Rumor and War: from Caesar to the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*

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1. Questions to be answered

There is an *ekphrasis* tradition of personified Rumor, from Ὄσσα in Homer's *Iliad* 2.93-98 through *Fama* in Vergil's *Aeneid* 4.173-97 to *Fama* in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 12.39-63, which extends itself to Chaucer's *House of Fame*, esp. 1916-76. While influences of classical poets on Chaucer are evident, it has not been so clearly grasped how related the Ὄσσα and the *Famae* are; particularly, no precedent like Vergil's *Fama*, in the form of a huge, winged monster, has been found, and no apparent reason why Ovid presented a house of *Fama*, contrastedly static against the dynamism of Vergil's.[1] To address these questions, this paper will first observe what Caesar wrote in his war commentaries about rumors; how potent they would be strategically, politically, and psychologically in various situations. Then, it will be shown that Vergil and Ovid are using the 'motifs' found in Caesar in their own ways, suggesting that war might be the link of their *Famae*.

2. Rumor in Caesar[2]

While passages from Livy and Seneca[3] suggest that the Romans generally recognized the power of rumor in war, there seem to be no other classical writers who demonstrated what could happen and how in more detail than Caesar. The following are the characteristics noticed of his presentation of rumor.

(2-1) Rumor heralding war: rapidly increasing, it fans the flames of war to make it spread fast.

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[1] Despite the comprehensive study by Hardie, P. H., *Rumour and Renown*. Cambridge 2012, which surveys the whole tradition with the emphasis on the connotation of fame in *fama*. For the contrast of Vergil's *Fama* and Ovid's, see Appendix.

[2] Core ideas in this section originate in Takahashi, H., *Caesar's Gallic War: A History inscribed with a Sword and a Pen*. Tokyo 2009 (in Japanese), esp., 76-83, 175-79.

[3] Liv. 27.45.5 famam bellum conficere, et parva momenta in spem metumque impellere animos (in the speech of C. Claudius Nero, consul of 207BC, to his soldiers); 34.12.4 sociis spem pro re ostentandam censet; saepe vana pro veris, maxime in bello, valuisse, et credentem se aliquid auxilii habere, perinde atque haberet, ipsa fiducia et sperando atque audendo servatum (in the speech of M. Porcius Cato, consul of 195BC at the council). Sen.*Ep*.13.8 plerumque enim suspicionibus laboramus, et inludit nobis illa quae conficere bellum solet fama, multo autem magis singulos conficit.

At the outset of 52 BC, the year in which a series of decisive battles between him and Vercingetorix take place, Caesar almost identifies the rumors passing very fast through the ranks of Gauls with their spirited uprising,[4] a very vivid image.

> eae res in Galliam Transalpinam celeriter perferuntur. addunt ipsi et adfingunt rumoribus Galli, quod res poscere videbatur: retineri urbano motu Caesarem neque in tantis dissensionibus ad exercitum venire posse. (*BG* 7.1.2)
>
> celeriter ad omnes Galliae civitates fama perfertur. nam ubicumque maior atque inlustrior incidit res, clamore per agros regionesque significant. hinc alii deinceps excipiunt et proximis tradunt, ut tum accidit. nam, quae Cenabi oriente sole gesta essent, ante primam confectam vigiliam in finibus Arvernorum audita sunt, quod spatium est milium passuum circiter centum sexaginta. (*BG* 7.3.2-3)

Rumor reports not just the breakout of the war, but also its turning point. It is what Caesar comments on on Scipio's arrival, which will be a serious threat to Domitius, one of Caesar's lieutenants, as well as a significant aid to Pompey's army.

> Eodemque tempore Domitius in Macedoniam venit; et cum ad eum frequentes civitatium legationes convenire coepissent, nuntiatum est adesse Scipionem cum legionibus, magna opinione et fama omnium; nam plerumque in novitate fama <rem> antecedit. (*BC* 3.36.1-2)[5]

(2-2) Rumor as a crucial factor in war; with facts and fiction mixed up, used as a tactic of intelligence or incidentally passed on, it could have an enormous impact on the outcome of war.

A case of incidental reporting is found in Book Six of the *Gallic War*. When Eburones were being persecuted by Caesar, the first rumor convinced the Sugambri, a German tribe bordering upon the Gallic territory, to take advantage of the opportunity to plunder the Eburones, and it should have been a development much in Caesar's favor, but hearsay from a captive (the second rumor), that Caesar is absent, turns them to attacking the Roman camp in Cicero's charge instead, and it would have been totally destroyed, had not Caesar come back in time.

[4] In fact, rumor is one of the national characteristics of the Gauls, and instituted into their state system (*BG*. 4.5.2-3 and 6.20.1-3, quoted below at (2-3)).

[5] Cf. also *BG* 7.63.1 (Defectione Haeduorum cognita bellum augetur.), where the news of the defection of the Romans' long-time ally marks the harder situation for Caesar.

> trans Rhenum ad Germanos pervenit fama diripi Eburones atque ultro omnes ad praedam evocari. cogunt equitum duo milia Sugambri, … quibus in locis sit Caesar, ex captivis quaerunt. profectum longius reperiunt omnemque exercitum discessisse cognoscunt. atque unus ex captivis 'quid vos' inquit 'hanc miseram ac tenuem sectamini praedam, quibus licet iam esse fortunatissimos? ...' oblata spe Germani, quam nacti erant praedam, in occulto relinquunt. ipsi Atuatucam contendunt (*BG* 6.35.4-5, 7-8, 10)

In Book Three of the *Civil War* we see rumors put in play as tactics. Keeping the siege on Pompey at Dyrrachium, Caesar uses the rumor to harm his reliability, while Pompey tries to maintain his reputation, that is, what is rumored among people.

> tertio ut auctoritatem, qua ille maxime apud exteras nationes niti videbatur, minueret, cum fama per orbem terrarum percrebruisset illum a Caesare obsideri neque audere proelio dimicare. (*BC* 3.43.3)
>
> Pompeius autem, ut famam opinionemque hominum teneret, sic pro castris exercitum constituebat (*BC* 3.55.2)

After the victory at Dyrrachium Pompey uses the exaggerated rumor of his valor and success to induce Caesar's allies to alienate themselves from him.

> non denique communis belli casus recordabantur, quam parvulae saepe causae vel falsae suspicionis vel terroris repentini vel obiectae religionis magna detrimenta intulissent, quotiens vel ducis vitio vel culpa tribuni in exercitu esset offensum. sed proinde ac si virtute vicissent neque ulla commutatio rerum posset accidere, per orbem terrarum fama ac litteris victoriam eius diei concelebrabant. (*BC* 3.72.4)
>
> simul a Pompeio litteris per omnes provincias civitatesque dimissis de proelio ad Dyrrachium facto elatius inflatiusque multo, quam res erat gesta, fama percrebruerat pulsum fugere Caesarem paene omnibus copiis amissis. haec itinera infesta reddiderat, haec civitates nonnullas ab eius amicitia avertebat. (*BC* 3.79.4)

Gomphi thought the rumor was true, therefore decided to be on Pompey's side and closed the gates to Caesar.

> eo fama iam praecurrerat, quam supra docuimus, de proelio Dyrrachino, quod multis auxerat partibus. itaque Androsthenes, praetor Thessaliae, cum se victoriae Pompei comitem esse mallet quam socium Caesaris in rebus adversis, omnem ex agris multitudinem servorum ac liberorum in oppidum cogit portasque praecludit et ad Scipionem Pompeiumque nuntios mittit (*BC* 3.80.2-3)

The result, however, was that Caesar captured the town and they suffered severely. In contrast, Metropolis, hearing of the hardship of Gomphi, opened the gates to Caesar, who treated the people benignly.

> Metropolitae primum eodem usi consilio, isdem permoti rumoribus portas clauserunt murosque armatis compleverunt, sed postea casu civitatis Gomphensis cognito ex captivis, quos Caesar ad murum producendos curaverat, portas aperuerunt. quibus diligentissime conservatis, conlata fortuna Metropolitum cum casu Gomphensium nulla Thessaliae fuit civitas praeter Larisaeos, qui magnis exercitibus Scipionis tenebantur, quin Caesari parerent atque imperata facerent. (*BC* 3.81.1)

After the battle of Pharsalus, while the Pompeians stationed in Sicily hardly believed the news of Pompey's defeat, but thought that it was fabricated by Caesar's men, Pompey could not find any place to settle in, but was forced to keep on running away as the rumor of Caesar's arrival was reaching every town.

> neque multo post de proelio facto in Thessalia cognitum est, ut ipsis Pompeianis fides fieret; nam ante id tempus fingi a legatis amicisque Caesaris arbitrabantur. (*BC* 3.101.7)
>
> qui cum ex fuga Pompeium sequerentur atque in insulam venissent, oppido ac portu recepti non erant missisque ad eos nuntiis ut ex his locis discederent, contra voluntatem suam naves solverant. iamque de Caesaris adventu fama ad civitates perferebatur. (*BC* 3.102.7-8)

(2-3) rumor, with its uncertainty, has a variety of psychological effects to make people confused, anxious, dubious, or excited.

For proof of the Gauls' fickleness, temerity, and unreliability Caesar refers to their habitual enthusiasm for rumor: they compel travelers and merchants to tell

whatever they have heard and learnt, and often enslaved to uncertain rumors they make bad decisions.

> infirmitatem Gallorum veritus, quod sunt in consiliis capiendis mobiles et novis plerumque rebus student, nihil his committendum existimavit. est autem hoc Gallicae consuetudinis, uti et viatores etiam invitos consistere cogant et quid quisque eorum de quaque re audierit aut cognoverit quaerant et mercatores in oppidis vulgus circumsistat quibusque ex regionibus veniant quasque ibi res cognoverint pronuntiare cogat. his rebus atque auditionibus permoti de summis saepe rebus consilia ineunt, quorum eos in vestigio paenitere necesse est, cum incertis rumoribus serviant et plerique ad voluntatem eorum ficta respondeant. (*BG*. 4.5.1-3)

Caesar knows well that it is a state affair to control rumors, which could affect the public safety, terrifying inexperienced people into reckless actions.

> Quae civitates commodius suam rem publicam administrare existimantur, habent legibus sanctum, si quis quid de re publica a finitimis rumore ac fama acceperit, uti ad magistratum deferat neve cum quo alio communicet, quod saepe homines temerarios atque imperitos falsis rumoribus terreri et ad facinus impelli et de summis rebus consilium capere cognitum est. magistratus quae visa sunt occultant, quae esse ex usu iudicaverunt, multitudini produnt. (*BG* 6.20.1-3)

In fact, not just the Gauls, but the Roman soldiers as well are deeply affected by a rumor. That concerning the Germans aroused such fear in them that it almost led to their mutiny.

> ex percontatione nostrorum vocibusque Gallorum ac mercatorum, qui ingenti magnitudine corporum Germanos, incredibili virtute atque exercitatione in armis esse praedicabant saepe numero sese cum his congressos ne vultum quidem atque aciem oculorum dicebant ferre potuisse, tantus subito timor omnem exercitum occupavit, ut non mediocriter omnium mentes animosque perturbaret. …nonnulli etiam Caesari nuntiabant, cum castra moveri ac signa ferri iussisset, non fore dicto audientes milites neque propter timorem signa laturos. (*BG* 1.39.1, 7)

At Ilerda, the feelings of the Pompeians are symbolized by or synchronized with the rumor that they were winning. The more elated they are, the more frequent and louder the rumors, which, however, simply disappear when the tide has changed.

> Haec Afranius Petreiusque et eorum amici pleniora etiam atque uberiora Romam ad suos perscribebant. multa rumores adfingebant, ut paene bellum confectum videretur. quibus litteris nuntiisque Romam perlatis magni domum concursus ad Afranium magnaeque gratulationes fiebant. (*BC* 1.53.1-2)
>
> magna celeriter commutatio rerum. perfecto ponte, magnis quinque civitatibus ad amicitiam adiunctis, expedita re frumentaria, exstinctis rumoribus de auxiliis legionum, quae cum Pompeio per Mauretaniam venire dicebantur, multae longinquiores civitates ab Afranio desciscunt et Caesaris amicitiam sequuntur. (*BC* 1.60.5)

3. Rumor in the *Aeneid*

So far, we have observed how rumor functions in Caesar's writings: as a herald of war, a pivotal player in war, and its psychological effect. These 'motifs' can be seen not just in the *Fama ekphrasis* in Book Four of the *Aeneid*, but also in the *Fama/ fama* passages throughout the whole epic.

(3-1) Rumor as a stimulus for the mind.

This is exactly what *Fama* does in Book Four. She fills places with both fact and falsehood, and flies to Iarbas in order to light up fires of wrath in him.

> haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
> gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:
> ...
> haec passim dea foeda uirum diffundit in ora.
> protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban
> incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.
> ...
> isque amens animi et rumore accensus amaro
> dicitur ante aras media inter numina diuum
> multa Iouem manibus supplex orasse supinis: (*Aen*. 4.189f., 195-97, 203-05)

Also comparable is the following passage, where although it is not *Fama/ fama* nor *rumor*, but *nuntius* that causes confusion, fear, anger, and excitement among the Latins, still the report functions in the same way as a rumor.

Illi haec inter se dubiis de rebus agebant
certantes: castra Aeneas aciemque mouebat.
nuntius ingenti per regia tecta tumultu
ecce ruit magnisque urbem terroribus implet:
instructos acie Tiberino a flumine Teucros
Tyrrhenamque manum totis descendere campis.
extemplo turbati animi concussaque uulgi
pectora et arrectae stimulis haud mollibus irae.
arma manu trepidi poscunt, fremit arma iuuentus (*Aen*. 11.445-53)

(3-2) *Fama* heralding war; the monster brings about an evil outcome.

As the examples above may suggest, the emotions *Fama* arouses most seem to be *dolor* and *ira*, and these are, as we see in the proem, Juno's motives for compelling the hero to face so many toils.

saeuae memorem Iunonis ob iram
multa quoque et bello passus
…
quo numine laeso
quidue dolens regina deum tot uoluere casus
insignem pietate uirum, tot adire labores
impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae? (*Aen*. 1.4f., 8-11)

In this respect, it may be important to note that the *Fama ekphrasis* is placed right after the 'marriage' scene of Aeneas and Dido. The day is said to be the beginning of death and the cause of calamity (*ille dies primus leti primusque malorum/ causa fuit*; 4.169f.). In the immediate context, the death and calamity may be meant for Dido, but since the queen at her death swears that the Carthaginians shall never cease fighting against the Romans, it could imply the Punic Wars and the sufferings of the peoples involved. Noticeable in this regard is that just after Dido has killed herself, *Fama* runs wild through the city, and describing the tumult, the poet compares it to the falling of Carthage, as if to associate its future with this moment.

dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro
conlapsam aspiciunt comites, ensemque cruore
spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta
atria: concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem.
lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, (*Aen*. 4.663-70)

And, in fact, the proem puts up the destruction of Carthage as one of the reasons for Juno's wrath (1.12-22). In this sense, *Fama* could be regarded as piloting the hardest wars in Roman history.

In the *ekphrasis*, *Fama* is presented as *custos* on a summit, terrifying the cities with the news that are both false and true.

luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri. (*Aen*. 4.185-87)

It might not be irrelevant here to compare the episodes of Gomphi and Metropolis discussed above. Rumor urges you to get ready for the coming war, but simultaneously with its element of uncertainty often leads you to the wrong decision, wherein lies the problem. And this could provide an explanation as to why Vergil says there is no faster evil than *Fama* (*Fama, malum qua non aliud uelocius ullum* 4.174), because something evil is already there when *Fama* forces people to make wrong decisions or actions, long before the evil has eventually come and they realize that they had dug a hole for themselves.

We find a lot of examples where *Fama* brings about an evil outcome in the context of war particularly in the second half of the work.[6] Among them, special attention should be called to Allecto's case.[7] Just like *Fama* she is a huge winged monster (*monstrum* 7.328, 348; i*ngentibus monstris* 7.376; *fuscis alis* 7.408;

[6] 7.104, 392; 8.554; 9.474; 10.510; 11.139; 12.608.
[7] Cf. Hardie (op. cit. n.1), 101f., who has pointed out the similarities between Fama and Allecto. With them Celaeno may also be comparable; the harpy accused the Trojans of making war upon her and predicted their suffering from hunger upon arriving in Italy, probably because of the injustice (*Aen*. 3.246-57).

stridentis anguibus alis 7.561; cf. also 7.505 *pestis*), and her business is to bring about war (*cui tristia bella cordi* 7.325f.), which is exactly what Juno told her to do (*disice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli* 7.339) and she accordingly accomplished (*perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi* 7.545). Above all, she could lead whole towns to war with rumors.

'hoc etiam his addam, tua si mihi certa uoluntas:
finitimas in bella feram rumoribus urbes,
accendamque animos insani Martis amore
undique ut auxilio ueniant; spargam arma per agros.' (*Aen*. 7.548-51)

(3-3) rumor as a tool for trickery and instigation

Because Juno did not give her the nod (7.552-60), there was no opportunity for Allecto to use rumors, but we find cases where rumor induces people to action.

In Book Two, produced before the Trojans Sinon begins his story with the rumor about Palamedes, saying that they should have heard of him (*fando aliquod si forte tuas peruenit ad auris/ Belidae nomen Palamedis et incluta fama/ gloria* 2.81-83). The purpose of this is obviously to make himself believd by the Trojans, so that he can persuade them to draw the Horse inside the walls of Troy.

In Book Nine, when Turnus tells his men to take up arms, they are said to "sharpen up their anger with various rumors".

Turnus in arma uiros armis circumdatus ipse
suscitat: aeratasque acies in proelia cogunt,
quisque suos, uariisque acuunt rumoribus iras. (*Aen*. 9.462-64)

With the phrase we may compare 7.549 quoted just above and 12.228 quoted below,[8] and in any case it seems certain that rumor is presented as a stimulus for war.

In Book Twelve, to help Turnus, Juturna tries to nullify the oath of the duel between her brother and Aeneas by scattering rumors among the Rutulians.

in medias dat sese acies haud nescia rerum
rumoresque serit uarios ac talia fatur: (*Aen*. 12.227-28)

[8] Cf. also Hom.*Il*.2.93-94 μετὰ δέ σφισιν ὄσσα δεδήει/ ὀτρύνουσ᾽ ἰέναι Διὸς ἄγγελος: οἳ δ᾽ ἀγέροντο.

Her words do not fail to agitate them, and the flame lighted in their heart becomes more and more intense, as a murmur crawls through the ranks of men.[9]

Talibus incensa est iuuenum sententia dictis
iam magis atque magis, serpitque per agmina murmur: (*Aen*. 12.238-39)

(3-4) Rumor, deceptive or disappointing, could cause an ironical turn of event.

We saw above the rumor of Eburones being plundered eventually exposing Romans to enormous danger, contrary to what most might have expected. The following are comparable examples found in the *Aeneid*.

In Book Three, Rumor suggests that Crete will be the destination for the Trojans, saying that there is a vacancy there, .

Fama uolat pulsum regnis cessisse paternis
Idomenea ducem, desertaque litora Cretae,
hoste uacare domum sedesque astare relictas. (*Aen*. 3.121-23)

They arrived there, and were settling in, when, however, a pestilence broke out, and they had to leave persuaded by the divine revelation delivered to Aeneas and by Anchises' advice.

In Book Seven, a rumor spreads among the Trojans, that the day has finally come for them to found the promised city.

diditur hic subito Troiana per agmina rumor
aduenisse diem quo debita moenia condant. (*Aen*. 7.144-45)

But, the realization of the fate is put off by Juno's intervention.

In Book Eleven, as the rumor is confirmed by scouts, Turnus prepares to ambush Aeneas, who is about to march to the city, by blocking both entrances of the path.

'Aeneas, ut fama fidem missique reportant
exploratores, equitum leuia improbus arma

[9] Her finishing touch comes as a sign in the sky, and it is notable that it is called 'monstrum', the word applied to *Fama* (*his aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto/ dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum/ turbauit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit*. *Aen*. 12.244-46)

praemisit, quaterent campos; ipse ardua montis
per deserta iugo superans aduentat ad urbem.
furta paro belli conuexo in tramite siluae,
ut biuias armato obsidam milite fauces.' (*Aen*. 11.511-16)

For this maneuver Turnus divides the force, entrusting half to Camilla to defend the city against the horsemen sent by Aeneas, but the news of Camilla's death in the battle 'most mercilessly' changes the situation. That hearing it Turnus leaves the place of his ambush is all the more ironical given the fact that the rumor of Aeneas' approach was true, and he passes through just after the ambush has been aborted.

Interea Turnum in siluis saeuissimus implet
nuntius et iuueni ingentem fert Acca tumultum:
deletas Volscorum acies, cecidisse Camillam,
ingruere infensos hostis et Marte secundo
omnia corripuisse, metum iam ad moenia ferri.
ille furens (et saeua Iouis sic numina poscunt)
deserit obsessos collis, nemora aspera linquit.
uix e conspectu exierat campumque tenebat,
cum pater Aeneas saltus ingressus apertos
exsuperatque iugum siuaque euadit opaca. (*Aen*. 11.896-905)

(3-5) Difficulty in gleaning facts from raw information, and it becomes harder when divinities, fate or *Fama* impede the processing.

In Caesar's writing, as shown above, rumor is presented as highly potent on various fronts of war, and the presentations themselves seem to indicate that he has every confidence that he is commanding as good a control of intelligence as any general. This is eloquently expressed in the following:

neque Bibulus impeditis navibus dispersisque remigibus satis mature occurrit, quod prius ad continentem visus est Caesar, quam de eius adventu fama omnino in eas regiones perferretur. (*BC* 3.7.2)

For the statement 'successful crossing to Greece prior to the rumor of his arrival', Caesar certainly chose the right moment to proclaim how proud he was of his

intelligence activities, especially considering that landing on the enemy territory is one of the most dangerous and pivotal moves in war regardless of the era.

In contrast, Aeneas so often struggles to grasp information, indispensable or useful, of which the deer-shepherd simile is symbolic.[10] He does not know how seriously the queen suffers from her wound of love.

uritur infelix Dido totaque uagatur
urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerua sagitta,
quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
pastor agens telis liquitque uolatile ferrum
nescius: illa fuga siluas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo. (*Aen*. 4.68-73)

Urged by Mercurius, Aeneas makes a quick decision to leave, but uncertain as to how to part with Dido, he just waits for an adequate opportunity to come up when he could tell her what he has to say.

heu quid agat? quo nunc reginam ambire furentem
audeat adfatu? quae prima exordia sumat?
…
Mnesthea Sergestumque uocat fortemque Serestum,
classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,
arma parent et quae rebus sit causa nouandis
dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,
temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. (*Aen*. 4.283-84, 288-94)

While he is indecisive, however, *Fama* forestalls his intension by informing Dido of the Trojans preparing to sail away.

At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
praesensit, motusque excepit prima futuros
omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti

[10] Cf.. Anderson, W. S., Pastor Aeneas: on Pastoral Themes in the *Aeneid*. *TAPA* 99 (1968), 7ff. Takahashi, H., Reconsidering the Final Scene of the *Aeneid*. *JASCA* 2 (2014), esp., 116ff. has suggested Aeneas' cognitive defect at the final scene.

detulit armari classem cursumque parari. (*Aen*. 4. 296-99)

This drives her to anger and madness. Still, if Aeneas had been able to fully understand what the queen had on her mind, it could have been a different story, but the hero is blocked by *fata* and *deus* from listening to the words sent by Dido.

Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus
fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille mouetur
fletibus aut uoces ullas tractabilis audit;
fata obstant placidasque uiri deus obstruit auris. (*Aen*. 4.437-40)

When he meets her in the Underworld, his words to her simply reveal how unsure he was of her situation.

'infelix Dido, uerus mihi nuntius ergo
uenerat exstinctam ferroque extrema secutam?' (*Aen*. 6.456-57)

(3-6) *Fama/ fama* and *pietas*

The limited access for the hero to information indispensable for the right decisions or actions seems to affect his natural virtue. *Pietas* requires a person to choose the best action possible at a particular moment towards each person in some connection with him according to the strength of his relationship with the other person. So, to be *pius*, one has to make a choice according to his priorities,[11] and the choice could not be good or even possible, if there is no relevant information available on which it should be based.

Following the words quoted just above, Aeneas says to Dido,

'inuitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.
sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras,
per loca senta situ cogunt noctemque profundam,
imperiis egere suis; nec credere quiui

[11] There is a good example found in *BG* 5.27.2-8 to see how *pietas* works; Ambiorix, one of the kings of Eburones, makes an excuse for their revolt, explaining that owing a lot to Caesar, he was unwilling to go against the Romans, and it was decided not by him, but his state, which could not resist the conspiracy of the Gauls, but since he has done enough for Gauls out of *pietas* (*quibus pro pietate satisfecerit*), his duty now would be to return the debt to Caesar. The explanation has been accepted by Caesar's lieutenants probably because they regarded the logic based on *pietas*, that is, the priority being changeable according to the situation, as reasonable.

hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.' (*Aen*. 6.460-64)

He was unwilling to leave in the first place, but the gods' commands forced him to do so, and he did not know how much *dolor* she would experience because of his departure. The irony is that he did not know either that his ignorance too was caused by the gods. Certainly the hero was *pius* to the gods, but it seems important to note here that he looks as if to admit that his decision to leave in such a hurry at that moment might have been wrong, which would imply that he might not have been *pius* enough towards Dido, to whom he owed so much. After all, it is fated that he would have to go to Italy, parting with her, but, he could have done something prior to that, such as, taking the time to care for the queen, as she herself asked (4.430-34), if only he had known what she had in mind. While a god is capable of knowing all, a man is not, however exceptional he may be, therefore it is always hard for him to choose and decide what is best. And, the more urgent the situation – where naturally one is required to act fast on the information available at the moment, which is likely to be tenuous or, if abundant, more confusing than helpful – the harder it would become to make the right call. Obviously, such difficult situations are those which leaders like Aeneas must face and overcome to 'found the Roman race' (*tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* 1.33), and to express the difficulty, *Fama* seems to function well, and the form of a huge monster leaves a lasting impression.

4. *Fama* in the *Metamorphoses*[12]

(4-1) *Fama* heralding war?

That Ovid's *Fama ekphrasis* (*Met*. 12.39-63) occurs also in the context of 'war'[13] is obvious, because it is placed just after the departure of the Greek fleet from Aulis and its arrival to Troy has been narrated (12.37-38), and *Fama*'s formal function is to bring the news to the Trojans (*Fecerat haec notum, Graias cum milite forti/ adventare rates* 12.64-65). Fitting in this respect is the image of a world leader

[12] This section incorporates without citation part of the following papers of mine previously written in Japanese: *Fama narrans*: Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 12. 39-63. *Memoirs of the Faculty of Engineering and Design, Kyoto Institute of Technology. Jinbun* 37 (1988), 31-46; The Epilogue of Ovid's *Metamorphoses. Bungaku* 57-12 (1989), 138-56.

[13] The quotation marks that it is 'story of, or motif linked to, war', based on the understanding that the *Metamorphoses* is a poem about story-telling. Incidentally, 'rumor' frequently appears in the work to link a story or a group of stories to another, most of which have no proper connection with each other; i.e. 5.256, 6.147, 8.267, 9.676.

found in *Fama*. As has been pointed out,[14] she is presented like Jupiter or Augustus, sitting on heights to watch over the whole world.

> Orbe locus medio est inter terrasque fretumque
> caelestesque plagas, triplicis confinia mundi;
> unde quod est usquam, quamuis regionibus absit,
> inspicitur, penetratque cauas uox omnis ad aures:
> Fama tenet summaque domum sibi legit in arce,
> …
> ipsa, quid in caelo rerum pelagoque geratur
> et tellure, uidet totumque inquirit in orbem. (*Met*. 12.39-43, 62-63)

And *Fama* collects and sends out every piece of information by opening all the doors of her house day and night, which, when considered in the context of a war, might look as if she were a general busy at intelligence work.

> innumerosque aditus ac mille foramina tectis
> addidit et nullis inclusit limina portis;
> nocte dieque patet: tota est ex aere sonanti,
> tota fremit uocesque refert iteratque quod audit; (*Met*. 12.44-47)

In contrast with the stately image of *Fama*, *Rumores* in and around her house seem to represent such emotions or actions on battlefields as are caused by rumors as discussed above:

> illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error
> uanaque Laetitia est consternatique Timores
> Seditioque recens dubioque auctore Susurri; (*Met*. 12.59-61)

So far, just like Vergil's, Ovid's *Fama* also seems to be a herald of war, but, to consider her as such might be a little premature, because her appearance comes *after* the tale of Aesacus, a son of Priamus, has been told at the end of Book Eleven, and the Trojan war and its cause described at the beginning of Book Twelve:

[14] See Hardie, op. cit.(n.1), 160ff. Comparable passages are *Met*. 1.163, 170-72, *F*. 1.85, *Tr*. 1.5.69-70; cf. also Hom. *Il*. 1.498-99, *Od*. 4.72, 74.

defuit officio Paridis praesentia tristi (sc. funeri Aesaci),
postmodo qui rapta longum cum coniuge bellum
attulit in patriam: coniurataeque sequuntur
mille rates gentisque simul commune Pelasgae; (*Met*. 12.4-7)

Therefore, at least the readers know the war is about to break out, even before *Fama* delivers the report. Certainly, it is thanks to *Fama* that the Trojans were able to get ready for the war, but the first Greek casualty was destined by the fate (*fataliter* 12.67) rather than caused by the Trojans' preparations. And it seems that not until paying this cost did the Greeks learn the valor of Hector. This failure of intelligence makes us smile and ask whether *Fama* had not reported about the Trojan hero to the Greeks.

neque inexspectatus in armis
hostis adest: prohibent aditus litusque tuentur
Troes, et Hectorea primus fataliter hasta,
Protesilae, cadis, commissaque proelia magno
stant Danais, fortisque animae nece cognitus Hector. (*Met*. 12.65-69)

If *Fama* is set in the context of 'war' and given the image of a general, however, what seems most strange is that she stays at home, not going out on a battlefield, because for the Romans *domus* was an antonym of war, as is indicated by the phrase *bellique domique* and the like.[15] Let us consider this point next.

(4-2) *bellique domique*

After the first major battle between Achilles and Cygnus, a truce is agreed on, both sides lay down their weapons (12.146-47), and this allows the Greeks to enjoy talking about the battles they had come through.

sed noctem sermone trahunt, uirtusque loquendi
materia est: pugnas referunt hostisque suasque,
inque uices adita atque exhausta pericula saepe
commemorare iuuat; (*Met*.12.159-62)

[15] *militiae* is the alternative. See *OLD*, s.v. *domus* 4 and *militia* 1b.

The most entertaining speaker among them was, needless to say, the 'sweet-tongued' (*dulci ore* 12.577) Nestor, who introduced the Caenis-Caeneus story as such a memorable one among the numerous deeds of war and peace as never to leave his mind.

> 'quamuis obstet mihi tarda uetustas,
> multaque me fugiant primis spectata sub annis,
> plura tamen memini. nec quae magis haereat ulla
> pectore res nostro est inter bellique domique
> acta tot, …' (*Met*.12.182-86)

The apparent meaning of the phrase here is 'in his whole life', and it fits well in the flow of his words, but, since the poet has just indicated that the theme of the talk was valor and battle (*uirtusque loquendi materia est: pugnas referunt* 159-60), one may wonder why Nestor added *domi* to *belli* here. A possible reason could be that in the current circumstances Nestor was feeling as secure when telling his tales to his company as if they were at home. In fact, although they are staying on the battlefield, Ovid puts emphasis on both sides guarding and protecting the truce, and even a holiday has come!

> Hic labor, haec requiem multorum pugna dierum
> attulit et positis pars utraque substitit armis.
> dumque uigil Phrygios seruat custodia muros,
> et uigil Argolicas seruat custodia fossas,
> festa dies aderat, (*Met*.12.146-50)

Since the reiterated word *uigil* primarily means 'wakeful on the watch',[16] it might be safely assumed that they have established such a secure atmosphere that they can fully enjoy the night of exchanging their stories (*noctem sermone trahunt* 12.159). In this respect, it is noticeable that Nestor gives a long, maybe too long, account of the battle between Lapithae and Centauri (12.210-535), despite beginning with the story of Caenis-Caeneus (12.189-209), to whom the old hero returns only near the end of the battle (12.459-535). In the *Iliad*, when he mentioned the battle, he used it as an *exemplum* to claim his authority, so that both Agamemnon and Achilles, who were

[16] It also reminds of *tot vigiles oculi* of Vergil's *Fama* (*Aen*. 4.182), which are threatening, in contrast to the mood here.

about to fight with swords, would listen to his precepts (*Il*. 1.260-74). It was a serious situation that would not allow for a long story. Here, in contrast, Nestor has the opportunity to tell the story to his heart's content. The battle was one he himself took part in, striking the enemies (12.383-87, 439-42) and even suffering a wound, to which his scar bears witness (12.442-44). Here it might be useful to recall the poet's comment at the beginning of the night:

> inque uices adita atque exhausta pericula saepe
> commemorare iuuat (*Met*. 12.161f.)

This certainly alludes to those words of Aeneas just after surviving the storm which had driven the Trojans to the Carthaginian shore:[17]

> forsan et haec olim meminisse iuuabit. (*Aen*. 1.203)

The difference in tense (*iuuat – iuuabit*) seems huge, because joy is nowhere but in the future for Aeneas, who never sees an end to his ongoing toils,[18] while it is present right there for Nestor and his company, who feel that perils are gone (*exhausta pericula* 161) as if they were not on the battlefield. Then, why not take advantage of this opportunity to revisit his younger days?[19] Little wonder if the old hero thought so. He looks really at home telling stories.

Now, to this paradox of 'feeling at home on a battlefield', it might be helpful to compare the following passage from the *Heroides*.

> Quando ego non timui graviora pericula veris?
> res est solliciti plena timoris amor.
> in te fingebam violentos Troas ituros;
> nomine in Hectoreo pallida semper eram.
> sive quis Antilochum narrabat ab Hectore victum,
> Antilochus nostri causa timoris erat;
> sive Menoetiaden falsis cecidisse sub armis,

[17] Ovid refers to the words also at *Met*. 7.797f., where Cephalus says, "iuuat o meminisse beati temporis" and *Met*. 9.485, where Byblis exclaims, " ut meminisse (sc. se uisam iungere fratri) iuuat!"
[18] Although he consoles his men saying that a god will end the misfortunes (*dabit deus his quoque finem* 1.199), but his real feeling is represented by Venus complaining to Jupiter: "quem das finem, rex magne, laborum?"(1.241).
[19] Nestor seems to talk only about what he pleases, since he omits Hercules' deeds because of his hatred against the great hero (*Met*. 12.536-76).

flebam successu posse carere dolos.
sanguine Tlepolemus Lyciam tepefecerat hastam;
Tlepolemi leto cura novata mea est.
denique, quisquis erat castris iugulatus Achivis,
frigidius glacie pectus amantis erat. (*Her*. 1.11-22)

Penelope writes to Ulixes that she felt fearfully anxious about her husband everytime she imagined, or heard from somebody, what was happening at Troy. The paradox here is that whereas she was at home, without any threat to her own life, hearsays of the war made her feel as if she were facing the dangers on the battlefield together with her husband.[20] This is an inverse case of what we have just seen concerning Nestor, but, in both cases the paradoxes revolve on the antithesis of the home and war.

(4-3) intelligence control failed?

Back to the *Fama ekphrasis*. Penelope's case[21] has shown that when you can imagine yourself standing on a field while hearing a war story, even in your living room you can experience as vivid an impression as you would do in a real battle. As discussed above, *Rumores* in *Fama*'s house (12.59-61) seem to represent emotions or actions on battlefields, then they could be regarded also as the effects a war story create in the minds of the audience. At the same time, however, when it comes to the inside of the house, it is full of much noise[22] and confusion created by the fickle crowd coming and going there.

tota fremit uocesque refert iteratque quod audit;
nulla quies intus nullaque silentia parte
…
atria turba tenet: ueniunt, leue uulgus, euntque
mixtaque cum ueris passim commenta uagantur
milia rumorum confusaque uerba uolutant; (*Met*. 12.47-48, 53-55)

[20] The irony about this is that, now that the war is over, he should have been home and everybody safe and happy, but as he is still absent, she and her family have to suffer the suitors who have occupied their home, a constant danger to its master.
[21] Cf. also Prop. 4.3.35-40, where Arethusa writes to his husband Lycotas that she is looking at the map of the areas where he is serving as a soldier.
[22] It is not so loud (12.49-52), though, alluding to Callimachean 'small' poetry, for which see Appendix B.

This crowd in confusion gives us an impression at odds with *Fama* herself, who is, as seen above, likened to a world ruler, probably assiduously at work on intelligence and, therefore, supposed to control every piece of information.

Here it would be useful to refer to the passage about the Gauls having rumors instituted into their state system in *BG* 6.20.1-3 quoted above. In their well-governed states, laws laid down that you had to report every rumor heard from foreigners to the magistracy, who were to decide whether the rumor be kept secret or open to the public, because uncontrolled rumors could create serious troubles.

Also in the *Metamorphoses*, there are a number of stories, in which an informant causes trouble. In Book Two, corvus, a merciless informant (*non exorabilis index* 2.546), detected Coronis' unchastity, and was hurrying to report about it to Phoebus, his master, who was in love with Coronis, when cornix, having followed and heard the news, warned him against the reporting, telling her own story of suffering as an *exemplum*, which corvus spurned and went on to inform his master. And, eventually, just like cornix, corvus was punished by Phoebus for the horrible news he brought. The god, after killing Coronis, regretted his anger, which had been caused by the news.[23] Battus, accepting a cow as the reward, promised Mercurius to keep his theft of cows secret, but when the god returned in disguise shortly, and asked him for information about the cows with a promise of a cow and a bull, incited by the double reward he disclosed the secret, only to be turned into a hard stone called '*index*' (2.706). In Book Five, Ascalaphus deprived Proserpina of her return to earth with his report (*indicio* 5.542) of her having broken her fast, and was transformed into *bubo, dirum mortalibus omen* (5.550). In Book Seven, a rash informant (*temerarius index* 7.825) passes a false report about Cephalus to Procris, which eventually leads to the tragedy of the beloved wife killed by her husband's spear. In Book Eleven, Midas wanted to hide by all means his secret, that Apollo changed his ears into those of an ass as a punishment, but a slave trimming his hair saw them, and, incapable of keeping it to himself, buried '*indicium suae uocis*' (11.188) with the earth heaped on top. A year later, however, he was betrayed by the whispering reeds which grew up there.

Considering these passages, it seems at least certain that the poet is fully conscious of the information-related risks, and in this respect, although the open doors of *Fama*'s house seemed to represent *Fama*'s alertness to intelligence when

[23] For the story and a detailed discussion, see Keith, A. M., *The Play of Fictions. Studies in Ovid's Metamorphoses Book 2*. Ann Arobor 1992. And it might be worth noting that this is another story Chaucer adapted from Ovid to his work (*The Canterbury Tales*. Tale of the Crowe: The Manciple's Tale).

we saw them above, 'countless access points and a thousand holes with no gateway' (*innumerosque aditus ac mille foramina tectis … nullis limina portis* 12.44f) could be understood otherwise, since it looks as if the house had so many security holes in it.

Therefore, as far as intelligence security is concerned, there is a disparity between *Fama* surveying the whole world, probably in order to control every piece of information, and her house packed with the crowd passing on rumors in confusion. To consider this disparity, it might be helpful to compare *Fama/ fama*'s appearances in Book Fifteen. At the opening of the Book, *fama* designates Numa as successor to Romulus (15.1-4), and as if to link both ends, towards the closure *fama* sets Augustus' deeds above Caesar's, although, while the latter is glad to be surpassed by his son, the former is unwilling to accept that.

> natique uidens bene facta fatetur
> esse suis maiora et uinci gaudet ab illo.
> hic sua praeferri quamquam uetat acta paternis,
> libera fama tamen nullisque obnoxia iussis
> inuitum praefert unaque in parte repugnat. (*Met*.15.850-54)

Notable here is firstly that *fama* seems to represent a voice of the Roman people, as *libera* strongly suggests, therefore with an image similar to the crowd occupying the hall (*atria* 12.53) of *Fama*'s house. Secondly, that she is 'obedient to no commands'(*nullis obnoxia iussis* 853), and opposing (*repugnat* 854) Augustus, therefore by forcing the ruler to do what he does not want to do[24] she looks as if to confuse the rule and order. Thirdly, that Augustus is not merely a ruler, but the ruler of the world comparable to Jupiter (*Iuppiter arces/ temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis, terra sub Augusto est; pater est rector uterque*. 15.858-60) and destined to ascend to the heavens as a god (*ne foret hic* (sc. Augustus) *igitur mortali semine creatus/ ille* (sc. Caesar) *deus faciendus erat* 15.760-61; *caput Augustum, quem temperat, orbe relicto/ accedat caelo* 15.869-70), therefore his image seems to be reflected on *Fama* watching over the whole world from atop a high place. Fourthly, that just as *Fama*'s house is in the center of the world, Rome is the center of the Roman rule over the world. Fifthly, that just as the *Fama* watchng the world

[24] Of course, however, this is not that *fama* is creating troubles, because she is only doing what should be done: to place the *princeps* first in rank. Humor comes from the paradox that confusion results in the fruition of a good thing. Noteworthy is that most metamorphoses happen on people with confused mind.

(*orbe* 39, *orbem* 63) bookends the *ekphrasis*,[25] *fama* concerning the world leader frames the Book Fifteen. Judging from these points, we might be able to assume firstly that there is a parallel set up between the *Fama ekphrasis* and the *fama* passages at the end of the work: just as *Fama* controls intelligence of all the world while the crowd-*Rumores* confuses her house, Augustus rules all the world while his people talk so freely as to confuse his rule. And, secondly, that in the parallel the key term is *orbis*, because the word is used in the full range of its meanings: ring, world, and, as has been pointed out, 'cycle' allusive of "cyclic epic" of Callimachus;[26] and the range might become wider if we take it into consideration that there was a popular pun on *orbis* and *urbs*,[27] and in this junction the City of Rome is presented as home for the Romans as well as the center of the world rule. Let us look at this next.

(4-4) *urbs - orbis*

Varro explains the origin of the City of Rome as the circle, which was made behind a ditch and a wall for fortification, and that is why it is called *postmoerium* or *pomerium*:

> oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multi, id est iunctis bobus, tauro et vacca, interiore aratro circumagebant sulcum (hoc faciebant religionis causa die auspicato), ut fossa et muro essent muniti. terram unde exculpserant, fossam vocabant et introrsum iactam murum. post ea qui fiebat orbis, urbis principium; qui quod erat post murum, postmoerium dictum (Varro *LL* 1.143)

Here *orbis* signifies the circular line and *urbs* the old area the circle surrounds. It may be worth mentioning that *pomerium* is the area into which for a general to lead a force was strictly prohibited, therefore the space inside the circle could make the Romans feel safe and at home, while its outside could be in theory a battlefield.

While the *orbis* does not mean 'the world', but the boundary of home area in Varro, in the following passages *urbs-orbis* refers to the City of Rome as the center of the world rule:

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[25] For the bookending with *orbis*, it might be helpful to compare Verg. *G.* 1.505-11, where *per orbem* (505) and *toto orbe* (511) frame the passage about the entire world in the fury of war.
[26] See Hardie, 154f., and also p. xx below and Appendix B.
[27] The pun is still in use in the form of *urbi et orbi*, with which the Pope addresses the city of Rome and the entire world. Besides the citations below, it appears also in Cic. *Catil.* 1.9; *Mur.* 22; *Fam.* 4.1.2.

hanc urbem, lucem orbis terrarum atque arcem omnium gentium (Cic.*Cat*. 4.11)
primum illud munus fortunae, quod in ea urbe potissimum natus est in qua domiclium orbis terrarum esset imperii (Nep. *Att*. 3.3)
septem urbs alta iugis, toto quae praesidet orbi (Prop. 3.11.57)

Whereas the above examples clearly differentiate the City and the world, the 'cosmopolitan' philosophers use the *urbs-orbis* to claim that any place in the world is their homeland:

exilium autem (sc. terribile) illis, quibus quasi circumscriptus est habitandi locus, non iis, qui omnem orbem terrarum unam urbem esse ducunt.
(Cic. *Parad*. 2.18)
Ideo magno animo nos non unius urbis moenibus clusimus sed in totius orbis commercium emisimus patriamque nobis mundum professi sumus, ut liceret latiorem uirtuti campum dare. (Sen. *Tranq*. 4.4)

In these usages, despite the claim of one world with no boundary that is their home, it is certainly assumed as an ideal, to be found nowhere in the real world, and there lies the paradox.

Different from all of the above, Ovid uses the pun almost to identify the City of Rome with the world. Describing a naval battle presented by Augustus, the poet says that the massive world was in the City as a big crowd came to the event:

Quid, modo cum belli navalis imagine Caesar
Persidas induxit Cecropiasque rates?
Nempe ab utroque mari iuvenes, ab utroque puellae
Venere, atque ingens orbis in Urbe fuit. (*A.A*. 1.171-74)

And, he closes the section about Terminalia, a festival for Terminus, the god of boundary markers, with the statement that, while the land of other nations has a fixed boundary, the City of Rome and the world cover the same space:

gentibus est aliis tellus data limite certo:
Romanae spatium est Urbis et orbis idem. (*F*. 2.683-84).

It will not be quite difficult to see the Varronian etymology behind these words. While at her beginning the City used to be inside *pomerium*, that was *orbis*, a very small circle and the original home for the Romans, now she still is *orbis*, but it is the entire world that she rules over.[28] And it is notable that if the inside of *orbis* remains the home for the Romans, now the whole world is there for the Romans to live in as their home, as if to realize the paradoxical ideal of cosmopolitanism.

Here we see Ovid playing on a rich association of *urbs* and *orbis*, and the play having a close link to the antithesis of home and war.[29] Once the outside of *domus-urbs-orbis* was *militiae*, a potential battlefield; now the entire world becomes *domus-urbs-orbis* with the boundary having disappeared, as *pax Romana* prevails and leaves no room for war.

(4-5) rumor and fame

If this peaceful association can be applied to the *orbis* on the center of which *Fama*'s house stands, or, if we can assume that, whereas the passage is apparently placed in the context of 'war', with *orbis* at both its ends (39, 63) functioning like *pomerium*, the house is absolutely insulated from the 'outside' from which we may expect an enemy or a threat of any kind to appear, then, this might also help explain the disparity between *Fama* and the crowd packed in her house in terms of information security. However much confusion may be caused by uncontrolled rumors, it will never create serious risks as long as there exists no malicious outsider looking for a security crack through which to intrude and do damage. At least, no need of tight security control for increased safety.

And, this fits in well also wth the allusion of *orbis* to τὸ κυκλικόν of Callimachus. Attention should be paid to what the learned poet claims about the cyclic poem: he hates it (Callim. *Epigr*. 28Pf.1). It is a path narrow, untrodden, and open only for those having deep learning and polished skills that the Hellenistic poet aims for. A Horace would exclude the uninitiated crowd and tell his comrades to keep silence (*odi profanum uulgus et arceo;/ fauete linguis*. Hor. *C*. 3.1.1-2),

[28] The contrast between the pettiness of Rome in her old days and her present greatness is in itself a convention in Augustan literature.

[29] It may be worth referring to Ianus Quirinus as another symbol concerning home, border, peace and war. It was the custom to close the gate of the shrine in peace and open it at war, although it is uncertain whether it is peace or war that is contained inside the gate (for the former cf. Hor. *Ep*. 2.1.255; for the latter cf. Verg. *Aen*. 1.293-96, 7.607-10, Hor.*Carm*. 4.15.8-11; Ovid seems to play on the ambiguity at the section about Ianus in *Fasti*, esp., 1.121-26 and 277-82. I have discussed this matter in; Peace and Janus in Book One of Ovid's *Fasti*. *Classical Studies* 12 (1995), 29-74 (English abstract at: http://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/ bulletin/clst/XII)). And, Augustus closed it three times (*RG* 13).

therefore here security is very tight. In contrast, whereas Ovid follows Callimachus by singing 'small' poems, his aim is to be popular,[30] to be read by everybody on earth, as clearly expressed in the epilogue:

> quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
> ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
> siquid habent ueri uatum praesagia, uiuam. (*Met*. 15.877-79)

Therefore, there is no need of security for Ovid's poetry, to which the poet would rather provide free access.

To conclude, it might be worth pointing out a paradox concerning war, peace, home and fame. However talented a general may be, unless he has an opportunity to show that, there will be no glory coming to him. Then, in theory, once the entire world has been totally pacified, there will be no room for a war hero to add to his resume, even if he was the man who had brought to an end the final war. Nonetheless his fame can still grow higher, not on a battlefield, but at home as his people talk about him. Thus, in this context of 'peace', rumor and fame almost overlap. But, for fame really to be fame poets are needed to tell tales of his deeds so that they are passed on from generation to generation. Again, however, when a poet like Ovid works on the fame, it might be subject to change, as that fickle crowd coming and going over the world turns it into 'whisperings from a dubious source' (*dubio auctore Susurri* 12.60).

Appendix A: Structural comparison of *Fama ekphraseis* in *Aen*. and *Met*.

	Aen.: a variety of elements in random order	
a)	the evil	malum 174 (cf. 169), dea foeda 195
b)	a huge, winged monster	alis 180, monstrum horrendum, ingens, quot plumae 181, mirabile dictu 182, uolat 184
c)	agile	non aliud uelocius 174, mobilitate 175, celerem et pernicibus180
d)	augmentative	uirisque adquirit eundo … 175-77
e)	watchfully threatening	uigiles oculi 182, sedet custos 185, magnas territat urbes 187

[30] Kenney, E. J., The Style of the Metamorphoses. In Binns, J. W. (ed.), *Ovid*. London & Boston 1973, 116-53 has argued for 'vulgarisation' in Ovid's style, and, von Albrecht, M., Dichter und Leser - am Beispiel Ovids. *Gymnasium* 88 (1981), 224 has pointed out that here is a difference between Callimachus and Ovid.

f) collecting and uttering sounds tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris 183
g) facts and fictions mixed up tam ficti prauique tenax quam nuntia ueri 188, multiplici sermone 189, pariter facta atque infecta canebat 190
h) instigating Terra parens ira inritata deorum 178; incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras 197

Met.: a clear-cut structure with a 'ring', (A)-(A') 'order': (B)- (B') 'confusion'
(A: 39-43) whereabout of the house
(a1: 39-40) center of the world, neighboring the heaven, the earth, and the sea
(a2: 41-42) alert to all the world e) of *Aen.*
(a3: 43) on the top
(B: 44-52) information resounding
(b1: 44-46a) open doors to information
(b2: 46b-48) echoes and noises f) of *Aen.*
(b3: 49-52) nature of the sound
(B': 53-61) crowd in and around the house
(b'1: 53-55) roaming in confusion, falsehood mixed with truth g) of *Aen.*
(b'2: 56-58) information amplified d), g)
(b'3: 59-61) personified Rumores h)
(A': 62-63) = (a1)+(a2) alert to all the world e) of *Aen.*

Appendix B: Ovid's allusions to Callimachus in the *Fama ekphrasis*
Callim. *Epigr.* 28Pf.1-6
ἐχθαίρω τὸ ποίημα τὸ κυκλικόν, οὐδὲ κελεύθωι orbis 12.39, 63
χαίρω τίς πολλοὺς ὧδε καὶ ὧδε φέρει, ueniunt leue uulgus euntque 53
μισέω καὶ περίφοιτον ἐρώμενον, οὐδ᾽ ἀπὸ κρήνης passim uagantur 55
πίνω: σικχαίνω πάντα τὰ δημόσια. leue uulgus 53
Λυσανίη, σὺ δὲ ναιχὶ καλὸς καλός—ἀλλὰ πρὶν εἰπεῖν
τοῦτο σαφῶς Ἠχώ, φησί τις 'ἄλλος ἔχει.' uocesque refert iteratque, quod audit 47

Callim. *Hymn.* 2.105-6 - *Met.* 12.49-51
ὁ Φθόνος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπ᾽ οὔατα λάθριος εἶπεν
'οὐκ ἄγαμαι τὸν ἀοιδὸν ὃς οὐδ᾽ ὅσα πόντος ἀείδει᾽.
nec tamen est clamor, sed parvae murmura vocis,
qualia de pelagi, siquis procul audiat, undis

esse solent
Callim. *Aet*. 1 fr. 1.19-20 Pf. – *Met*. 12.51-52
μηδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἐμεῦ διφᾶτε μέγα ψοφέουσαν ἀοιδήν
τίκτεσθαι. βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμόν, ἀλλὰ Διός.
qualemue sonum, cum Iuppiter atras
increpuit nubes, extrema tonitrua reddunt.

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