drawn back over teeth in a *rictus* of impotent rage. Also worthy of note, since it helps identify the piece as an apotropaeon against the Evil Eye of the *phthoneros*, is the disproportionately large phallus, pierced

<sup>8</sup>For choking with *phthonos/invidia*, compare *Gal. Comment. in Hippocr. de nat. hom. praef.* 13; *Lib. Decl.* 30. 18, *Or.* 1. 211; *Eunap. V.S.* VI. 2. 12; *Ov. Metam.* II. 827 ff.

<sup>9</sup>For the wound of *phthonos/invidia*, compare *Pi. P.* 2. 89-91; *Bas. De Invid.* I = *PG* 31. 373; *Ioh. Chrys. Expos. in Ps.* 4. 12 = *PG* 55. 58; *ILAlg* 1971 = *Anth. Lat.* 1929, *in-bide, quid laceras illos quos crescere sentis? / tu tibi tortor, tu tecum tua vulnere portas.*

<sup>10</sup>A more complete account of figurines of this sort will appear in an article written by K. M. D. Dunbabin and the author.

<sup>11</sup>P. Graindor, *Terres cuites de l'Égypte gréco-romaine* (Antwerp 1939), p. 131, no. 49, pl. XVIII.

<sup>12</sup>P. Leyenaar-Plaisier, *Les Terres cuites grecques et romaines. Catalogue de la Collection du Musée National des Antiquités à Leiden* (Leiden 1979), pp. 151 ff., no. 335, pl. 55.

<sup>13</sup>For wasting with *phthonos/invidia*, compare *Menan. fr.* 538. 6-7 Körte<sup>3</sup>; *Theocr.* 5. 12 ff., 6. 26 ff.; *AP* 11. 192, 193, *API* 16. 265, 266; *Liber. Decl.* 30. 40, *Or.* 25. 20; *Ov. Metam.* II. 780, 807; *Stat. Theb.* II. 14-16; *Cypr. De Zel. et Liv.* 7 = *PL* 4. 643.

<sup>14</sup>T. Schreiber, "Alexandrinische Sculpturen in Athen," *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 10 (1885), p. 382, pl. X.

half-way down by a hole, through which a chain or wire will have run from which to hang a bell. Bells and more generally the sound of bronze were believed to ward off evil.<sup>15</sup>

### (3) *Literary Descriptions of Representations of the Underworld*

Pausanias describes in some detail a painting of Odysseus' descent to Hades executed by Polygnotus for the *Lesche* of the Cnidians at Delphi (X. 28-32). That painting contained two features that are relevant here. It had a river with reeds growing in it, in which shadowy fish could be seen. On the river was a boat with a ferryman at its oars (X. 28. 1). This was the River Acheron and Charon. A more or less discrete section was devoted to the punishments undergone by famous sinners (X. 31. 11-12). There was Sisyphus trying to push a boulder up a steep bank, those who had disdained the Eleusinian Mysteries trying to fill pitchers and Tantalus suffering the ills that Homer had described him suffering (*Od.* XI. 582-92), and in addition having a rock poised over his head.

### (4) *Representations of the Impious in the Underworld*

In vase paintings of the Underworld the sinner most frequently represented both in Attic black-figure and South Italian is Sisyphus.<sup>16</sup> Tantalus is found twice on South Italian vases<sup>17</sup> and Ixion not at all, although he is depicted tied to his wheel on the neck of a volute krater from Ruvo, which has on its body an Underworld scene with women carrying pitchers.<sup>18</sup> Ixion is first found in the company of the other sinners in the Underworld on a number of sarcophagi and monumental tombs from the High Roman Empire.<sup>19</sup>

### (5) *Miscellanea*

(a) Ixion, who is normally represented simply bound to his wheel by

<sup>15</sup>For bells driving off the Evil Eye, compare Ioh. Chrys. *In Ep. 1 ad Cor. Hom.* 49. 7 = *PG* 61. 105 ff., and for bronze driving off the spirits of the dead, *Ov. Fast.* 5. 441 ff.

<sup>16</sup>On Sisyphus in black-figure, see W. Felten, *Attische Unterweltdarstellungen des VI. und V. Jh. v. Chr.* (Munich 1975), pp. 23-25, pls. 10, 12. In south Italian vase painting he is portrayed rolling his stone on three volute kraters, attended by one, two or three Erinyes: see M. Pansi, *Rappresentazioni dell' Oltretomba nella Ceramica Apula* (Rome 1977), pls. 1, III and V; K. Schauenberg, "Die Totengötter in der unteritalischen Vasenmalerei," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 73 (1958), p. 50, note 16.

<sup>17</sup>See B. Andreae, *Studien zur römischen Grabkunst* (Heidelberg 1963), p. 59.

<sup>18</sup>Leningrad St. 424; Pansi (above, note 16), pl. VIII.

<sup>19</sup>See D. P. Dimitrov, "Römisches Relief im Museum zu Stara-Zagora (Bulgarien)

fetters, is in a Campanian amphora of the fourth-century B.C. from Cumae depicted bound to a wheel by snakes, which are entwined about his body and of which two bite or strike at his shoulders.<sup>20</sup> Directly below the wheel there is an Erinys holding a torch. On either side of the Erinys stand Hermes and Hephaestus, who look up at the wheel, which is being set in motion by two winged women, who must represent *Nepheelai* or *Aurai*. There is no room for doubt that Ixion's punishment is taking place in the upper air. (b) On a metope from the archaic temple at Foce del Sele near Paestum there is a figure entwined by a snake that strikes at his head. This may well be Ixion. On adjacent metopes are portrayed the punishments or sins of Tityus, Sisyphus and Tantalus.<sup>21</sup> (c) Amongst the scenes that on the Shield of Aeneas depict Rome's rise to world empire is a panel portraying the Underworld. Part of it is devoted to the *sedes scelerata* and part to the *sedes piorum*. In the *sedes scelerata* there is Catiline hanging from a beetling cliff and trembling before the Furies, while amongst the *pii* Cato is to be seen giving judgment:

hinc procul addit

Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis,  
et scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina, minaci  
pendentem scopulo Furiarumque ora trementem,  
secretosque pios, his dantem iura Catonem. (*Aen.* VIII. 666-70)

The discussion may best begin with the Underworld-scene on the Shield of Aeneas, since it is part of the decoration that embellishes an imaginary object and since in its details it has a good deal in common with the *Invidia*-vignette in the *Georgics*. What both scenes have in common is a figure who is the main focus of attention portrayed trembling before the Furies, while alongside that figure some of the famous sinners are to be seen undergoing their punishments. The similarity of the scenes tells in favor of the *Invidia*-vignette's being part of the program of embellishment of the Octavian-temple, but it does not show that the scene has any real antecedents amongst the visual arts. The works of art catalogued above, on the other hand, suggest that Vergil has been influenced by what he has seen. It is likely that an educated Roman of Vergil's time would have seen all of the elements that make up the scene. The element that most persuasively argues for inspiration from the visual arts is the use of the image of Ixion on his wheel

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mit der Darstellung des Ixion und Tantalos," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1937), pp. 69-75.

<sup>20</sup>E. Simon, "Ixion und die Schlange," *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts* 43 (1955), p. 17, pl. 7.

<sup>21</sup>For this reconstruction, see E. Simon, "Die vier Büsser von Foce del Sele," *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* 82 (1967), pp. 275-95.

entwined by snakes, an image which we otherwise only know from the volute krater from Cumae. In the literary tradition snakes play no part in the punishment that he had seen represented in some work of art.

There is one other significant similarity between the *Invidia*-scene and a work of art. In paintings of the sort described at [Demosthenes] 25. 52 *Phthonos* is portrayed in the Underworld in the company of the *asebeis* just as in the *Georgics* *Invidia infelix* is found alongside the *impii* in the Underworld. There are, however, major differences. *Phthonos* is not alone in the pseudo-Demosthenic scene but is one of a number of personified ills. Nor are these personifications said to be cringing before the Furies. They seem to inhabit this part of the Underworld because it is a suitable home for them, just as at *Aeneid* VI 273-89 and at XIII. 579-87 of Silius Italicus' *Punica* some of the ills that beset mankind, *Livor* being of their number in the *Punica*, have their quarters in the entrance-hall to the Underworld for no other reason than that they are ills. Nonetheless paintings of the sort described by pseudo-Demosthenes could have contributed to Vergil's inspiration here.

There is a case then for thinking that some of the details of the scene that Vergil describes owe something to the visual arts. What is a good deal more certain is that the vocabulary rendering that scene visually lay at hand and that the elements were in the main familiar ones. The punishment of the famous sinners was a well-known theme, even though the transfer of Ixion's punishment from the upper air to the *sedes scelerata* may not yet have been visually familiar and may reflect recondite Alexandrian learning.<sup>22</sup> *Invidia*, as we have seen, could have been rendered in a number of ways, all of which would have made her identity clear by presenting the traditional outward signs of her unhappiness. That is, she would have been portrayed as an emaciated female figure with an unhappy mien or as a woman choking herself or inflicting some terrible wound on herself.

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<sup>22</sup>Vergil will as a *doctus poeta* have been fully aware that in placing Ixion in the Underworld he was following a variant tradition, which may have had its origins in a learned Hellenistic discussion of some problematic passage in an earlier author. At Ap. Rh. *Arg.* III. 61-63 Hera declares that even if Jason were to rescue Ixion from his bronze bonds in Hades, she would still save him. In having Hera, who, if anyone, should be concerned about the nature of Ixion's punishment and his whereabouts, speak of Ixion in Hades, Apollonius gives emphasis to his preference for this form of the story. The *zetema* may have been a passage such as Pi. O. I. 59-60 (ἔχει δ' ἀπάλαμον βιον τοῦτον ἐμπεδόμοχθον / μετὰ τριῶν τέταρτον πόνον) where the punishment of Tantalus is referred to allusively and enigmatically as "the fourth toil besides the three." Σ A(C)DEHQ in Pi. O. I. 97a Dr. gives a number of solutions to this problem, of which the first is that Tantalus was the fourth to be punished in Hades with Sisyphus, Tityus and Ixion.

The run of the passage gives the impression at a first reading that what Vergil has in mind in describing the scene is free-standing statuary. He has just described a group of statues that comprises the ancestors of the *gens Iulia* and Apollo, and the reader naturally assumes that the next vignette is to be rendered in the same way, and further that some contrast is intended between the groups. However bizarre such an arrangement may sound, it should be borne in mind that the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, whose construction will have been in progress or perhaps even completed when these lines were written, and which is in some measure the inspiration for Vergil's Octavian-temple, had between the columns of its portico statues representing the daughters of Danaus and their father, who was depicted with a drawn sword (Prop. II. 31. 3-4; Ov. *Trist.* III. 1. 61-62).<sup>23</sup> The possibility of embellishing a temple with a large and complex group of statues is a very real one. The significance of the Danaids within the program of decoration for the Temple of Apollo is unclear, but it is unlikely, in view of the way in which they are conceived in Augustan poetry as sinners condemned to carry out a never-ending task in the Underworld, that they represent something positive.<sup>24</sup>

The meaning of the *Invidia*-scene has basically been explained in two ways. It has been taken either to refer to the defeat of Octavian's political enemies and in particular Antony,<sup>25</sup> or to the defeat, actual or wished for, of Vergil's literary rivals,<sup>26</sup> or to both these groups.<sup>27</sup> In light of the apparent context of the scene, an account of the embellishments of a temple in honor of Octavian, literary *invidia* is not very plausible. If it is Octavian's defeat of Antony that is being celebrated, then it has been done in a very allusive fashion, which may in the circumstances be appropriate. In what follows I shall suggest an interpretation that gives a more general application to *invidia*'s defeat and one

<sup>23</sup>On the influence of the Apollo-temple on the Octavian-temple, see D. L. Drews, "Virgil's Marble Temple: *Georgics* III: 10-39," *Classical Quarterly* 18 (1924), pp. 194-202.

<sup>24</sup>For the Danaids in the Underworld, compare [Pl.] *Axioch.* 372e; Luc. *Tim.* 18, *Herm.* 61, *Dial. Mort.* 11. 4; Tib. I. 3. 79; Hor. *Carm.* III. 11. 23-28. I remain unpersuaded by Eva Keuls, *The Water-Carriers in Hades* (Amsterdam 1974), that it was only with the appearance of the Danaids on the portico of the Apollo-temple that the water-carriers in underworld-scenes were identified with the Danaids.

<sup>25</sup>Of those cited in note 1, so Norden, p. 521; Page, p. 295; Richter, p. 268; Klingner, p. 282 n. 3; Buchheit, p. 146.

<sup>26</sup>So Büchner, pp. 270 ff.; Wimmel, pp. 183 ff.; and Fleischer, pp. 311-19 (all as in note 1 above). Büchner's objection that *invidia* is too weak a term for the enmity of the civil war is misconceived, since *invidia* is exactly the term that would be used to characterize political opposition both as illegitimate and dishonorably motivated.

<sup>27</sup>Wilkinson, pp. 170 ff.

that has parallels in encomia of other emperors and that may go back to what was said in panegyrics composed to celebrate Alexander's achievements.

It has been assumed rather than argued that the scene represents *Invidia's* defeat. The presence of *Invidia* in the Underworld does not of itself signify defeat, not even if she is represented amongst the *impii* in the *sedes scelerata*. All that the presence of *Invidia* in the Underworld *per se* need mean is that the Underworld is a suitable home for such a force for evil. What makes it overwhelmingly likely that *Invidia's* defeat is intended is that she is portrayed in Hades cringing before the Furies as a sinner facing never-ending punishment. She is destined to be kept there irrevocably. That is what the *amnis severus Cocytii* represents.

It is nonetheless a most unusual and puzzling way of representing the defeat of *Invidia* and one for which parallels are not easily come by. The defeat of *invidia* or *phthonos* is a not uncommon topic, but it is not with one exception described in terms of relegation to the Underworld, but rather as a defeat or yielding,<sup>28</sup> and, if the idea is represented figuratively, as *Phthonos/Invidia* lying on the ground, broken, gasping or paralyzed. Thus Paul the Silentiary in his *Ecphrasis Hagiae Sophiae* described *Phthonos* crashing broken to the ground and making a deep impression in the dust as he lies there (161-63).<sup>29</sup> What is meant by the defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* is that the achievements of the object of *Phthonos/Invidia's* ill-will are so great that *Phthonos/Invidia* is defeated by their magnitude and lapses into acquiescence or helplessness. As such, the defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* belongs to the larger topic of what is too great or too brilliant for *phthonos/invidia* to overcome.<sup>30</sup> It is a topic found mainly in encomia, although it is also used for apotropaic purposes.

There is only one other instance known to me of the relegation of *Phthonos/Invidia* to the Underworld besides that in the *Georgics*. In Philo Iudaeus' *Legatio ad Gaium* Gaius' adviser Macro gives Gaius a lecture on the duties of an emperor. He advises Gaius to see to it that all the good land is farmed and that different nations freely and eagerly exchange their goods by sea, a situation which Macro says has in fact

<sup>28</sup>Phil. Iud. *de agricult.* 112; Sall. *Jug.* 10. 2; Justin. I. 2. 5; Sen. *Oct.* 485-86.

<sup>29</sup>Compare Eunap. *V.S.* X. 5. 5; A. Beschtaouch, "Echec à l'envieux d'après une inscription métrique sur mosaïque découverte dans les thermes à Sullectum en Tunisie," *Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincei* 23 (1968), p. 61 *nisibus hic nostris prostratus libor anhelat*.

<sup>30</sup>Compare Dem. 3. 24; *AP IX.* 814; Plut. *Mor.* 538a-b; Dio Cass. LVI. 35. 5-6; Ov.

prevailed since the Augusti began to rule because under them *phthonos* has been especially curbed. They have, he says, driven all that was harmful and which formerly flourished beyond the furthest boundaries of the earth and into the hidden nooks of Tartarus, and have brought back into the center of things all that is good (148 ff.). The Julio-Claudians are then credited with having created free and easy commercial intercourse amongst the nations by curbing and driving out *phthonos*; that is, the grudging feelings that might have inhibited commerce have been extinguished. It is not at all likely that Vergil had in mind the extinguishing of *phthonos* amongst the nations of the empire, but the Philo passage is evidence that the routing of *Phthonos/Invidia* is a topic used in praising the emperor. In spite of Philo, the image of *Invidia* in the Underworld is an unusual one. It may be that the exigencies of portraying *Invidia*'s defeat visually have led Vergil to adopt the image and to forsake the conventional imagery for that notion.

In encomia of emperors the defeat of *Phthonos/Invidia* is a well attested topic. It generally takes the form of an assertion that the emperor has by the magnitude of his deeds transcended *phthonos/invidia* in his own lifetime; that is, his achievements are so great that, unlike other men who have to wait for death to free them from *phthonos/invidia*, he while still alive is unaffected by *phthonos/invidia*'s assaults. Horace makes use of the topic in the *Letter to Augustus*: Romulus, Dionysus, Castor and Pollux, and Hercules had met with *invidia* in their lifetime, but Augustus is freely honored while still alive and accorded his due in recognition (*Ep.* II. 1. 5-19). Tiberius is reported by Dio Cassius to have said in his funeral oration over Augustus that he was not afraid of arousing *phthonos* by speaking of the greatness of Augustus' *arete* since he knew that his audience felt no *phthonos* at that *arete*, but rather rejoiced in it, because they were convinced that they had benefited from it (LVI. 35. 5-6). Tacitus has Seneca tell Nero that in his greatness he is beyond the reach of *invidia*, whereas he (Seneca), because he is in no such position, must tread more carefully (*Ann.* XIV. 54). Seneca is also portrayed in the *Octavia* as telling Nero that *invidia* has retired defeated before him and that all are joined in willing assent to his rule ([Sen.] *Oct.* 485-86). The topic is still in use in early Byzantium. Paul the Silentiary in the *Ecphrasis Hagiae Sophiae* declares that not only has Justinian conquered the barbarian and brought him under Rome's rule, but that black *Phthonos* has bowed and fallen to the ground before him (157-63). Although not strictly praise of an emperor, Claudian's encomium of Stilicho is also relevant here: Stilicho has transcended what is human and so stands

like the gods beyond the limits that *invidia* can reach (*de cons. Stil.* 3. 36-44).

To return to the *Georgics*, there are a number of advantages in construing the *Invidia*-scene as an instance of the topic of *phthonos/invidia* transcended and taking it to be a statement about the magnitude of Octavian's achievements: (1) it fits the theme of the glorification of Octavian, which is the subject-matter of the temple's embellishments, rather better than confining the defeat of *Invidia* to the defeat of Octavian's political enemies; (2) it is a conventional topic of praise; (3) it is a topic that is associated with praise of Alexander as world-conqueror, which is how Octavian is to be presented in the reliefs of the temple-doors and in the decoration of the theater's curtains.

Eduard Norden demonstrated many years ago that the encomium of Augustus as world-conqueror at *Aeneid* VI. 792-807 has as its model the panegyrics in which Alexander's achievements as world-conqueror were celebrated.<sup>31</sup> In conquering from north to south and from east to west his accomplishments surpassed in their extent the travels of Dionysus and Hercules. It was in exactly these terms that Alexander was praised.<sup>32</sup> Vinzenz Buchheit has argued that the subjects which decorate the curtains of the theater and the temple-doors make up a catalogue of conquests typical of the Alexander-panegyric, and that Vergil is therefore portraying Octavian as the new Alexander.<sup>33</sup> Octavian's conquests extend from the Britanni, who appear on the theater-curtains (v. 25), to the billowing Nile (vv. 28 ff.), and from the Indians (v. 27) to the inhabitants of the shores of the Atlantic (vv. 32 ff.); that is, from north to south and from east to west. There is no room for doubt that Octavian is presented here as world-conqueror, while the references to the Nile and to the Indians suggest that Octavian's deeds are being set against those of Alexander and would have been so understood.<sup>34</sup>

There is evidence that not only were Alexander's conquests celebrated as being greater than those of Hercules and Dionysus but that they were said to be so great as to enable Alexander to attain divine status in his lifetime, an achievement that had eluded Hercules and

<sup>31</sup>"Ein Panegyricus auf Augustus in Vergils Aeneis," *Rheinisches Museum* 54 (1899), pp. 466-82.

<sup>32</sup>Compare Arr. *Anab.* IV. 8. 2-3; Menan. Rhet. 388. 6-9; Curt. VIII. 5. 8.

<sup>33</sup>*Der Anspruch des Dichters* (above, note 1), pp. 118-45.

<sup>34</sup>The evidence for Alexander as model for Octavian/Augustus is conveniently presented and analyzed by D. Kienast, "Augustus und Alexander," *Gymnasium* 76 (1964), pp. 430-56.

Dionysus, whose merits had not been recognized by deification until after their deaths because of the *phthonos/invidia* that had affected them while alive. In the *Epistle to Augustus* Horace's praise of Augustus follows that pattern: Romulus, Dionysus, and Castor and Pollux were only after their deaths received into the company of the divine; in their lifetime they complained that their civilizing deeds had not met with a due reward from their fellows; Hercules too found out that *invidia* was only to be conquered by death; Augustus, on the other hand, is given his due in his lifetime and is worshipped while he is still among us (vv. 5-17). A. R. Bellinger noticed that these lines had much in common with a passage in Arrian and another in Curtius Rufus in which the efforts of certain Greeks to curry favor with Alexander by having him treated as a god are described.<sup>35</sup> Bellinger drew the conclusion that Horace, Arrian and Curtius Rufus had a common source — a panegyric by Choerilus.

Arrian's version of the story is that Alexander had neglected to sacrifice to Dionysus on a day that the Macedonians held sacred to that god and had instead given a banquet in honor of the Dioskouroi. As the drinking progressed, some flatterers had said that Polydeuces and Castor were not worthy to be compared to Alexander. They had not even held back from comparing Alexander with Heracles, to the latter's disadvantage. They had made the further point that *phthonos* had stood in the way of the Dioskouroi's and Heracles' being given the honors that they deserved to receive from their contemporaries (*Anab.* IV. 8. 2-4). Clitus took exception to this, aroused Alexander's anger and was killed (IV. 8. 4-9).

Curtius' version is fuller and makes explicit what is only implicit at best in Arrian.<sup>36</sup> According to Curtius, an Argive poet Agis, and a Sicilian called Cleon, had filled Alexander's head with the idea that he belonged among the gods and that Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi would give way before the new divinity. This had led Alexander to command that a splendid symposium should be held on a festal day to which not only the Macedonian and Greek leaders were to be invited but also the nobility of the enemy. After being present for only a short time the king left the symposium and by pre-arrangement

<sup>35</sup>"The Immortality of Alexander and Augustus," *Yale Classical Studies* 15 (1957), pp. 93-100. Bellinger is followed by Ernst Doblhofer, *Die Augustuspanegyrik des Horaz in formalhistorischer Sicht* (Heidelberg 1966), pp. 129-37.

<sup>36</sup>The arguments that Curtius records for and against the deification of Alexander are distributed over two separate occasions in Arrian, one being the banquet at which Clitus is killed, while the other is a banquet at which Callisthenes opposes Anaxarchos' attempt to have those present do obeisance to Alexander (*Anab.* IV. 9. 7 - 12. 7).

Cleon began to speak in his praise and to rehearse his services, services for which the only adequate recompense was their publicly recognizing that they knew that he was a god. Cleon went on to say that the Persians were not only pious in worshipping their kings as gods but wise also, since the majesty of power was a guarantee of safety. Heracles and Dionysus had not been declared gods until they had conquered the *invidia* of their contemporaries. He would therefore, even if others hesitated, do obeisance to Alexander when he entered (VIII. 5. 8-12). On this occasion it is the philosopher Callisthenes who opposes the suggestion (VIII. 5. 13-20).

The line of reasoning that lies behind both versions should take something like the following form, if spelled out in full: Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi were inferior to Alexander; that is to be seen in their only being able to conquer the *phthonos/invidia* of their contemporaries by death, and in their only being deified after their deaths. *Phthonos/invidia* should not stand in the way of Alexander's being honored as a god in his own lifetime. This amounts almost exactly to what is said in praise of Augustus by Horace in the *Letter to Augustus* with the difference that what is expressed as advice in Arrian and Curtius is translated into a statement of fact by Horace. We may infer that there was extant in antiquity a panegyric of Alexander in which it was either argued that unlike Heracles, Dionysus and the Dioskouroi, he should be accorded a just reward for his great accomplishments and be worshipped as a god while still alive, and not be deprived of that honor as they had been by *phthonos/invidia*, or in which it was simply asserted that Alexander had, unlike the others, transcended *phthonos/invidia* in his lifetime because of the magnitude of his achievements, and had been given by his contemporaries the measure of honor that was his due.

The existence of panegyrics in which Alexander was said to have transcended *phthonos/invidia* is indicated by Plutarch's adducing Cyrus and Alexander as examples of men whose successes were so great as to extinguish *phthonos*. What Plutarch says is, that since Alexander and Cyrus were conquerors and lords of all, it was not likely that men should feel *phthonos* towards them, for just as the sun obliterates all shadows below it, so too does *phthonos* diminish and retreat when it is confronted by successes of great magnitude that tower above it (*Mor.* 538 a-b).<sup>37</sup> We know that encomia of both Alexander and Cyrus were

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<sup>37</sup>What Plutarch says here agrees with what is said about *phthonos* at Arist. *Rhet.* 1388a6-13, that men feel *phthonos* towards those who are close to them in time, place, age and repute and that they feel no rivalry for those who were alive ten thousand years ago, nor for those who are yet to be, nor for the dead, nor for those who are at the Pil-

school exercises,<sup>38</sup> which makes it a fairly safe inference that Alexander's and Cyrus' being superior to *phthonos* were topics in such exercises.

In Curtius to attain divine status in one's lifetime is synonymous with transcending the *invidia* of one's contemporaries. This is spelled out in Claudian's *de consulatu Stilichonis*: Stilicho's *virtus* has left behind human measure and the bounds of *invidia*, for no one could feel *livor* because the stars never perish, or because Juppiter has for so long been lord of heaven, or because Apollo knows everything (3. 39-42). In Horace, Augustus' being worshipped as a *divus praesens* in contrast to Hercules, Dionysus, Romulus and the Dioskouroi who did not transcend *invidia* in their lifetime, is another instance of the conceit. The idea that to become divine in one's lifetime one must conquer *phthonos/invidia* may be relevant to the program of embellishment that Vergil proposes for his Octavian-temple. In the center of that temple is to be placed a statue of Octavian (*in medio mihi Caesar erit templumque tenebit*, v. 16), its doors are to be adorned with reliefs depicting Octavian's activities as world-conqueror, and there is to be a group of statues of Octavian's Juppiter-descended ancestors and Apollo, his patron deity and the founder of his ancestors' city, Troy (vv. 35 ff.). Sacrifices and Greek and Roman games are to be held in his honor (vv. 18-25). In short, he is to be worshipped as a present god on earth. The reliefs on the temple-doors will then represent the achievements in virtue of which Octavian has attained the status of *divus praesens*, while his descent from Juppiter is attested by the statues of his Juppiter-born ancestors. He is in this respect like Hercules, Dionysus, Castor and Pollux, and Alexander, who are all the progeny of Zeus.<sup>39</sup> In view then of the fact that Octavian is to be worshipped as a god on earth and that his temple is to be embellished with evidence of the activities that have brought him to this state, it would be entirely in keeping with this program of decoration that his transcending of *invidia* should be symbolically represented.

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lars of Heracles, nor for those who greatly surpass oneself or whom one greatly surpasses.

<sup>38</sup>Alexander: Cic. *de Or.* II. 84. 341, *de Fin.* II. 116; Auct. *ad Her.* 4. 31; Cyrus: Cic. *de Fin.* II. 116.

<sup>39</sup>On the emperor's transcending other men in virtue of his divine ancestry as a topic of praise, compare Menan. *Rhet.* 370. 21-28, and for the topic inverted, compare Plin. *Panegy.* 14. 2.