



Plate 2 HEADPIECE FOR THE TEMPLE OF FAME

self-reflective fame

① INDUCTION

[Warkworth. Before Northumberland's castle.]

Enter RUMOUR painted full of tongues.

[*Rum.*] Open your ears; for which of you will stop
 The vent of hearing when loud Rumour speaks?
 I, from the Orient to the drooping West,
 Making the wind my post-horse, still unfold
 The acts commenced on this ball of earth.
 Upon my tongues continual slanders ride,
 The which in every language I pronounce,
 Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.
 I speak of peace, while covert enmity
 Under the smile of safety wounds the world;
 And who but Rumour, who but only I,
 Make fearful musters, and prepar'd defence,
 Whiles the big year, swoln with some other grief,
 Is thought with child by the stern tyrant War,
 And no such matter? Rumour is a pipe
 Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
 And of so easy and so plain a stop
 That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
 The still-discordant wav'ring multitude,
 Can play upon it. But what need I thus
 My well-known body to anatomize
 Among my household? Why is Rumour here?

I run before King Harry's victory,
 Who in a bloody field by Shrewsbury
 Hath beaten down young Hotspur and his troops, 25
 Quenching the flame of bold rebellion
 Even with the rebels' blood. But what mean I
 To speak so true at first? My office is
 To noise abroad that Harry Monmouth fell
 Under the wrath of noble Hotspur's sword, 30
 And that the King before the Douglas' rage
 Stoop'd his anointed head as low as death.
 This have I rumour'd through the peasant towns
 Between that royal field of Shrewsbury
 And this worm-eaten hold of ragged stone, 35
 Where Hotspur's father, old Northumberland,
 Lies crafty-sick. The posts come tiring on,
 And not a man of them brings other news
 Than they have learnt of me. From Rumour's tongues
 They bring smooth comforts false, worse than true
 wrongs. *Exit.* 40

*12 not know,
 one true,
 one false*

*Shakespeare
 Henry IV Part 2*

Rumour in Shakespeare *Henry IV Part 2*: K. Ryan "The future of history in *Henry IV*", in N. Wood (ed.) *Henry IV. Parts One and Two* (Buckingham and Philadelphia 1995), 92-125

Hardie, P.
 "Why is Rumour here?" Tracking Virgilian and Ovidian Fame

② Fama in Ovid

ergo ubi, qua decuit, lenita est caede Diana, 35
 et pariter Phoebes, pariter maris ira recessit,
 accipiant ventos a tergo mille carinae
 multaque perpressae Phrygia potiuntur harena.

Orbe locus medio est inter terrasque fretumque
 caelestesque plagas, triplicis confinia mundi; 40
 unde quod est usquam, quamvis regionibus absit,
 inspicitur, penetratque cavas vox omnis ad aures:

Fama tenet summaque domum sibi legit in arce,
 innumerosque aditus ac mille foramina tectis
 addidit et nullis inclusit limina portis; 45
 nocte dieque patet: tota est ex aere sonanti,

tota fremit voecesque refert iteratque quod audit;
 nulla quies intus nullaque silentia parte,
 nec tamen est clamor, sed parvae murmura vocis,
 qualia de pelagi, siquis procul audiat, undis 50

inerepuit nubes, extrema tonitrua reddunt.
 atria turba tenet: veniunt, leve vulgus, euntque
 mixtaque cum veris passim commenta vagantur
 milia rumorum confusaque verba volutant; 55

e quibus hi vacuas implent sermonibus aures,
 hi narrata ferunt alio, mensuraque ficti
 crescit, et auditis aliquid novus adicit auctor.
 illic Credulitas, illic temerarius Error

vanaque Lactitia est consternatique Timores 60
 Seditioque repens dubioque auctore Susurri:
 ipsa, quid in caelo rerum pelagoque geratur
 et tellure, videt totumque inquirat in orbem.

Fecerat haec notum, Graias cum milite forti
 adventare rates, neque inexpectatus in armis 65
 hostis adest: prohibent aditus litusque tuentur
 Troes, et Hectorea primus fataliter hasta,
 Protesilae, cadis, commissaque proelia magno
 stant Danais, fortisque animae nece cognitus Hector.

When therefore, as 'twas fitting, Diana had been appeased by the sacrifice of blood, when Phoebé's and the ocean's wrath had subsided together, the thousand ships found the winds blowing astern and, after suffering many adventures, they reached the shores of Phrygia.

There is a place in the middle of the world, 'twixt land and sea and sky, the meeting-point of the three-fold universe. From this place, whatever is, however far away, is seen, and every word penetrates to these hollow ears. Rumour dwells here, having chosen her house upon a high mountain-top; and she gave the house countless entrances, a thousand apertures, but with no doors to close them. Night and day the house stands open. It is built all of echoing brass. The whole place resounds with confused noises, repeats all words and doubles what it hears. There is no quiet, no silence anywhere within. And yet there is no loud clamour, but only the subdued murmur of voices, like the murmur of the waves of the sea if you listen afar off, or like the last rumblings of thunder when Jove has made the dark clouds crash together. Crowds fill the hall, shifting throngs come and go, and everywhere wander thousands of rumours, falsehoods mingled with the truth, and confused reports flit about. Some of these fill their idle ears with talk, and others go and tell elsewhere what they have heard; while the story grows in size, and each new teller makes contribution to what he has heard. Here is Credulity, here is heedless Error, unfounded Joy and panic Fear; here sudden Sedition and unauthentic Whispersings. Rumour herself beholds all that is done in heaven, on sea and land, and searches throughout the world for news.

Now she had spread the tidings that the Greek fleet was approaching full of brave soldiery; and so not unlooked for did the invading army come. The Trojans were ready to prevent the enemy's landing and to protect their shores. You first fell, Protesilaüs, before Hector's deadly spear. Those early battles proved costly to the Greeks and they soon learned Hector's warlike mettle by the slaughter that he dealt.

Ovid Metamorphoses 12. 35-69

Passive recording of events
 Actual investigation of events

Fama in Ovid: N. Zumwalt 'Fama subversa: theme and structure in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 12', *CSCA* 10 (1977) 210-22; D. C. Feeney *The gods in epic* (Oxford 1991); L. Braun 'Wie Ovid sich die Fama gedacht hat (*Met.* 12.39-63)', *Hermes* 119 (1991) 116-19. Cyclic epic in Horace: A. Barchiesi, *Antike und Abendland* (1995) 109-24, at 118

247-9

③ Cyclic epic in Virgil and Horace

namque sub ingenti lustrat dum singula templo
 reginam opperiens, dum quae fortuna sit urbi
 artificumque manus inter se operumque laborem 455
 miratur, uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas
 bellaque iam fama totum vulgata per orbem, cyclic epic
 Atridas Priantumque et saeuum ambobus Achillem.

While waiting for the queen and studying everything there was to see under the roof of this huge temple, as he marvelled at the good fortune of the city, the skill of the workmen and all the works of their hands, he suddenly saw, laid out in order, depictions of the battles fought at Troy. The Trojan War was already famous throughout the world. The two sons of Atreus were there, and Priam, and Achilles who hated both sides.

Aeneid 1, 453-8

saepius ad euentum fertinot et in mediis res
 non secus ac notas audirem rapit... (48-9)

Difficile est proprie communia dicere; tuque
 rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actus,
 quam si proferres ignota indictaque prius. 130
 publica materies privati iuris erit, si
 non circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem.

nec sic incipies ut scriptor cyclicus olim:
 "fortunam Priami cantabo et nobile bellum."
 quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatus?
 parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus.

¹²⁸ It is hard to treat in your own way what is common: and you are doing better in spinning into acts a song of Troy than if, for the first time, you were giving the world a theme unknown and unsung. In ground open to all you will win private rights, if you do not linger along the easy and open pathway.

And you are not to begin as the Cyclic poet of old:

Of Priam's fate and famous war I'll sing.

What will this boaster produce in keeping with such mouthing? Mountains will labour, to birth will come a laughter-rousing mouse! Horace Art Poetica 128-32, 136-9

(F) Seeing is believing?

(4)

solae Minyces intus

intempestiva turbantes festa Minerva
aut ducunt lanas aut stamina pollice versant
aut haerent telae famulasque laboribus urgent. 35
e quibus una levi deducens pollice filum
" dum cessant aliae commentaque sacra frequentant,
nos quoque, quas Pallas, melior dea, detinet " inquit,
" ntile opus manuum vario sermone levemus
perque vices aliquid, quod tempora longa videri 40
non sinat, in medium vacuas referamus ad aures! "

(a)

oraque nostra tuum frustra clamantia nomen 665
inplerunt fluctus.—non haec tibi nuntiat auctor
ambiguus, non ista vagis rumoribus audis:
ipse ego fata tibi praesens mea naufragus edo.

My lips, calling vainly upon your name,
drank in the waves. And this tale no uncertain
messenger brings to you, nor do you hear it in the
words of vague report; but I myself, wrecked as
you see me, tell you of my fate. Met. 11. 665-8

(b)

nec tibi fama mei ventura est nuntia leti:
ipse ego, ne dubites, adero praesensque videbor,
corpore ut exanimi crudelia lumina pascas.
si tamen, o superi, mortalia facta videtis,
este mei memores (nihil ultra lingua precari 730
sustinet) et longo facite ut narremur in aevo,
et, quae dempsistis vitae, date tempora famae! "

And 'twill be no
mere rumour that comes to announce my death to
you; I shall myself be there, be well assured, and
that, too, in visible presence, that you may feast
your cruel eyes upon my lifeless body. But if, O
gods, you see the things we mortals do, remember
me (nothing further can my tongue hold out to pray)
and have my story told long ages hence; and what
time you have taken from my life give to my fame.

Met. 14. 726-32

(c)

nam mihi, cum fulva solus spatiarer harena,
visa est a tergo pinna dedisse sonum.
respicio, nec erat corpus, quod cernere possem,
verba tamen sunt haec aure recepta mea:
15 " en ego laetarum venio tibi nuntia rerum
Fama, per immensas aere lapsa vias.
consule Pompeio, quo non tibi carior alter,
candidus et felix proximus annus erit."
dixit, et ut laeto Pontum rumore replevit,
20 " ad gentes alias hinc dea vertit iter.

cernere iam videor rumpi paene atria turba,
et populum laedi deficiente loco,
templaque Tarpeiae primum tibi sedis adiri,
30 et fieri faciles in tua vota deos;

me miserum, turba quod non ego cernar in illa,
nec poterunt istis lumina nostra frui
45 quod licet, absentem qua possum mente videbo:
aspiciet vultus consulis illa sui

For as I strolled alone upon the
yellow sand, behind me, it seemed, wings rustled.
I looked back; there was no form that I could see,
but my ear caught these words, " Lo, I come to bear
thee a message of gladness; I am Report, and I have
flown through measureless distances of air. Through
the consulship of Pompey, who is dearer to you than
any other, the coming year will be bright and blessed."
She spoke, and having filled the Pontus with the glad
tidings, the goddess turned her course to other
peoples.

Already I seem to behold your
halls almost bursting with the crowd, the people
bruised for lack of space, the temples of Tarpeia's
abode visited by you as your first act, the gods
becoming propitious to your prayers.

Wretched
am I that I shall not be seen in that throng, that my
eyes will not be able to enjoy that sight! But this
I may do; in your absence I can see you in my
mind; that will behold the features of its loved one!

Ex Ponto 4. 4. 11-20,
27-30, 43-6

53 ... haec quoniam vulgari fabula non est. Met. 4. 32-41

Te quoque, magna Pales, et te memorande
canemus
pastor ab Amphryso, vos, silvae amnesque Lycaei.
cetera quae vacuas tenuissent carmine mentes,
omnia iam volgata: quis aut Eurysthea durum
aut inlaudati nescit Busiridis aras? 5

THEE, too, great Pales, we will sing, and thee, famed
shepherd of Amphrysus, and you, ye woods and
streams of Lycaeus. Other themes, which else had
charmed with song some idle fancy, are now all trite.
Who knows not pitiless Eurystheus, or the altars
of detested Busiris? Georgics 3. 1-5

(5)

Exit in immensum fecunda licentia vatam,
obligat historica nec sua verba fide.
et mea debuerat falso laudata videri
femina; credulitas nunc mihi vestra nocet.

Measureless pours forth the creative wantonness
of bards, nor trammels its utterance with history's
truth. My praising of my lady, too, you should have
taken for false; now your easy trust is my undoing.

Amores 3. 12. 41-4

(6)

virginemque Heliconam petit. quo monte potita
constitit et doctas sic est adfata sorores: 265
" fama novi fontis nostras pervenit ad aures,
dura Medusaei quem praecipis ungula rupit.
is mihi causa viae; volui mirabile factum
cernere; vidi ipsum materno sanguine nasci."
excepit Uranic: " quaecumque est causa videndi 260
has tibi, diva, domos, animo gratissima nostro es.
vera tamen fama est: est Pegasus huius origo
fontis " et ad latrices deduxit Pallada sacros.

she made for Thebes
and Helicon, home of the Muses. On this mountain
she alighted, and thus addressed the sisters versed in
song: " The fame of a new spring has reached my ears,
which broke out under the hard hoof of the winged
horse of Medusa. This is the cause of my journey:
I wished to see the marvellous thing. The horse
himself I saw born from his mother's blood." Urania
replied: " Whatever cause has brought thee to see
our home, O goddess, thou art most welcome to our
hearts. But the tale is true, and Pegasus did indeed
produce our spring." And she led Pallas aside to
the sacred waters. Met. 5. 254-63

" Ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ'
ἔχουσαι—
ὑμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστε, παρέστέ τε, ἴστέ τε πάντα, 485
ἡμεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν οὐδέ τι ἴδμεν—
οἱ τῶες ἡγεμόνες Δαναῶν καὶ κοίρανοι ἦσαν.

Iliad 2. 484-7

7(a)

Tell me now, ye Muses that have dwellings on
Olympus—for ye are goddesses and are at hand
and know all things, whereas we hear but a rumour
and know not anything—who were the captains
of the Danaans and their lords.

(2) Power in high places

(a) Quae pater ut summa vidit Saturnius arce,
 ingemit et facto nondum vulgata recenti
 focula Lycaoniae referens convivia mensae 165
 ingentes animo et dignas Iove concepit iras
 conciliumque vocat: tenuit mora nulla vocatos.
 Est via sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno;
 lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso.
 haec iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis 170
 regalemque domum: dextra laevaue deorum
 atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis.
 plebs habitat diversa locis: hac parte potentes
 caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates;
 hic locus est, quem, si verbis audacia detur, 175
 haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli.

When Saturn's son from his high throne saw this he groaned, and, recalling the infamous revels of Lycaon's table—a story still unknown because the deed was new—he conceived a mighty wrath worthy of the soul of Jove, and summoned a council of the gods. Naught delayed their answer to the summons. There is a high way, easily seen when the sky is clear. 'Tis called the Milky Way, famed for its shining whiteness. By this way the gods fare to the halls and royal dwelling of the mighty Thunderer. On either side the palaces of the gods of higher rank are thronged with guests through folding-doors flung wide. The lesser gods dwell apart from these. In this neighbourhood the illustrious and strong heaven-dwellers have placed their household gods. This is the place which, if I may make bold to say it, I would not fear to call the Palatia of high heaven.

Met. 1.163-76

(b) Et iam finis erat, cum Iuppiter aethere summo
 despicens mare uelivolam terrasque iacentis 225
 litoraue et latos populos, sic uertice caeli
 constitit et Libyae defixit lumina regnis.

Now the feast was ended and Jupiter was looking down from the height of heaven on the sea flying with sails and the land far beneath him, on the shores of the seas and the far-spread peoples, when suddenly he stopped in his survey at the highest point of the sky and fixed his eyes upon the kingdom of Libya.

Aeneid 1.223-C

(c) Talibus orabat Iuno, cunctique tremebant
 caelicolae adsensu uario, ceu flamina prima
 cum deprensa fremunt siluis et caeca uolutant
 murmura uenturos nautis prodentia uentos. 100
 tum pater omnipotens, rerum cui prima potestas,
 inquit (eo dicente deum domus alta silescit
 et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether,
 tum Zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus):
 'accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta.

As Juno was making her plea, all the gods began to murmur in support or in dissent. It was like the murmuring of a storm when the first breeze is caught in a wood and the rustling rolls through the trees unseen, warning sailors that winds are on the way. Then the All-powerful Father, the highest power in all the universe, began to speak, and at his voice the lofty palace of the gods fell silent, the earth trembled to its foundations and the heights of heaven were hushed. The winds in that moment were stilled and the sea kept its waves at peace. 'So be it,' he said. 'Hear my words and lay them to your hearts.'

Aeneid 10.96-104

(c) Talia flammato secum dea corde uolutans 50
 nimborum in patriam, loca feta furentibus Austris,
 Aeoliam uenit. hic uasto rex Acolus antro
 luctantis uentos tempestatesque sonoras
 imperio premit ac uinclis et carcere frenat. 55
 illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
 circum claustra fremunt; celsa sedet Aeolus arce
 sceptrum tenens molliorque animos et temperat iras.
 ni faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum
 quippe ferant rapidi secum uerrantque per auras; 60
 sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris
 hoc metuens molemque et montis insuper altos
 imposuit, regemque dedit qui foedere certo
 et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas.

These are the thoughts the goddess turned over in her burning heart as she came to Aeolia, the home of the clouds, a place teeming with the raging winds of the south. Here Aeolus is king and here in a vast cavern he keeps in subjection the brawling winds and howling storms, chained and bridled in their prison. They murmur in loud protest round bolted gates in the mountainside while Aeolus sits in his high citadel, holding his sceptre, soothing their spirits and tempering their angry passions. But for him they would catch up the sea, the earth and the deeps of the sky and sweep them along through space. In fear of this, the All-powerful Father banished them to these black caverns with massive mountains heaped over them, and gave them under a fixed charter a king who knew how to hold them in check or, when ordered, to let them run with free rein.

Aeneid 1.50-63

(d) ac ueluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
 seditio saeuitque animis ignobile uulgus 150
 iamque faces et saxa uolant, furor arma ministrat;
 tum, pietate grauem ac meritis si forte uirum quem
 conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus astant;
 ille regit dictis animos et pectora mulcet:
 sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
 prospiciens genitor caeloque inuectus aperto 155

Just as when disorder arises among the people of a great city and the common mob runs riot, wild passion finds weapons for men's hands and torches and rocks start flying; at such a time if people chance to see a man who has some weight among them for his goodness and his services to the state, they fall silent, standing and listening with all their attention while his words command their passions and soothe their hearts — so did all the crashing of the sea fall silent and Father Neptune, looking out over the waves, drove the horses of his chariot beneath a clear sky and gave them rein to fly before the wind.

Aeneid 1.148-55

(9) Fate and Fame in Metamorphoses 15

(10) Virgil's Fama

(a) lecta trium : cernes illic molimine vasto
 ex aere et solido rerum tabularia ferro, 810
 quae neque concursum caeli neque fulminis iram
 nec metuunt ullas tuta atque aeterna ruinas ;
 invenies illic incisa adamante perenni
 fata tui generis : legi ipse animoque notavi
 et referam, ne sis etiamnum ignara futuri. 815
 hic sua complevit, pro quo, Cythera, laboras,
 tempora, perfectis, quos terrae debuit, annis.

Thou thyself mayst enter the abode of the three sisters. Thou shalt there behold the records of all that happens on tablets of brass and solid iron, a massive structure, tablets which fear neither warfare in the heavens, nor the lightning's fearful power, nor any destructive shocks which may befall, being eternal and secure. There shalt thou find engraved on everlasting adamant thy descendant's fates. I have myself read these and marked them well in mind ; and these will I relate, that thou mayst be no longer ignorant of that which is to come. This son of thine, goddess of Cythera, for whom thou grievest, has fulfilled his allotted time, and his years are finished which he owed to earth.

15. 808 - 17

(b) Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis
 nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas.
 cum volet, illa dies, quae nil nisi corporis huius
 ius habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat aevi : 875
 parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
 astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum,
 quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
 ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
 siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.

And now my work is done, which neither the wrath of Jove, nor fire, nor sword, nor the gnawing tooth of time shall ever be able to undo. When it will, let that day come which has no power save over this mortal frame, and end the span of my uncertain years. Still in my better part I shall be borne immortal far beyond the lofty stars and I shall have an undying name. Wherever Rome's power extends over the conquered world, I shall have mention on men's lips, and, if the prophecies of bards have any truth, through all the ages shall I live in fame.

15. 871 - 9

(c) hic sua praeferrere quamquam velat acta paternis,
 libera fama tamen nullisque obnoxia iussis
 invitum praefert unaque in parte repugnat :
 sic magnus cedit titulis Agamemnonis Atrous, 855
 Aegea sic Theseus, sic Pelea vicit Achilles ;
 denique, ut exemplis ipsos aequantibus utar,
 sic et Saturnus minor est Iove : Iuppiter aereas
 temperat aetherias et mundi regna triformis,
 terra sub Augusto est ; pater est et rector uterque.

And, though the son forbids that his own deeds be set above his father's, still fame, unfettered and obedient to no one's will, exalts him spite of his desire, and in this one thing opposes his commands. So does the great Atrous yield in honour to his son, Agamemnon ; so does Theseus rival Aegeus, and Achilles, Peleus ; finally, to quote an instance worthy of them both, is Saturn less than Jove. Jupiter controls the heights of heaven and the kingdoms of the triformed universe ; but the earth is under Augustus' sway. Each is both sire and ruler.

15. 852 - 60

Extemplo Libyae magnas it fama per urbes,
 fama, malum qua non aliud uelocius ullum : 175
 mobilitate uiget uirisque acquirit eundo,
 parua metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras
 ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
 illam Terra parens ira irritata deorum
 extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
 progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicious alis, 180
 monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
 tot uigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
 tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
 nocte uolat caeli medio terraeque per umbram
 stridens, nec dulci declinat lunina somno ; 185
 luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti
 turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,
 tam ficti prauisque tenax quam nuntia ueri.
 haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
 gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat : 190
 uenisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum,
 cui se pulchra uiro dignetur iungere Dido ;
 nunc hincem inter se luxu, quam longa, fouere
 regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.
 haec passim dea foeda uirum diffundit in ora. 195
 protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban
 incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.

Rumour did not take long to go through the great cities of Libya. Of all the ills there are, Rumour is the swiftest. She thrives on movement and gathers strength as she goes. From small and timorous beginnings she soon lifts herself up into the air, her feet still on the ground and her head hidden in the clouds. They say she is the last daughter of 180 Mother Earth who bore her in rage against the gods, a sister for Coeus and Enceladus whom Jupiter had killed. Rumour is quick of foot and swift on the wing, a huge and horrible monster, and under every feather of her body, strange to tell, there lies an eye that never sleeps, a mouth and a tongue that are never silent and an ear always pricked. By night she flies between earth and sky, squawking through the darkness, and never lowers her eyelids in sweet sleep. By day she keeps watch perched on the tops of gables or on high towers and causes fear in great cities, holding fast to her lies and distortions as often as she tells 190 the truth. At that time she was taking delight in plying the tribes with all manner of stories, fact and fiction mixed in equal parts: how Aeneas the Trojan had come to Carthage and the lovely Dido had thought fit to take him as her husband; how they were even now indulging themselves and keeping each other warm the whole winter through, forgetting about their kingdoms and becoming the slaves of lust. When the foul goddess had spread this gossip all around on the lips of men, she then steered her course to king Iarbas to set his mind alight and fuel his anger.

Aeneid 4. 173-97

denique quod longo uenit impetu, rure debet
 mobilitatem etiam atque etiam, quae erret eundo
 et ualidas auget uires et roborat ictum.
 Again, because it comes rushing from afar, it must add
 ever more and more to its velocity, which grows by moving,
 increasing its mighty strength and vivifying the blow.
 Lucretius 6. 340-2

Fama in Virgil: P. R. Hardie *Virgil's Aeneid: cosmos and imperium* (Oxford 1986) 273-80; J. Whitman *Allegory. The dynamics of an ancient and medieval technique* (Oxford 1987) 53

(11)

Typhoeus and the poet: A. Ford *Homeric. The poetry of the past* (Ithaca and London 1992) 190-1

Sirens and the poet: P. Pucci 'The song of the Sirens', *Arethusa* 12 (1979) 121-32; C. Segal 'Kleos and its ironies in the *Odyssey*', in S. L. Schein (ed.) *Reading the Odyssey* (Princeton 1995) 201-21 (= *Ant. Class.* 52 (1983) 22-47), at 213-18

Chaucer *House of Fame*: (from a large bibliography e.g.) P. Boitani *Chaucer and the imaginary world of fame* (Cambridge 1984)

(12)

170 Esse ferunt spatium, qua distat ab Aside terra
Fertilis Europe, et spectat Mareotidas undas;
Hic turris posita est Titanidos ardua Famae
Aerea, lata, sonans, rutilis vicinior astris
175 Quam superimpositum vel Athos vel Pelion Ossa
Mille fores aditusque patent, totidemque fenestras,
Amplaque per tenues translucent atria muros;
Excitat hic varios plebs agglomerata susurros;
Qualiter instrepitant circum mulcralia bombis
180 Agmina muscarum, aut texto per ovilia iunco,
Dum Canis aestivum coeli petit ardua culmen
Ipsa quidem summa sedet ultrix matris in arce,
Auribus innumeris cinctum caput eminet olli,
Queis sonitum exiguum trahit, atque levissima captat
Murmura, ab extremis patuli confinibus orbis.
185 Nec tot Aristoride servator inique iuvencae
Isidos, immiti volvebas lumina vultu,
Lumina non unquam tacito nutantia somno,
Lumina subiectas late spectantia terras.
Istis illa solet loca luce carentia saepe
190 Perlustrare, etiam radianti impervia soli.
Millenisque loquax auditaque visaque linguis
Cuilibet effundit temeraria, veraque mendax
Nunc minuit, modo confictis sermonibus auget,
Sed tamen a nostro meruisti carmine laudes
195 Fama, bonum quo non aliud veracius ullum,
Nobis digna cani, nec te memorasse pigebit
Carminis tam longo, servati scilicet Angli
Officiis vaga diva tuis, tibi reddimus aequa.
Te Deus aeternis motu qui temperat ignes,
200 Fulmine praemisso alloquitur, terraque tremante:
Fama siles? an te latet impia Papistarum
Coniurata cohors in meque meosque Britannos,
Et nova sceptrigero caedes meditata Iacobo:
205 Et satis ante fugax stridentes induit alas,
Induit et variis exilia corpora plumis;
Dextra tubam gestat Temesaeo ex aere sonoram.
Nec mora iam pennis cedentes remigat auras,
Atque parum est cursu celeres praevertere nubes,
210 Iam ventos, iam solis equos post terga reliquit:
Et primo Angliacas solito de more per urbes
Ambiguas voces, incertaque murmura spargit,
Mox arguta dolos, et detestabile vulgat
Proditionis opus, nec non facta horrida dictu,
215 Authoresque addit sceleris, nec garrula caccis
Insidiis loca structa silet; stupere relatis,
Et pariter iuvenes, pariter tremuere puellae,
Ellaetique senes pariter, tantaque ruinae
Sensus ad aetatem subito penetraverat omnem
220 Attamen interea populi miserescit ab alto
Aethereus pater, et crudelibus obstitit ausis
Papicolom; capti poenas raptantur ad acres;
At pia thura Deo, et grati solvantur honores;
Compita laeta focis genialibus omnia fumant;
225 Turba choros juvenilis agit: quintoque Novembris
Nulla dies toto occurrit celebratio anno.

There is, men say,¹⁷⁰ an expanse fronting Lake Marcotis,¹⁷¹ which separates the Asian continent from fertile Europe. Here the high tower of Fame, daughter of the Titaness,¹⁷² is built—brazen, broad, reverberating, and reaching up nearer to the twinkling stars than Athos¹⁷⁴ or Pelion piled upon Ossa. A thousand doors and entrances gape wide, a thousand windows too, and the spacious halls inside gleam through thin walls. The crowd which swarms here sends up a mingled murmur, like swarms of flies¹⁷⁸ humming and buzzing around the milking pails or through the wattled sheepfolds when the Dog Star is climbing the steeps of heaven to its summer height.¹⁸⁰ Fame herself, her mother's avenger, is seated at the very top of her citadel, and lifts her head high. Innumerable ears stick out all round it, and with these she can intercept even the tiniest sounds and catch the faintest whisper from the remotest corners of the wide world. You, Arestor's son,¹⁸⁵ unjust guardian of the heifer Isis, did not have as many eyes rolling in your harsh face as she—eyes which never close in silent sleep, eyes which keep watch, far and wide, over the lands below. With these Fame often scans unlighted places, where even the sun's rays do not penetrate. Then, blabbing with her thousand tongues, the inconsiderate creature pours out all she has heard and seen to anyone she comes across. She is a liar, too: sometimes she speaks less than the truth, and sometimes more, adding her own invented tales.¹⁹³

But still, Fame, you have deserved praise in my song¹⁹⁴ for one good deed, and there was never a deed more truly good.¹⁹⁵ You deserve to be sung about by me, and I shall never regret having commemorated you at such length in my verse. We English, who were plainly saved by your good offices, wandering goddess, render to you your just dues.¹⁹⁸ God who guides the eternal fires in their wheeling hurled down a thunderbolt and then, as the earth still trembled, said: 'Are you silent, Fame? Is this godless mob of Papists hidden from your sight—this mob which has conspired against me and my Englishmen? Is this new kind of murder which has been planned for sceptred James hidden from you?' He said no more, but the Thunderer's commands had an instant effect on Fame who, though swift of flight before, now puts on creaking wings and covers her thin body with parti-coloured feathers. She takes a blaring trumpet of Temesaeian brass²⁰⁷ in her right hand and, without delay, wings her way through the yielding air. Not content to outstrip the rushing clouds, she soon leaves the winds and the sun's horses behind. As usual she first spreads contradictory rumours²¹² and vague murmurings through the English cities, and then in a clear voice she makes public the plots and foul working of treason, its deeds horrible to speak of and, lastly, the instigators of the crime. Chattering away, she makes no secret of the places which have been prepared for the performance of this secret treachery. Her reports caused utter amazement. Young men, girls and weak old men all shuddered. People of all ages were suddenly struck to the heart by the sense of so great a disaster.

But meanwhile our Heavenly Father looked down on his people with pity and put a stop to the Papists' cruel venture.²²¹ They are captured and hurried off to sharp punishments. Pious incense is burned and grateful honours paid to God. There is merrymaking at every crossroads and smoke rises from the festive bonfires: the young people dance in crowds: in all the year there is no day more celebrated than the fifth of November.

Milton *In Quintum Novembri* 170-226

Hic opibus uestris opus. en nunc confieri rem
 Tempus adest. in eum cuncti maioribus illos
 Inflammate odijs et uera, et praua canentes,
 215 Pestiferumque animis furtim inspirate uenenum.
 Ne uicti, oblitique iras corda aspera ponant,
 Sed saeui magis, atque magis, stimulisque subacti
 Acribus absistant nunquam, nisi caede peracta.

"Here your help is needed. Note well! Now is the time to get the thing done. In flame them, all of you, with greater hatred for him, and by rehearsing what is both true and false breathe slyly into their hearts deadly poison. Do not let them, overcome, with rage forgotten, put aside the bitterness of their hearts. But goaded more and more to fury under the stings of your whips, let them never rest until they have slaughtered him. 1. 212 - 18

5 Omnibus ante oculos urbem ingredientis imago
 Laeta Dei, festique manus impubis honores,
 Illiusque uident late increbrescere nomen.
 Fama uolat, passimque canit miracula rerum.
 Quid faciant? magis, atque magis iam uera patescunt,
 10 Quae quondam prisci uates cecinere futura,
 Terras coelesti regem de stirpe manere,
 Cuius in aduentu templum, iudaeaque tandem
 Regna ruant, Solymeque euersis desinat aris
 Antiquo de more sacros imponere honores.

Before all their eyes was the glad vision of God coming into the city with a band of young people festively honoring him, and they saw his name everywhere prevailing. Rumor flew abroad and sang the wonders of his deeds throughout the land. What could they do? Those truths now grew more and more clear which once the ancient prophets proclaimed would come to pass--that earth was to expect a King of celestial origin at whose coming the temple and even the kingdoms of Judea would topple, and Jerusalem, its altars ruined, would no longer sacrifice according to ancient custom. 2. 5 - 14

Principio spargunt occultum in pectora uirus,
 35 Vipereamque uiris animam, caccumque furorem
 Inspirant, odiumque animis, et crimina linquunt.
 Multi etiam in facies hominum uertuntur, et omnem
 Protinus incendunt uarijs rumoribus urbem.
 Irrepunt tectis alij, somnoque solutis
 40 Somnia dira ferunt uaria sub imagine rerum,
 Atque hominum falsis simulacris pectora ludunt.
 Iamque huius subeunt, iamque illius alta potentum
 Limina, et attonitos dictis hortantur in hostem,
 Terrificantque animos facta, atque infecta canentes.

First the demons spread hidden poison through men's hearts, and breathe into them a viperish spirit and blind rage, and let loose hate and crimes in their thoughts. Many are also transformed into the look of men and proceed to inflame all the city with various rumors. Others crawl into houses and bring to those lulled in sleep loathsome dreams of diverse imaginings and with these false shapes they mock men's hearts.

And now they approach the lofty portals of the men of power, first one and then another, and they confound them, rousing them with diatribes against the foe, and trouble their souls by trumpeting truths and untruths: 2. 34 - 44

- Fama Palaestinas subito haec impleuerat urbes.
 Iamque sacerdotes trepidare, et quaerere, siqua
 Multiplici uulgi sermoni occurrere possint,
 395 Rumoremque astu premere, atque extinguere famam.
 Custodes busti in primis, qui cuncta canebant,
 Muneribus superant, subiguntque haud uera profari,
 Sublatum furto intempesta nocte cadauer.
 Sed non ulla datur uerum exuperare facultas.
 400 Quoque magis tendunt serpentem sistere famam,
 Amplius hoc uolat illa, omnemque exuscitat oram.
 Sunt etiam, qui se ore canant uidisse patentes
 Sponte sua tumulos, multosque exisse sepulcris,
 Quorum iampridem tellus acceperat ossa.

These tidings speedily spread through the cities of Palestine. And now the priests were appalled, and they looked for a way to counter the incessant talk of the people and craftily check the rumor and stamp out the story. First they overmastered with bribes the guards at the tomb who were telling and retelling all that had happened, and constrained them to say falsely that the corpse was stolen away in the dead of night. But no power can vanquish truth. The more they strove to stop the spreading rumor, the more widely it circulated and roused all the land. There were even those who declared that they had seen the tombs opened of their own accord and that many whose bones the ground had long ago received had departed from their graves.

G. 392-404

- 880 Quin etiam mox tempus erit, cum scilicet olim
 Ter centum prope lustra peregerit aethereus Sol,
 Tum ueri Graium obliti mendacia uates
 Funera per gentes referent tua carmine uerso,
 Atque tuis omnes resonabunt laudibus urbes,
 885 Praesertim laetam Italiae felicitis ad oram,
 Addua ubi uagus, et muscoso Serius amne
 Purior electro, tortoque simillimus angui,
 Qua rex fluuiorum Eridanus se turbidus infert
 Moenia turrigerae stringens male tuta Cremonae,

But also there shall soon be a time, after the sun in heaven shall have completed fifteen centuries, when true prophets, forgetting the falsehoods of the Greeks, with a new song shall tell of your death throughout all nations, and all cities shall resound with your praise, and specially on the happy shores of fertile Italy, where the Adda winds, and where the Sesia with its mossy banks is clearer than amber, winding very like a serpent, where the Po, king of rivers, wildly flows, skirting the crumbling walls of turreted Cremona

G. 880-89

- Ergo abeunt uarias longe, lateque per oras
 Diuersi, laudesque canunt, atque inclyta uulgo
 975 Facta ducis, iamque (ut uates cecinere futurum
 Antiqui) illorum uox fines exit in omnes.

And so they went different ways far and wide in various lands, and openly proclaimed the glory and the illustrious deeds of the Lord, and now, as the ancient prophets foretold would happen, their words went out to the ends of the earth.

G. 973-6