

Kevin Croxen (Cambridge, Mass.)

LUPUM FIERI: WEREWOLF *VERSIPELLIS* AND VIRGIL'S *ECLOGUE* 8

The witch-heroine of Alpheisiboeus' song in Virgil *Ec.* 8.64-109 relies on magical *carmina* to bring her lover Daphnis back from town.

Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim.
(Bring Daphnis home from town, bring him, my songs) (8.68 and *passim*)

Should, however, the combination of ritual activity and prayer that form the incantatory *carmen* fail, then there is the clear implication that stronger measures will be resorted to:

has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena
ipse dedit Moeris (nascuntur plurima Ponto),
his ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere silvis
Moerim, saepe animas imis excire sepulchris
atque satas alio vidi traducere messis.

(These herbs and these poisons, culled in Pontus, Moeris himself gave me—they grow plenteously in Pontus. By their aid I have oft seen Moeris turn wolf and hide in the woods, oft call spirits from the depths of the grave, and charm sown corn away to other fields.)(8.95-99)¹.

Williams blandly remarks that simply “these are attributes of a magician”² and cites some standard Latin *testimonia* in support of the magician's powers of necromancy (*Aen.* 4.490; *Tib.* 1.2.45-6; *Hor. Epod.* 17.79; *Ov. Met.* 7.206), of the charming of crops (*Tib.* 1.8.19; *Sen.N.Q.* 4.7; *Pliny N.H.* 28.17), and of transforming oneself into a werewolf (*Ov. Met.* 1.209f.; *Pliny N.H.* 8.80).

Were these, however, in fact standard and expected attributes of magicians or witches in the traditions from which Virgil culled the material for his verse? And whether or not they were standard attributes in a tradition recognizable by Virgil or his audience, how does one explain their appearance and function at precisely this point in the spell, since their relevance to the witch herself and their concrete threat to Daphnis as the object of the witch's love charm are left obscure?

The structural parallelism of similar spells in the Graeco-Roman tradition as may be extracted from the survivals in *P.G.M.* were used by Gow³ to plot the structural elements of the poetic presentation of such a spell in Theocritus 2.1-62, generally believed to be the primary model for Virgil's spell. Like Hellenistic religion, Hellenistic magic relied on a

¹ Tr. H. Rushton Fairclough. *Virgil*, v.1 (Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 1936), 63.

² Virgil. *The Eclogues & Georgics*, ed. R.D. Williams, (New York : St. Martin's, 1979, repr. 1987), 125.

³ *Theocritus*, ed.tr. A.S.F. Gow (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), v. 2 *Commentary*, 40.

combination of incantation (*to legomenon*) and ritual (*to dromenon*), both components of the spell being indispensable for its accomplishing the magician's desired goal. Partly extrapolating from surviving spells and fragments, Gow describes the poetic structure of the spell in Theocritus 2.1-62 as nine quatrains incorporating imperfectly matched pairs of ritual and incantation. These nine quatrains are followed by 96 lines of exposition as the witch Simaetha recounts the beginning of her current difficulties. This exposition is in turn followed by two quatrains which are not specifically discussed by Gow in his analysis of the structure of the witch's spell, but which nevertheless perform definite extra-incantatory functions with regard to the spell's apolysis, for a total of 11 quatrains.

The complete structure of the spell in Theocritus 2.1-62, and 159-166, preserving Gow's repositioning of lines 28-32 between 42 and 43, and with my addition of the two extra-incantatory quatrains from lines 150-166 is schematized as follows:

Ritual	Incantation
I. 18-21 Barley burnt	I burn Delphis' bones.
ii. 23-26 Laurel burnt	So may D.'s flesh perish.
iii.33-36 Husks burnt	-----
iv. 38-41 -----	-----
v. 28-31(a) Wax melted	So may D.'s heart melt
(b) Rhombus twirled	So may D. turn about my door.
vi. 43-46 Triple libation	May D. forget my rivals.
vii.48-51 -----	May D. come to my house
viii.53-56 Fringe of cloak burnt	-----
ix. 58-62 <i>Throna</i> kneaded	I knead the bones of D.
[x.] 159-162 -----	If my other prayers are not heeded, may my <i>pharmaka</i>
	kill D.
[xi.] 163-166 -----	(Apolysis of spell)

Each ritual/incantation pairing consists of a quatrain, separated from the preceding and following material by a refrain. The extra-incantatory portion of the spell which I have listed as x. and xi. above does not employ a refrain though also arranged into quatrains.

Virgil employs most of these structural units in *Ec.* 8.62-109, but rearranges their sequence, consolidates some, eliminates others, and adds one. While Virgil's refrain agrees with Theocritus' in being a reiterated statement of purpose (*telos*) for the magic act (for the benefit of the divine power invoked to accomplish it), the refrain differs fundamentally from its predecessor in that it no longer performs the function either of isolating individual ritual/incantation units from one another in the incantatory portion of the spell, or in isolating the incantatory portion of the spell from the extra-incantatory material. Moreover, Virgil actually employs *two* refrains. The second, "Parcite, ab urbe venit, iam parcite carmina Daphnis" (Cease. Daphnis comes home from town; cease now, my songs) (8.109) performs a "Theocritan" function in that it provides an explicit *telos* for the *apolysis* of the spell, a regularization of the concluding poetic structure which the earlier poet had neglected. Virgil has also given his *apolysis* the Theocritan length of four verses.

Virgil's first refrain, "Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnim," is interspersed at irregular intervals among the 32 verses of the spell. But, if one agrees with Clausen that line 76 is spurious,⁴ then the irregular placement averages to a Theocritan once per four lines. However, because the refrain occurs twice before the conclusion of the *katadesmos* and the beginning of the incantation proper at line 79, Virgil's use of the refrain is determined more by the poetic effect he wishes to convey than by any attempt to document the structure of a "real" incantation.

The structure of the spell portrayed in Eclogue 8, mapped according to Gow's scheme for Theocritus 2 and using Gow's enumerated categories, is as follows:

⁴ Wendell Clausen. *A Commentary on Virgil Eclogues*, (Oxford : Clarendon, 1994), 248.

Ritual	Incantation
v.a1) 80 Clay hardened	So may D. be hardened by love.
a) 80 Wax melted	So may D. be melted by love.
I. 82 Barley burnt	-----
ii. 82 Laurel burnt	So may D. burn.
v.b) 86 -----	May D. wander in despair from love
vi. 88. -----	May D. even forget to return home at night from love.
[] 89 -----	May I not be inclined to cure him.
viii. 91-93 Exuvia buried	May D. come to my house.
[x.] 95-99 -----	If spells have no effect, I have <i>herbae & venena</i> .
[ix.] 101-103(disposal of ashes)	-----
[xi.] 106-109	(Apolysis of spell)

From this scheme it is apparent that Virgil felt free to deemphasize, reorder, or eliminate Theocritan items in his song as it suited him, and to add additional items of his own. The one thing Virgil does not do is blur the distinction between the spell's incantation proper and its extra-incantatory acts. Acts which play no part in the incantation of the spell are grouped together after it. This is especially noticeable with category ix., which has an incantatory function for Theocritus, but not for Virgil and is accordingly relegated to the post-incantatory group.

Thus *Ec.* 8.95-99 constituting extra-incantatory section x. of Virgil's spell are patterned similarly and have a similar functional position in relation to the incantation proper as do lines 159-162 constituting extra-incantatory section x. of Theocritus' spell. But here the similarity ends. For in Theocritus 2.159-162, the witch Simaetha's threat is quite explicitly death from *pharmaka* should her spell fail:

Νῦν μάν νιν φίλτροις καταδήσομαι· αἰ δ' ἔτι κά με
 λυπηῆ, τὰν Αἴδαο πύλαν, ναὶ Μοίρας, ἀραξεῖ·
 τοῖά οἱ ἐν κίστῃ κακὰ φάρμακα φαμὶ φυλάσσειν,
 Ἀσσυρίῳ, δέσποινα, παρὰ ξείνοιο μαθοῖσα.

(Now with my love-magic will I bind him, but if he vex me still, so help me Fates, he shall beat upon the gate of Hades, such evil drugs, I vow, I keep for him in my box, lore that I learned, Queen, from an Assyrian stranger.)⁵

By contrast, though the witch has *herbae* and *venena* in *Ec.* 8.95-99 for use if her binding spell fails, what if any concrete punishment does she threaten Daphnis with in this section of the poem? She states that she has seen Moeris use these compounds frequently to turn himself into a wolf and conceal himself in the woods, to call forth spirits, and to transport crops. No similar phenomena appear in Virgil's model passage in Theocritus 2, and none of the phenomena have any evident relevance to Daphnis. Crop charming, while evidently mentioned in the Twelve Tables as Williams notes above, in one of the most obscure little fragments from Table VIII, would appear to actually be done by *carmina* rather than by any type of *materia medica*, whether the verb *excanto* in Table 8 really implies physical removal of the crops or not.⁶ Neither is summoning forth spirits done through *materia medica*, but rather by *carmina*, as Virgil himself has Dido exclaim in *Aeneid* 4.487-491. Here, however, Virgil has categorized the powers of the priestess as falling into separate spheres; those dealing with lovers are only one in a range of miscellaneous powers, which are all listed so as to

⁵ Gow, *Theocritus*, I, p. 26-29.

⁶ Whatever the mysterious fragment from Table VIII could have meant in its original context: "Qui fruges excantassit..." Plinius, *N.H.* 28.17.

give an overall impression of her power through *carmina*:

Haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentes
 quas velit, ast aliis duras immitere curas;
 sistere aquam fluviiis et vertere sidere retro;
 nocturnosque movet Manis; mugire videbis
 sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.

(With her spells she professes to free the hearts of whom she wills, but on others to bring cruel love-pains; to stay the flow of rivers and turn back the stars; she awakes the ghosts of night; and thou shalt mark earth rumbling under thy feet and ash-trees coming down from mountains.)⁷

Now in the passage from the *Aeneid*, the progression of elements in describing the Massylian priestess' command of *carmina* is from those powers that apply specifically to the problem at hand, i.e. Dido's rejection by Aeneas, toward powers that demonstrate her command of the natural and supernatural forces in general beyond the human sphere, without reference to the specific problem at hand. It would seem likely that the references to necromancy and crop charming in *Ec.* 8.95-99 are the two concluding elements of an earlier progression of this same sort, but compressed. For rhetorical effect the poet has simply and rather inelegantly ignored the concatenation of incongruous incantational tricks to the extra-incantatory function of this section of the spell, and judging this minor thematic flaw to be subordinate to the overall impression of a tighter and more polished poetic structure, and has added concrete detail that must have been intended as improvements to his Theocritan model. Certainly, as he demonstrates in the *Aeneid* passage, he is quite aware that the cause of such effects is supposed to be *carmina*, not *materia medica*.

But this leaves the initial element of the tricolon that composes the passage in lines 95-99: the mention that Moeris uses such *herbae* and *venena* to change himself into a wolf. For if the progression of elements in this passage is a compressed version of the sequence in *Aeneid* 4.487-491, where the order was from concrete, pertaining to the problem at hand, to general, pertaining to the overall scope of the priestess' power, then the first element of this passage in *Ec.* 8, the wolf transformation, must also be concrete and specific and pertain directly to the witch's situation with Daphnis. It cannot be the simple magician's window dressing that Williams makes it out to be.⁸ In addition to its absence in Theocritus, this brief reference is also the earliest Latin mention of the theme of the Werewolf *versipellis*. Reasonably contemporary and fuller Latin treatments of the theme include Ovid's Lycaon story from *Metamorphoses* 1.209-239, the Niceros story of Petronius *Satyricon* 62, and Pliny's dismissal of the whole *versipellis* notion in his discussion of Italian and Greek wolf-lore in *N.H.* 8.34.80-83.

In Ovid's brief account, told from Jove's viewpoint, Lycaon, king of Arcadia which country's seat of power is located near Lycaeus, is punished with being turned into a wolf by the visiting Jove for doubting the god's divinity and for planning to kill his visitor while he slept. Ovid is primarily concerned with the moment of the metamorphosis, his nominal topic, which he recounts in great detail:

Territus ipse fugit nactusque silentia ruris
 exululat frustra loqui conatur: ab ipso

⁷ Tr. Fairclough. *Virgil*, 429.

⁸P.1, *supra*.

colligit os rabies solitaeque cupidine caedis
vertitur in pecudes et nunc quoque sanguine gaudet.
In villos abeunt vestes, in crura lacerti:
fit lupus et veneris servant vestigia formae;
canities eadem est, eadem violentia vultus,
idem oculi lucent, eadem feritatis imago est.

(The king himself flies in terror and, gaining the silent fields, howls aloud, attempting in vain to speak. His mouth of itself gathers foam, and with his accustomed greed for blood he turns against the sheep, delighting still in slaughter. His garments turn to shaggy hair, his arms to legs. He turns into a wolf, and yet retains some traces of his former shape. There is the same grey hair, the same fierce face, the same gleaming eyes, the same picture of beastly savagery.)(1.232-239)⁹

Petronius 62 has a simpler treatment in which Trimalchio's guest Niceros, who tells a tale of a travelling companion who simply turns himself into a wolf while the two have paused for a moment in a graveyard, shortly after beginning their journey near dawn, but while the full moon was providing light that was nearly as bright as daylight, "Apoculamus nos circa gallicinia, luna lucebat tanquam meridie...Deinde ut respexi ad comites, ille exiit se et omnia vestimenta secundum viam posit...At ille circumminxit vestimenta sua, et subito lupus factus est...postquam lupus factus est, ululate cepit et in silvas fugit." The wolf's intention is to kill the sheep at Niceros' girlfriend's house; he is driven off with a neck wound from a slave's spear. When Niceros reaches home, he discovers his former travelling companion there, with a *medicus* attending to his neck. It only now dawns on Niceros that his travelling companion was a werewolf "Intellexi illum versipellem esse, nec postea cum illo panem gustare potui, non si me occides."

Pliny dismisses the whole idea of the existence of genuine human *versipelles*. But the firmness with which he rejects the notion bears witness to the hold the belief in the phenomenon must have exercised over the more credulous of the author's contemporaries:

Homines in lupos verti rursusque restitui sibi falsum esse confidenter existimare debemus aut credere omnis quae fabulosa tot saeculis conperimus; unde tamen ista volgo infixata sit fama in tantum ut in maledictis versipelles habeat indicabitur.

(We are bound to pronounce with confidence that the story of men being turned into wolves and restored to themselves again is false –or else we must believe all the tales that the experience of so many centuries has taught us to be fabulous; nevertheless we will indicate the origin of the popular belief, which is so firmly rooted that it classes werewolves among persons under a curse.)(*N.H.* 8.34.80)¹⁰

Pliny then proceeds to cite the Greek writer Euanthes who localizes the belief to an Arcadian tradition that someone chosen by lot from the *gens Anthi* is taken to a particular marsh and there is transformed into a wolf. If after nine years he has avoided contact with humans (*quo in tempore si homine a se abstinuerit*) he is returned to human form. The writer Apollas, Pliny goes on to say, relates that human sacrifice was practiced by the Arcadians in honor of Jove Lycaeus, and that a certain Daemenetus of Parrhasia turned himself into a wolf (active voice: "immolati pueri exta degustasse et in lupum se convertisse"), but was returned (passive) to his own form 10 years later ("eundem x anno restitutum") But most interesting is the connection between the wolf (including presumably werewolf *versipellis*) and love magic:

⁹ Tr. Frank Justus Miller. *Ovid*, v.3, *Metamorphoses*, I, 3rd. ed. (Loeb Classical Library)(Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), 19.

¹⁰ Tr. H. Rackham. *Pliny Natural History*, v. 3(Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1940). 59.

Quin et caudae huius animalis creditur vulgo inesse amatorium virus exiguo in villo eumque cum capiatur abici nec idem pollere nisi viventi direptum.

(Moreover it is popularly believed that even the tail of this animal contains a love-poison in a small tuft of hair, and when it is caught it sheds the tuft, which has not the same potency unless plucked from the animal while it is alive.)(*N.H.* 8.34.83)

Eckel analyzes four categories of ancient and medieval transformation myth.¹¹ Noting that in Latin lore *versipellis* refers not just to werewolves but to any transformation of this sort, he describes the four categories as: 1) voluntary/congenital (which he describes as the most primitive version of the myth). Petronius 62 belongs to this category, as does the bird transformation of *Ov. Am.* 1.8.13-14. 2) voluntary/acquired (a more sophisticated version that puts certain restrictions on the sorcerer's powers. Necessary are magic formulae or magic objects, including salves as in Apuleius *Met.* 3.20, or the "wolf shirts" or "wolf-skin girdles" from Germanic lore.) In these two voluntary versions, the wolf identity is perceived primarily as a disguise. 3) involuntary/congenital (no examples of this version are attested from before the medieval period); and 4) involuntary/acquired. This includes the Lycaon story of Ovid *Met.* 1.209-239, and Circe's victims in *Odyssey* 11; it is described as a disease by Galen¹².

The shrine in Arcadia at Mt. Lycaeus (now St. Elias) was associated with human sacrifice in antiquity, as Pliny Greek sources for the legends recounted in *N.H.* 8.34.80-83 indicate. This association is not supported by the archaeological evidence from the site, whose "altar" was deserted ca. 5th c. B.C., nor did the rites surviving into the historical period associated with the festival of Zeus Lycaeus exhibit any barbaric or gruesome features that observers like Xenophon or locals like Polybius thought worthy of recording.¹³ Pausanias 8.2.4 tells the story of Lycaon's transformation to a wolf after spilling blood from a child sacrifice on the altar. He proceeds to recount (8.2.7) the belief that a man would be changed to a wolf at every sacrifice to Zeus Lycaeus, but would remain one for only nine years, unless he had tasted of the human sacrifice, whereupon the transformation became permanent. Plato mentions in *Republic* 8.565D that one votary who tasted some entrails left over from a human sacrifice to Zeus Lycaeus turned into a wolf.

Closer to Virgil's time and place, Montague Summers notes that at the foot of Mount Soracte in Etruria in the territory of the Falisci there was a sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Feronia.¹⁴ At annual festivals attended from Rome and the countryside, coals would be trod upon by lycanthropic sorcerers called "Hirpi Sorani"¹⁵. In consequence of this feat the sorcerers were exempted from all public duties.¹⁶ This cult in some form was known to Virgil, and he equated Soranus with Apollo *lykeios*.¹⁷

Servius ad A. 11.784 remarks that the sorcerers would apply ointments prior to their particular practices. Literary attestations for this practice of using salves are late --Apuleus *Met.* 3.20, 3.24 (and his source, Lucian's Λούκιος __voς 12-13), and this one remark from Servius ad A. 11.784 being the primary examples. They are, along with the line of Virgil's *Eclogue* 8 under discussion, also evidently the only testimonia for drugs or organic compounds being used to effect a *voluntary* transformation. The more usual example, like Circe in *Od.* 10 or the votary story in Plato emphasize involuntary transformation.

¹¹ R.P. Eckel, *Greek Wolf-Lore*, Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1937 (Philadelphia, 1937), 38ff.

¹² *De Melancholia* 3 (ed. Kühn) vol. 19, p. 719.

¹³ *Greek Wolf Lore*, p. 50ff.

¹⁴ *The Werewolf* (New York: Dutton, 1934), p. 152.

¹⁵ Paulus Diaconus, *Epitoma Festi*, 106: "Irpini appellati nomine lupi, quem irpum dicunt Samnites."

¹⁶ Pliny, *N.H.* 7.2.19.

¹⁷ Arruns prayer in A. 11.785ff which begins, "Summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo..."

Lycanthropy is absent from the section of Theocritus 2, lines 159-162, that correspond structurally and functionally to lines 95-99 of Virgil's *Eclogue* 8. Moreover, line 97 would appear to refer directly to *voluntary* lycanthropy on the part of Moeris, while lycanthropy of the voluntary variety is conspicuously absent from the surviving myths surrounding Mt. Lycaeus in Arcadia. If Servius ad A. 11.784 is transmitting reliable information to us concerning practices at Mt. Soracte, it would seem that when composing Ec. 8.97, Virgil had the more familiar local cult in mind, and superimposed its current practices over his ostensible allusion to the Arcadian myths. Can one automatically assume that Virgil knew the genuine Mt. Lycaeus myths as well as Ovid or especially Pliny did? If he did not, and there is no indication that he would have made a special study of these stories in the way that Ovid or Pliny must have found necessary, then his out-of-place reference to voluntary lycanthropy by the use of *materia medica* localized to Arcadia, where surviving stories of *versipellis* transformations of an entirely different sort, would be a perfectly intelligible substitution of a detail from a familiar and local set of stories for superficially similar but exotic material that the poet did not know as well, if at all. If, however, Virgil was aware of the particulars of the stories surrounding Mt. Lycaeus, then his conflation of the sets of myths would have been a conscious choice, dictated either by the desire to render the particular Arcadian variant of lycanthropic myth somewhat less unsavory by connection to the local variant, or because this lycanthropic detail is somehow important to the development of his poem at precisely this point, and he did not expect his audience to be as familiar with the Greek stories of Mt. Lycaeus as he was.

Therefore one must address the question of why did Virgil choose to insert any reference at all to lycanthropy in this particular passage? What necessary function does it serve? The wolf into which Moeris is reported to turn himself in line 97 is actually one of two in the poem. The first is at line 52, in the passage in Damon's song where the song's protagonist reaches the point of despair:

nunc et ovis ultro fugiat lupus, aurea durae
mala ferant quercus, narcisso floreat alnus,
pinguia corticibus sudent electra myricae,
certent et cygnis ululae, sit Tityrus Orpheus,
Orpheus in silvis, inter delphinas Arion.

(Now let the wolf even flee before the sheep, let rugged oaks bear golden apples, let alders bloom with daffodils, let tamarisks distill rich amber from their bark, let owls, too, vie with swans, let Tityrus be an Orpheus –an Orpheus in the woods, an Arion among the dolphins.) (8.52-56)

Clausen describes this passage as a set of *adynata*, with the passage being modelled after the similar passage Theocritus 1.132-6.¹⁸ But no wolf is present in that passage of Theocritus either, the closest animal *adynaton* being line 134-135 “πάντα δ’_ναλλα γέννοιτο...Δάφνις_πε_θνάσκει, κα_τ_ς κύνας_λαφος_λκοι” (let all be changed...since Daphnis is dying, and let the stag worry the hounds).

The presence of the wolf at the two points in Virgil's poem underscores the functional parallelism with which the poet has imbued these respective stanzas in the two songs comprising the bulk of *Eclogue* 8. For while the wolf-and-sheep image begins a set of *adynata* in lines 52-56 marking the protagonist's complete powerlessness in an impossible world in which he has no further desire to live, the wolf transformation of line 97 is the first in a series of seemingly impossible operations over which through the use of *herbae* and *venena* the witch has claimed an extra-incantatory power beyond even that supernatural power which has been imparted by the incantatory portion of her spell through the use of *carmina*. While the protagonist of Damon's song sings of an impossible world in which the wolf as predator would flee from the sheep, the wolf's traditional prey, the witch-protagonist of Alpheisiboeus' song, on the other hand, has a peer, Moeris, who literally does become that predator wolf and accordingly exercises that very predatory power over his prey.

¹⁸Clausen, p. 253.

Since the witch has inherited the same *venena* and *herbae* **one must conclude that her implied threat in line 97 is not somehow to use these particular substances directly against Daphnis**. It is not carelessness on Virgil's part that has caused him to omit references to a death for Daphnis of the sort that Simaetha threatens directly in Theocritus 2.159-160. For Virgil's witch does not intend any sort of involuntary transformation of Daphnis in the fashion of Jove's transformation of Lycaon. Instead, as in line 52 from Damon's song, the focus here is *predation*. Damon's song turns to failure, despair, and death with a series of *adynata* begun by the prey turning on the predator. Alphiboeus' song turns toward the witch's ultimate success with a series of threatened activities which normally would be *adynata*, but are actually perfectly possible for her augmented abilities. Her focus, too, in line 97 is on predation, but also on the transition from indirect predation, which she has exercised to this point through the intermediation of higher powers under compulsion from her *carmina*, to the threat of direct sexual predation by virtue of her own literal, rather than figurative, transformation into a *lupa*.¹⁹ The threat does not have to be executed—the song concludes with the witch realizing she has achieved success even without having to resort to anything more potent than the *carmina*.

In summary, Virgil based the witch's spell in *Eclogue* 8.64-109 loosely on the similar spell found in Theocritus 2. Though maintaining his source's fundamental distinction between the incantatory and extra-incantatory portions of the spell, in other respects Virgil freely rearranged, deleted, or added details within his spell in accordance more with artistic considerations than with any notion of an accurate presentation of an "authentic" spell.

Among the details added by Virgil is the witch's brief enumeration of the powers displayed by her colleague Moeris while using certain *herbae* and *venena*, in particular his ability to turn himself into a wolf. Though the portion of the spell in which this enumeration occurs ought to threaten harm to the witch's lover Daphnis should her *carmina* fail, as the equivalent passage does in Theocritus 2, the witch's threat is not explicitly stated.

But Virgil's reference to Arcadian lycanthropy in this eclogue is inconsistent both with the fact of the Lycaean cult and with the myths that had accrued to the site by Virgil's day. The image of voluntary lycanthropy that Virgil employs is consistent with the local legends which were associated with the Italian site of Mt. Soracte, and Virgil clearly substituted this local set of legends for the more exotic Arcadian ones.

Virgil's method of handling a similar enumeration of magical powers in reference to a love charm in *Aeneid* 4.487-491 implies that the first element in such an enumeration is a concrete threat to be applied to the situation at hand, while the remaining elements are progressively general boasts describing the limits of the witch's power. The wolf transformation of *Ec.* 8.97, therefore, unlike the necromancy and crop charming of the subsequent lines, implies a concrete threat to Daphnis. This conclusion is further supported by the wolf transformation being the only one of the three magical acts specified in this extra-incantatory portion of the spell that happened to be traditionally accomplished with pharmaceutical assistance, *herbae* and *venena*, and not simply through *carmina* alone. The parallelism of the appearance of this wolf reference in line 97 with the one beginning a series of *adynata* in Damon's song earlier in the eclogue in line 52 shows that the threat to Daphnis is not that of an involuntary transformation of the sort found in the Lycaon story or the folklore surrounding the defunct Arcadian cult. The threat consists rather of direct sexual predation, with the witch continuing in the form of a *lupa* what apparently could not be accomplished through the mediation of higher powers under the compulsion of *carmina*. The threat is not

¹⁹Summers makes the general observation that in both Greek and Roman practice lust is associated with the she-wolf (p. 67f.) Λύκαινα is the epithet of Aphrodite in the Orphic hymns 55 (54), 11; while *lupa* is itself a slang term for "whore" (plus derivatives). So Lactantius, *De falsa religione*, 1.20 on Larentia who found the young Romulus and Remus: "Romuli nutrix Lupa honorius est affecta divinis. Et ferrum si animal ipsum fuisset, cuius figuram gerit, auctor est Livius, Laurentiae est simulacrum, et quidem non corporis, sed mentis, ac morum. Fuit enim Faustuli uxor, et propter vulgati corpore vilitatem, Lupa inter pastores, id est meretrix nuncupata est; unde etiam lupanar dicitur."

executed, as the witch discovers her *carmina* have been successful after all and Daphnis is about to return.

ABSTRACT

Virgil based the witch's spell in *Eclogue* 8.64-109 loosely on a similar spell found in Theocritus 2. Though maintaining his source's fundamental distinction between the incantatory and extra-incantatory portions of the spell, in other respects Virgil freely rearranged, deleted, or added details within his spell in accordance more with artistic considerations than with any notion of an accurate presentation of an "authentic" spell.

Among the details added by Virgil is the witch's brief enumeration of the powers displayed by her colleague Moeris while using certain *herbae* and *venena*, in particular his ability to turn himself into a wolf. Though the portion of the spell in which this enumeration occurs ought to threaten harm to the witch's lover Daphnis should her *carmina* fail, as the equivalent passage does in Theocritus 2, the witch's threat in *Eclogue* 8 is not explicitly stated.

But Virgil's reference to Arcadian lycanthropy in this eclogue is inconsistent both with the fact of the Lycaean cult and with the myths that had accrued to the site by Virgil's day. The image of voluntary lycanthropy that Virgil employs is on the other hand consistent with the local legends which were associated with the Italian site of Mt. Soracte, and Virgil clearly substituted this local set of legends for the more exotic Arcadian ones.

Virgil's method of handling a similar enumeration of magical powers in reference to a love charm in *Aeneid* 4.487-491 implies that the first element in such an enumeration is a concrete threat to be applied to the situation at hand, while the remaining elements are progressively general boasts describing the limits of the witch's power. The wolf transformation of *Ec.* 8.97, therefore, unlike the necromancy and crop charming of the subsequent lines, implies a concrete threat to Daphnis. This conclusion is further supported by the wolf transformation being the only one of the three magical acts specified in this extra-incantatory portion of the spell that actually happened to be traditionally accomplished with pharmaceutical assistance, *herbae* and *venena*, and not simply through *carmina* alone. The parallelism of the appearance of this wolf reference in line 97 with the one beginning a series of *adynata* in Damon's song earlier in the eclogue in line 52 shows that the threat to Daphnis is not that of an involuntary transformation of the sort found in the Lycaon story or the folklore surrounding the defunct Arcadian cult. The threat consists rather of direct sexual predation, with the witch continuing in the form of a *lupa* what apparently could not be accomplished through the mediation of higher powers under the compulsion of *carmina*. The threat is not executed, as the witch discovers her *carmina* have been successful after all, and Daphnis is about to return.