The Chiastic Structure of Luke-Acts and Some Implications for Worship

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In recent studies several have analyzed sections of Luke-Acts to determine whether they reflect chiastic structure.1 The most recent of these studies have been influenced by similar studies of the Greek and Roman classics.2

It has been suggested that the whole of Luke-Acts is constructed as a chiasmus.3 In this study the structure of Luke-Acts will be examined from this perspective and an attempt will be made to suggest some ways in which the findings of this research may inform contemporary worship. Primary attention will be given to the chiastic structure of

'Michael D. Goulder, "The Chiastic Structure of the Lucan Journey" in Studia Evangelica II, ed. F.L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964), pp. 195-202; Michael D. Goulder, Type and History in Acts, (London: S.P.C.K., 1964), pp. 133-144; Cheryle Exum and Charles Talbert, "The Structure of Paul's Speech to the Ephesian Elders (Acts 20:18-35)," Catholic Biblical Quarterly 29 (1967): 233-236; Charles Talbert, "The Lukan Presentation of Jesus' Ministry in Galilee," Review and Expositor 64 (1967): 485-497; Charles Talbert, Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts, (Missoula, Montana, Society of Biblical Literature and Scholors Press, 1974) Indiert, Literary Patterns, Theological Themes, and the Genre of Luke-Acts, (Missoula, Montana: Society of Biblical Literature and Scholars Press, 1974), Chapter IV; Donald Robert Miesner, "Chiasm and the Composition and Message of Paul's Missionary Sermons." Unpublished TH.D. Thesis, Concordia Seminary in Exile, 306 North Grand, St. Louis, 1974; Kenneth Ewing Bailey, Poet and Peasant A Literary Cultural Approach to the Parables in Luke, (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdman's Publishing Company, 1976), pp. 79ff; Donald R. Miesner, "The Missionary Journeys Narrative: Patterns and Implications," in Perspectives on Luke-Acts, ed. Charles H. Talbert, Special Studies Series, pp. 5 (Danville VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978), pp. no. 5 (Danville, VA: Association of Baptist Professors of Religion, 1978), pp. 199-214. Goulder does not base his studies upon an examination of Greco-Roman writing but rather upon the "chiastic" structure in the Old Testament writings. He is listed here, however, because some of the later studies are based on-his work. Belonging also to the older approach is John Bligh, who analyzes Acts 13-14 as chiasmus, Galatians: A Discussion of St. Paul's Epistle, (London: St. Paul Publications, 1969).

John L. Myers, Who Were the Greeks? (New York: Bible and Tannen, 1967), pp. 604, 605, n. 112, traces the discovery of ring composition in Homer's Iliad to J.T. Sheppard The Pattern of the Iliad (London: 1922). For a detailed analysis of the Iliad from this perspective see Cedric Whitman, Homer and analysis of the Iliad from this perspective see Cedric Whitman, Homer and the Homeric Tradition (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958), Chapters V and XI. See also John L. Myers, Herodotus: Father of History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), Chapters IV and V; Henry R. Immerwahr, Form and Thought in Herodotus (Cleveland, Ohio: Western Reserve University Press 1966), Chapters III and IV. For an analysis of the structure of Vergil's Aeneid see George Duckworth, Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid: A Study in Mathematical Composition (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962). Helpful also for examining a short section of the Aeneid is Gilbert Norwood, "Vergil, Georgics IV, 453-527," Classical Journal 36 (1940-41): 354-355. 36 (1940-41): 354-355.

*Goulder, "The Chiastic Structure of the Lucan Journey," pp. 195-196; Goulder, Type and History in Acts, p. 138.

Luke-Acts as a whole, though reference will be made to the studies dealing with the chiastic structure of smaller sections of Luke-Acts. A brief introduction to the usage and purpose of chiastic structure or ring composition in classical literature will be presented as a background for the examination of the Lukan material. The raison d'etre of this background material is the contention that Luke is a Hellenistic writer who must be understood and interpreted in the light of the writings of the Greco-Roman world.

Technically the Greek word chiasmos refers to an inverted order of clauses in a period or sentence in which the clauses form the pattern ABB'A'. The nature of chiastic structure can be quickly grasped from two examples of chiasmus in the gospels.

The sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath.

Mark 2:27

Do not give what is holy to dogs, nor throw your pearls before swine;

Lest they (swine) trample them under foot, and they (dogs) turn to attack you. Matt. 7:6

If lines were drawn from A to A' and from B to B' the Greek letter Chi (X) would be formed. The term chiamus or the anglicized form chiasm comes from the Greek word chiasmos which means a placing crosswise.

An inverted order is found in larger sections of works and even in the structure of entire works. Classical scholars use various terms including ring composition to describe this more lengthy inverted pattern.4 Because the term ring

'The terminology used by classical scholars is a maze. Some use terms like ring composition, onion skin pattern, and geometric pattern. These terms are derived from the imagery of the art of the proto-Geometric and Geometric period. Myres, Herodotus: Father of History, p. 81; and Immerwahr, Form and Thought in Herodotus, p. 54; use the term pedimental composition and compare the literary pattern to the pedimental sculpture of Greek temples. This imagery, like that of the Geometric art, focuses attention on the center of the structure. Immerwahr, Form and Thought in Herodotus, p. 54, insists that the term ring composition should be reserved for the inclusion of material in a block by similar statements placed at the beginning and end of the material. We have chosen below to call this phenomonon single ring composition. New Testament scholars use the terms chiastic, chiasmus and chiasm for inverted order in larger sections. It seems best to reserve this term for actual chiasmus the inversion of two elements within a period or sentence.

composition seems best to convey the imagery involved it will be used in this discussion. This literary structure is analogous to the motif of concentric circles found on Greek pottery of the proto-Geometric period of Greek art and the circular friezes of Attic art of the Geometric period. These friezes were arranged above and below a panel in the center of a vase on which panel a scene was depicted. The circular friezes both framed the scene and gave balance to the whole.

Ring composition in literature has been traced back to Homer and the *Iliad*. The characteristics of this literary pattern as it appears in many later works including those of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, can be observed in detail in the *Iliad*. Cedric Whitman has maintained that this vast epic comprising twenty-four books is constructed with a series of items leading to the center of the poem which then appear in inverted order to the end of the poem. Something of the nature of this lengthy and complex structure can be seen in the outline of the first and the last books of the *Iliad*.

A Diagrap and function

	Plague and funerals	
В	Quarrel and seizure	
C	Thetis and Achilles—appeal to Zeus	D1
\mathbf{D}	Journey to Chrysa	Books
\mathbf{E}	Thethis and Zeus — adoption of	1
	hero's cause	
\mathbf{F}	Quarrel on Olympus	
	· -	Books
G	Great Battle	XI-XV
		211-21
\mathbf{F}	Quarrel on Olympus	
	Quarter on Orympus	
Ē'	Thetis and Zeus—modification of	
E'		
	Thetis and Zeus-modification of	Daala
E'	Thetis and Zeus-modification of hero's cause	Book
E'	Thetis and Zeus—modification of hero's cause Thetis and Achilles—message from	Book XXIV
E'	Thetis and Zeus—modification of hero's cause Thetis and Achilles—message from Zeus	
E' C' D'	Thetis and Zeus—modification of hero's cause Thetis and Achilles—message from Zeus Priam's Journey	

As can be observed from the above outline ring composition involves the framing of an incident between concentric rings of similar, identical, or contrasting sections. The scenes or other matter making up the sections comprising the rings are placed in balancing positions echoing each other. In the outline above the reconciliation of Book XXIV echoes the quarrel of Book I; the journey of Priam in Book XXIV echoes the journey to Chrysa in Book I.

The breaking of the symmetrical pattern by the order C'D' in the above outline is typical of the intrusion of asymmetry into an otherwise symmetrical pattern found both in the art and literature of the period. Whitman maintains that the intrusion of asymmetry reflects concern for the particular, the individual.⁶

Within the vast concentric pattern of the *Iliad* as a whole there are many smaller concentric patterns some distinct, others interlocking. These smaller patterns frame smaller units, giving shape to the items within each unit, and setting the unit off from the surrounding material.

Whitman finds in the *Iliad* another concentric framework superimposed upon the framework described above.⁷ This structure is formed by arranging the number of days involved in incidents described in an inverted order. An outline of the days indicated in the first and last books demonstrates the nature of this ring composition.

BookI	Book XXIV
1-9-1-12	12-1-9-1

In addition to these concentric patterns there are major sections or movements observable in the *Iliad*. Duckworth defines three major parts or rhythms:⁸

- I. The Greeks are still victorious in spite of Achilles' withdrawal, I-VII.
- II. The Trojans force the Greeks to the ships and Patroclus is slain, VIII-XVII.
- III. Achilles returns to battle, the Greeks drive back the Trojans, and Achilles slays Hector, XVIII-XXIV.

Like the friezes on Geometric pottery the concentric sections in ring composition bring into prominence the center panel. They give symmetry and balance to the whole with episodes, similies, and even lists of places answering one another. Whitman has concluded that the intricate patterns

⁵The outline is that of Whitman, Homer and the Homeric Tradition, p. 260.

^eIbid., p. 92. ^eIbid., p. 257.

^{*}Duckworth, Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid, p. 18, n. 58.

of the ring composition of Homer not only impose shape upon the *Iliad* but also reflect the view that . . . "reality is a vision of formal symmetry, within which emotion lives in muted but effectual details." The older sagas written to praise the kings and warriors have in the *Iliad* given way to a ". . . refined and tragic retrospect, in which the figures walk in formal patterns of passion and despair, and the enormous self-conceptions are dominated by the quiet existence of the total picture." ¹⁰

There is another and a simpler type of ring composition observable in the classics and helpful in the analysis of the structure of Luke-Acts. It involves the framing of a section with a single ring. It is quite common in Herodotus, though Herodotus also employs the more complex concentric pattern. This construction involves the placing of closely resembling statements at the beginning and at the end of a section. These statements frame or *enclose* the elements within a single "ring."

Ring composition was very much in evidence at the beginning of the Christian era. Duckworth concludes that it had come to be a fundamental method of composition in Roman as well as in Hellenistic writings.¹²

Goulder has suggested that Luke-Acts is built upon a chiastic framework with the following sections: Galilee — Samaria — Judea — Jerusalem — Resurrection — Jerusalem — Judea — Samaria — the uttermost parts of the earth. That which follows is an attempt to analyze again the text from this perspective in the light of the discoveries about ring composition.

The clearest indicators of the intention of the writer, as far as structure goes, are found in Acts. The first piece of evidence in Acts is found in the first eleven verses of the book. It is evident here that Luke has used a construction that was used by Greek historians to summarize the preceding volume of work and to outline the volume at hand. The construction in classical Greek consisted of the juxtaposition of two clauses introduced respectively by the particles men and de. These particles are the English equivalments

of "on the one hand" and "on the other (hand)." Polybius introduces books II and III of his history with these particles. ¹⁴ In each case the particle *men* introduces a summary of the contents of the previous volume and *de* introduces an outline of the contents of the book being introduced. By the time the New Testament was written the *de* which introduced the second clause was often omitted. ¹⁵

Though it does not appear in the translation Luke uses the particle men (Acts 1:1) to introduce the summary of the contents of the first volume of his work — the Gospel according to Luke. Verse eight evidently provides the outline of Volume II (Acts): "... you shall be my witnesses both in Jerusalem and in Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth." Though this statement is not introduced by de it does provide the contrast regularly found in clauses introduced by de in classical Greek.

It is not without significance that these particles were closely associated with the balancing of two items, especially the balancing of two antitheses, which was inherent in ring composition. The antithesis itself hints at a balanced composition with Acts balanced over against Luke.

The second evidence of the intentionality of Luke in structuring Acts is the occurrence of single ring composition to set off the divisions of the book. The first sector of the ring appears in the section 8:1b-4. This section begins with the statement "on that day a great persecution of the church in Jerusalem broke out and they all, except the apostles, were scattered over Judea and Samaria . . . (8:1b) and then in verse four the phrase follows: "those who were scattered went from place to place proclaiming the good news. . . ."

The second sector of the ring is found in 11:19. It begins with exactly the same words "those who were scattered" and continues "from the persecution that had broken out over Stephen went all the way to Phoenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch telling the word. . . ."

The material set off by this ring falls into three sections 1:12-8:1a; 8:1b-11:18; and 11:19-28:31. The contents within these sections coincide with the outline in 1:8, witness in Jerusalem, in Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the

Whitman, Homer and Homeric Tradition, p. 99.

[&]quot;Immerwahr, Form and Thought in Herodotus, p. 54-55; Myres, Herodotus: Father of History, p. 81.

¹³Duckworth, Structural Patterns and Proportions in Vergil's Aeneid, p. 22. ¹⁶Goulder, Type and History in Acts, p. 138; "The Chiastic Structure of the Lucan Journey," p. 195-196.

[&]quot;Loeb Classical Library, ed., Polybius: The Histories, vol. 1, trans. W.R. Paton (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1922; reprint ed.,

^{1967),} p. 240; vol. 2, p. 2.

F. Blass and A. Debrunner, A Greek Grammar of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature, trans. Robert W. Funk (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1961; reprint ed., 1962), p. 232, paragraph 447.

earth. Quite clearly the structural outline of Acts divides the book into three sections:

I. Jerusalem, 1:12-8:1a.

II. Judea and Samaria, 8:1b-11:18.

III. To the end of the earth, 11:19-28:31.

It has long been recognized that the long middle section of Luke, 9:51-19:40 (or 44), does not actually describe a journey, though it is set up as a journey. The last part of this section 18:15-19:38 is parallel to the descriptions of the Journey to Jerusalem found in Mark 10:13-11:10 and Matthew 19:13-21:9. Prior to this section (18:15-19:38) Luke has references to Jesus' journeying to Jerusalem at 9:51; 13:22, 33; and 17:11. He has another reference to Jesus 'journeying up to Jerusalem' in 18:31. As long ago as 1919 Karl Schmidt noted that in the Journey section of Luke Jesus was always journeying to Jerusalem without making progress. Luke's intent clearly is not chronological or even geographical in the sense of tracing Jesus' movement from Galilee to Jerusalem. Luke has evidently used a literary devise to make the whole midsection of his gospel a "journey."

There are significant differences in the geographical references in the section of Luke's gospel that presents the Galilean ministry from the corresponding sections in Matthew and Mark. Noteworthy is the absence of the mention of Tyre and Sidon, Decapolis, Dalmanutha or Magadan, Caesarea Philippi, and the "region beyond Jordan." All of these are outside Galilee and Mark has references to all of them while Matthew has references to all except Decapolis. Luke has the account of the confession of Peter, but omits the reference to this taking place in Caesarea Philippi (outside Galilee).

The last section of Luke's gospel also has a distinctive feature that is significant for a structural analysis of the book. It ends in Jerusalem. Whereas Mark and Matthew have Jesus promise his disciples to go before them to Galilee when he is raised (Mark 14:28, Matthew 26:32) and Matthew has a Galilean appearance (Matthew 28:16-20), the appearance to the disciples in Luke is in Jerusalem. In addition, where Matthew and Mark have the messenger remind the disciples after the resurrection of the Galilean meeting (Matt 28:7, Mark 16:7) Luke has the saying: "Remember how he told

you while he was still in Galilee that the Son of man must ... be crucified and on the third day rise" (Luke 24:6,7).

It seems quite clear that Luke has constructed the ministry of Jesus in his gospel in three sections and that Luke-Acts reflects ring composition with the following panels: Galilee, Journey to Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Judea and Samaria, and to the end of the earth. The question remains, "What is the central point or panel which the outer circles encompass?" Goulder suggested that the resurrection was the center of the composition. However, an analysis of the text from the standpoint of its structure seems to indicate that the ascension is the central point or panel. Luke clearly places the resurrection in the Jerusalem panel. The statement at the beginning of the journey section (Luke 9:51) makes the ascension (analempsis) the end of his journey to Jerusalem. At the end of the Gospel Luke has Jesus leave the city and ascend (Luke 24:50-51). In the summary of the contents of his first volume Luke indicates that he had written about what Jesus had done until the day when he ascended (anelemphthe Acts 1:2). The summary ends with a second narration of the ascension and a promise of the return (Acts 1:9-11).

These evidences seem to substantiate the view that Luke-Acts does involve ring composition and that the basic structure is as follows:

A Galilee, Luke 4:14-9:50.

B "Journey to Jerusalem" (through Samaria and Judea), Luke 9:51-19:40.

C Jerusalem, Luke 19:41-24:49.

D Ascension, Luke 24:50-51.

C' Jerusalem, Acts 1:12-8:1a

B' Judea and Samaria, Acts 8:1b-11:18.

A' To the end of the earth, Acts 11:19-28:31.

There have been several attempts to discover ring composition in smaller sections of Luke.¹⁷ Most attention has been given to the "journey" section of the Gospel.¹⁸ The division above at 9:40 is based on the theory that this section is based on ring composition and that the outer ring is

¹⁶Karl Ludwig Schmidt, Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu (Darmstadt, Germany: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1919; reprint ed., 1964), p. 269.

¹⁷See the references in note 1 above.

¹⁸Coulder, "The Chiastic Structure of the Lucan Journey;" Goulder, Type and History in Acts, p. 138; Bailey, Poet and Peasant, pp. 79-85; Miesner, The Missionary Journey Narrative, pp. 199-201; Miesner, "Chiasm and Composition," pp. 273-278; Talbert, Literary Patterns, pp. 51ff.

comprised of 9:51-55 and 19:28-40. Both of these sections present Jesus journeying to Jerusalem; at the end of the former Jesus rebukes his disciples and at the end of the later he refuses to rebuke his disciples. Ring composition may account for the unexpected reference to Jesus "going up to Jerusalem" at Luke 19:28.

What implications does the ring composition of Luke-Acts have for the interpretation of Luke? Whether this structure is to be related to the Geometric art of the period of Homer or to the pedimental art of the Greek temples it certainly focuses attention on the center of the composition. If our analysis of the structure is correct then Luke has focused attention on the ascension. The ascension is the picture drawn on the central panel. Surrounding this central panel there are rings or friezes which on the one hand move toward Jerusalem and the central event and on the other move to the end of the earth. Luke relates the ascension to the promise of the return (Acts 1:11).

The question inevitably comes to mind: "What effect would a lengthy and not easily detected ring composition have on the minds of the readers or hearers of such a composition?" Gilbert Norwood commenting on this very question in relation to the composition of Vergil's Aeneid wrote:

... he did not expect his reader with full consciousness to observe this pattern, nor yet again to be utterly unaware of it: rather it should hover upon the border of consciousness, filling the mind with a vague yet strong impression of opulence in structure, making no explicit call upon the power of completely rational investigation. He works at the height of conscious and efficient genius to produce in us, by a definite expedient, not knowledge or applause of his skill, but a rapture of illumination, an experience not intellectual but imaginative. 19

The recognition of ring composition in the overall structure of Luke-Acts and in smaller sections of Luke's two volume work does not conflict with the discovery of other patterns superimposed upon this one. The practice of employing several structural patterns in a single work, which was observed in the *Iliad*, continued in the later Greco-Roman writings. Duckworth finds three patterns woven into the structure of Vergil's *Aeneid*.²⁰

Another structural pattern found in Luke-Acts consists of the placing of two sections with similar or contrasting contents and even sequences over against one another.²¹ Some of these parallel panels are placed one in Luke and one in Acts, others are placed either in Luke or Acts.

The sermons of Jesus and of Peter illustrate the nature of these echoing panels. The sermon of Jesus at the beginning of his mission is parallel to the sermon of Peter at the beginning of the mission of the Church. Luke has moved the sermon of Jesus in the synagague in his hometown (Luke 4:16-30) from its setting in the middle of Jesus' ministry where it is found in Matthew 13:54-58 and Mark 6:1-6a to the beginning of the ministry. Both sermons interpret what is happening as a fulfillment of scripture. The sermon in Luke 4:16-30 interprets Jesus' ministry as a fulfillment of prophecies in Isaiah. The sermon in Acts 2:14-41 interprets both Jesus' ministry, death and resurrection and the coming of the spirit as the fulfillment of scriptures. The sermon of Jesus results in rejection by all in the synagogue; the sermon of Peter results in three thousand believing.

The artistic approach of Luke has some significant implications for the worship of the Church. Early in this century the Norwegian scholar, Sigmund Mowinckel, made extensive studies of worship in primitive societies. His studies focused on worship in Israel and in the ancient near east, but he also examined the worship of primitive peoples in various parts of the world. Mowinckel drew some conclusions from his studies which have far reaching implications for worship in the church.

Mowinckel gave special attention to the relationship between worship and drama. He observed that drama had its origin in worship and that primitive worship always bore the stamp of drama. Further examination of the characteristics of the worship of primitive peoples led him to the striking conclusion that worship is drama.

He wrote:

Worship is not merely in origin, but everywhere and always drama. Worship is holy art. It is however at the same time holy reality. It is not merely an acted drama, a play, but a real and reality producing drama, a drama that with real power realizes the dramatized event, a

¹⁹Norwood, "Vergil, Georgics IV, 453-527," p. 355.

^{*}Duckworth, Structural Patterns & Proportions, chapters 1 and 2.

²¹Talbert, *Literary Patterns*, chapters 2 and 3 brings together significant examples of the balancing of similar or contrasting sections in Luke-Acts.

drama which produces reality from which real power emanates. . . .

The basic idea is this: through the dramatic "symbolic" performance, realization and reanimation of an event the same event is actually and really repeated; it repeats itself, happens once again and exercises anew the same mighty redemptive effect that it exercised for our salvation on the first occasion at the dawn of time or in the far distant past.22

In the midst of his conclusions he states:

And to this day there is no true worship which does not contain something of this dramatic element, in which there is not action and reaction, address and answer of God and of men.23

One of the best, if not the best, way to restore drama to our worship is to make the time around Christmas and Easter an opportunity for our people to relive these significant redemptive events. Worship in its origin was the great religious festivals.24 Luke-Acts provides an excellent model and framework for Easter. In our church, the Englewood Baptist Church in Kansas City, Missouri, we planned our worship last Easter around the journey motif. On several Sundays before Easter we tried to re-enact and relive the journey of Jesus to Jerusalem. On the Sundays after Easter we journeyed with the early church from Jerusalem to the end of the earth. We used the following passages and themes from Luke-Acts for the framework of our worship.

The Message in a Nutshell Luke 4:16-30 The "Journey" to Jerusalem Luke 9:51 The Triumphal Entry Luke 19:28-40 Luke 24:1-11 The Resurrection The Koinonia Acts 2:42-47; 4:32-35 On the Borderline of Common Acts 17:22-31

Experience (Witness)

In the light of the study above the series should be modified by adding a service centering around the ascension after the Easter service. This service could draw out further implications of the ascension for Luke and for us. This could help link the resurrection with the continuing significance

of the Jerusalem events in the ongoing history of the Church. The series would also reflect Luke-Acts better if there were a service centering around the gift of the Spirit after the service focusing on the ascension.

These services did not involve drama in the usual sense of the word. They were rather traditional worship services. They attempted to restore drama to worship by helping the worshipping community enter into the movement of Luke-Acts. This was done through the explanation of the structure and movement of Luke-Acts in the bulletins, the introductions to the scripture texts used each Sunday, the sermons, and the symbols used on the bulletins and on banners. On the second Sunday of the series we had a cross laid down to symbolize the act of carrying a cross. This same symbol was presented on a velvet banner. The second Sunday we used on the bulletin and on another banner three palm branches inspired by the impression on a quarter of a shekel coin minted in Jerusalem in A.D. 69. On Easter Sunday we used the phoenix as a symbol of the resurrection, on the following Sunday a chalice, and on the last Sunday the world map which is the logo of our foreign mission board. A scroll could have been used for the First Sunday. All of these, the written, the spoken, and the visually presented images were part of an attempt to make the journey imagery of Luke-Acts "... hover on the border of consciousness..." It was hoped that the worshipper would experience ". . . a rapture of illumination, an experience not intellectual but imaginative."25

²²Sigmund Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien II (Amsterdam: Schippers N.V., 1966), p. 21. *Ibid.

[&]quot;Mowinckel, p. 19.

^{*}Norwood, "Vergil, Georgics II, 453-527," p. 355.