

Vergil's Self-Referential Simile:
Thematic Construction through Internal Allusion in the *Aeneid*

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Classics at Brown University

Providence, Rhode Island

May 2009

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This dissertation by Keeley Cathleen Schell is accepted in its present form
by the Department of Classics as satisfying the
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CURRICULUM VITAE

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the research and writing of this dissertation, I have benefitted from the support and assistance of innumerable people. The Wheaton College Department of Classics has been a wonderful home in which to work and research, due to the encouragement of my colleagues Joel Relihan and Nancy Evans. For financial and institutional support, I am grateful to the Brown Graduate School, particularly Dean David Lindstrom, who was accommodating of my work away from Brown; the Joukowsky family foundation, which funded a year of dissertation fellowship; and Wheaton College, where the interlibrary loan service personnel and academic support staff, especially Fran Weldon, Jan Adie and Barbara Curtis, have aided me unstintingly. My husband, Max Ekstrom, and parents, Cathleen Steg and Schuyler Schell, have provided support and understanding throughout this project and the long education that preceded it.

I would also like to express my gratitude to those who have helped me shape the project intellectually. While I cannot list everyone, Benjamin Low and David Yates were helpful conversation partners in the early stages of planning. The greatest assistance, of course, came from my thesis committee, who read the manuscript repeatedly and contributed a great deal to the refinement of my arguments: Michael Putnam, Pura Nieto Hernández, and Jeri DeBrohun. I cannot thank them enough for their mentorship and the example they have set of intellectual inquiry. Finally I would like to thank two educators who, earlier in my career, gave me my abiding interest in Vergil and his similes: Francis Newton and Hughlings J. Himwich.

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation will show how specific allusive correspondences between simile and narrative within the *Aeneid* serve to anchor motifs. Viktor Pöschl and others have explored the importance of thematic imagery to the poetic structure and meaning of the *Aeneid*,¹ but the mechanisms through which Vergil creates these patterns merit additional study. Rather than merely illustrating a limited *tertium comparationis*, the similes of the *Aeneid* engage in an allusive dialogue with narrative episodes outside their immediate context. This intratextual allusion is similar to the normal comparative process of a simile, but expands the reader's perspective to draw together disparate moments in the epic.²

This "self-allusive" simile reinforces internal thematic correspondences between simile and narrative in the *Aeneid*, and will be the focus of my inquiry into the mechanics of Vergilian motifs. Four studies will address themes in the epic, revealing the correspondences between particular pairs of scenes and the implications of these relationships for an understanding of the *Aeneid*. In my investigations, I will follow paths trodden by a number of scholars whose insights on Vergil's similes, allusion to Homer and other works, motifs, and repetition and reuse of his own earlier verse have been essential to my enterprise. This introduction will clarify certain points of terminology

¹ Pöschl (1962), Hornsby (1970), Knox (1966), and Newton (1957) are examples of such studies.

² On the origins of the term "intratextuality" see Sharrock (2000, 4 n.8).

which are useful for understanding and communicating about figurative language and allusion, and outline the structure and scholarly antecedents of my work.

Simile: Mechanics and Terminology

Similes are a prominent feature of epic diction, if not of poetry as a whole, and as such have accrued a number of different categorizing systems. Ancient rhetoricians, modern literary critics, and philologists engaged in the study of Homer, Vergil and other classical authors have all contributed to the theoretical background for the study of literary comparison.

The first problem of terminology is defining what constitutes a simile. Simile is a type of comparison, but should be distinguished from non-figurative, literal comparisons.³ Ancient terminology is deficient in this regard: terms from rhetorical theory, such as εἰκῶν, refer sometimes to similes, sometimes to literal comparisons.⁴ Yet, there is a significant difference between the statement that a dog is like a wolf and the claim that a soldier is like a wolf. Likewise, to describe Neoptolemus as like his father is quite different from describing him as like a snake or a fire. In each of the above pairs, the first comparison is literal-minded and draws on observed, factual qualities, while the second comparison requires imaginative thinking. This freshness of

³ Not every scholar of similes, however, makes this distinction. Coffey, for instance, includes literal uses of the comparative adjective, as well as figurative analogies that are so brief as to lack a verb, under the single category of “Comparisons,” to which he opposes “Similes” (ranging from figurative comparisons long enough to include a verb to extensively elaborated epic similes). I will make every effort to distinguish between comparisons that are certainly figurative, on the one hand, and possibly literal comparisons (or even transformations) on the other. Ignoring this distinction obscures the prevalence of figurative language in the *Aeneid*. For example, the two-word comparison *imploranti similis* (7.502), describing Silvia’s stag as “like someone begging,” demands imaginative thought. The presence of figurative simile language here serves to characterize the stag as a human victim, as well as highlighting the marked, ecphrastic qualities of the passage. The fact that the simile is brief and lacks a verb does not mitigate its rhetorical force.

⁴ McCall (1969, ix-x and n.3).

perspective, the importation of an image from a separate plane of existence, is a defining characteristic of simile and metaphor.⁵

Next, simile must be distinguished from metaphor. Traditionally, all transferred language, including simile, may be considered metaphor; Aristotle's discussion of the topic in the *Rhetoric* includes language we would label metonymy, personification and paraptosis.⁶ Aristotle calls simile εἰκὼν, a subset of metaphor, μεταφορά, and describes the two as differing in diction (*Rhet.* 1406b):⁷

Ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν μεταφορά· διαφέρει γὰρ μικρόν· ὅταν μὲν γὰρ εἴπῃ τὸν Ἀχιλλεῦς “ὥς δὲ λέων ἐπόρουσεν”, εἰκὼν ἐστίν, ὅταν δὲ “λέων ἐπόρουσε”, μεταφορά· διὰ γὰρ τὸ ἄμφω ἀνδρείους εἶναι, προσηγόρευσεν μετενέγκας λέοντα τὸν Ἀχιλλεῦς.⁸

While a metaphor boldly merges two distinct concepts – in this example, omitting Achilles' name and requiring the audience to understand that the leaping lion represents the hero – simile makes the comparison grammatically explicit through the use of a comparative word (ὥς in the example, normally “like” or “as” in English). This study will exclude metaphor and focus only on similes, which create a comparative connection between two components that belong to separate realms, are clearly delineated and maintain their individual integrity.⁹

The next problem of terminology lies in distinguishing between the two components of the comparison. The traditional English term “simile” is problematic in

⁵ See Silk (1974, 13-14). The second chapter of Nieto Hernández (1990) delineates, in detail, the participation of simile tenor and vehicle in separate realms of reality.

⁶ Aristotle *Rhet.* 1411b-1412b.

⁷ As Wills (1996, 1-2) points out, it would be unwise to rely too much on the categories delimited by ancient rhetoricians to frame modern discussions of literary language, for these texts have, in large part, a prescriptive rather than descriptive function, making them of limited value for analysis. See also Pasini (1993, 76).

⁸ “The simile is also a metaphor: it just differs a little. For when you say that Achilles “leapt on him like a lion,” it is a simile, but when you say “the lion leapt,” it is a metaphor: for, on account of them both being courageous, he has called Achilles “lion,” transferring it.”

⁹ Pasini (1993) is a useful resource on Vergilian metaphor in the strict sense.

this regard, referring at times to both components taken as a whole, and at others only to the element of the comparison that is imported or does not share in the prevailing reality of the text. It is perhaps because of these insufficiencies of the available English terms that terms proposed by I. A. Richards for the broader study of metaphor have gained currency among contemporary scholars.¹⁰ In this study I will adopt Richards' terms: "tenor" for "the underlying idea or principle subject which the ...figure means," and "vehicle" for the figurative portion.¹¹

The distinction between components of a comparison may be quantitative or qualitative. Quantitative comparisons are less likely to be intentionally figurative; all quantification by traditional means entails a comparison that is in some cases imaginative (estimating that a man is six feet or six cubits tall does not usually involve actually holding feet or forearms up against him, and as such "feet" are in a sense figurative).¹²

¹⁰ Richards (1936, 96-97). Unfortunately, Richards' terms seem not to make any perceptible improvement in clarity or, especially, memorability over the alternate terms he disparages. Despite this shortcoming, Richards' terms have attained popularity in the fields of literary theory and criticism. These terms are, today, the most generally accepted English terms for what they designate, and provide a convenient shorthand for the two components of the simile. For example, the *OCD* employs Richards' terms to describe the two components of metaphor or simile, and evaluates the terms and the distinction as a useful contribution of modern critical studies of metaphor; *OCD* 3rd ed. s.v. "metaphor and simile." Silk (1974, 13) also argues for the use of these terms in the study of metaphor and simile.

¹¹ Fränkel names the components of a simile *Wiesatz* and *Sosatz* – the "wie"-clause and the "so"-clause – which clearly indicate the elements of a traditionally worded simile in German. Lee (1964, 3), followed by Ingalls (1979, 92 n. 24), uses the terms *protasis* and *apodosis*, which are likewise clear for anyone comfortable with these grammatical terms and the notion that the figurative part of the simile is the dependant component, the literal part the independent.

Most scholars writing in the English language, however, have chosen to employ terminology more closely related to traditional terms. Newton (1953, 21), for instance, calls the figurative portion the "simile" and the content the "literal." The latter term is admirable in its accuracy; the former, however, leaves us with the problem of scale just as the ancient rhetorical terms did. Coffey (1957, 113 and 117) and Williams (1983, 166) generally refer to "simile" and "context," terms which are easily grasped, but again leave room for confusion regarding "simile" writ large and small.

"Tenor" and "vehicle" are most desirable for this study, however, for three reasons: the fact that they are English terms; their general acceptance and popularity; and their original role as part of an attempt on Richards' part to expand our understanding of metaphorical relations.

¹² On this see Lloyd (1966, 185-6). Lloyd's comments on similes are part of a larger exploration of the role of opposition and similarity ("polarity and analogy") in early Greek thought. Nannini (2003) has more recently explored these modes of thought as they apply particularly to the relationship between tenor and vehicle in Homeric similes.

When the vehicle involves an imaginative narrative it may be profitable to consider the quantitative comparison a simile. For instance, “Teucer is shorter than Ajax” is clearly not meant to be figurative language, since the men belong to the same sphere of reality and can actually be compared to one another. “Ajax is tall as a tree,” “Ajax is more stubborn than a donkey,” and “Jason drove the fire-breathing bulls until the hour when farmers return from the field,” on the other hand, while conveying differing degrees of accuracy or hyperbole, certainly involve imagining two distinct concepts derived from separate realms, and may be considered in a study of simile.¹³

The degree of difference, therefore, also has an effect in considering qualitative figurative comparisons. Aristotle emphasizes the necessity and difficulty for successful metaphor of choosing a comparison that is neither too obvious and limited (“the donkey brayed like a mule”) nor too bizarre and unconnected (“the donkey brayed like a screeching hinge”).¹⁴ The connection must be easy to grasp, but not so obvious as to fail to inform the audience. The number of separate points at which the tenor and vehicle correspond is another quality of the comparison that has attracted attention since Aristotle. In his *Rhetoric*, Aristotle praises metaphors which establish a bilateral correspondence (as the shield is the cup of Ares, so the cup is the shield of Dionysus).

West further distinguishes a number of simile typologies in an attempt to move beyond simplistic focus on a single *tertium comparationis*. His “bilateral” correspondence refers to similes in which each point in the vehicle has a corresponding

¹³ Again I am indebted to Pura Nieto Hernández’ articulation of the participation of similes’ tenors and vehicles in separate realms of existence.

¹⁴ Aristotle *Rhet.* 1405b, 1410b, 1412a all mention the proper degree of difference in metaphorical expression.

point in the tenor, and vice versa.¹⁵ Such complete correspondence may be difficult to maintain in elaborate extended similes, yet this sort of simile seems to be esteemed and striven after, by Apollonius in particular.¹⁶

Some similes may correspond strictly in one regard, but contain additional information in either tenor or vehicle which does not find parallel in the other component. These are West's "unilateral" correspondences, and are frequent in Homer and Vergil. These correspondences normally suggest that the unilaterally described information is nonetheless true also of the component to which it is not strictly applied. In many cases such a comparison serves to advance the narrative, by implying that events in the vehicle possess parallel or similar events in the narrative.¹⁷ Alternately, an emotional rather than narrative expansion may be effected.

The third and final category of comparison addressed by West is the "irrational" correspondence.¹⁸ In similes of this type, the information which is unilaterally applied to one component (most usually the vehicle) may not logically be applied to the other. This type of comparison has been criticized for its failure to meld the vehicle to the tenor.¹⁹ Yet it is not reasonable for a simile to create a complete identity between tenor and vehicle in every instance. Metaphor melds tenor and vehicle without explanation. Simile, on the other hand, sets up two elements next to each other which nonetheless

¹⁵ West (1969, 40-41).

¹⁶ Carspecken (1952, 84-88).

¹⁷ West (1969, 41-2).

¹⁸ West (1969, 42-3). He cites Henry (*Aeneidea* I.725) on the striking nature of this type of correlation, and mentions echoes of sound but not logically of meaning as other signal examples of the technique. Moulton (1974, 390) calls this sort of "impropriety" "the not infrequent inversion technique, providing a definite contrast between some aspect of the simile's occasion and vehicle."

¹⁹ West (1969, 43) cites Maguiness: these are similes where "the poet acts for a moment as if he forgot that the function of the simile is that of comparison, and treats the picture it contains as one to be developed because of its own interest." Such an approach can only lend fuel to the argument, of Shipp and Lee for instance, that similes are a late addition in Homer.

retain their distinct, independent identities. The elaboration of elements in these distinct units which create dissonance in the comparison does not invalidate the comparison. Rather, it can serve to heighten the focus on the *tertium comparationis* for which the comparison is, in fact, valid. Or, it may serve to extrude the simile vehicle from the surrounding narrative, enhancing the distinctive, marked character which it already possesses as figurative language *per se*. I will give examples of some slight dissonances between simile components that highlight vehicles in this way, making them far more potent elements and signposts of meaning in their texts.

Beyond the degree of similarity or difference, the specific contents of a simile vehicle also convey important information about the tenor's qualities. For example, a large proportion of epic similes involve comparison to the natural world of animals, plants, and meteorological phenomena. Many of these natural vehicles developed traditional meanings, and were held to convey these meanings always, whether or not they were specifically narrated in a given vehicle – as for instance a comparison to a lion regularly indicates bravery, to a deer cowardice or fear, regardless of whether the vehicle actually describes the lion or deer doing something brave or cowardly.²⁰ These traditional meanings of epic simile vehicles may appeal to an underlying element of analogic observation in human nature, and be too obvious to require reference to a tradition. Alternately the traditional simile types may be thought to operate on the principle of allusion – Homer always uses lions to indicate bravery, so Apollonius employs a reference to Homer in appropriating an analogy of such a sort in a literary figure of the same type. Where Aristotle had commended originality in metaphor, the

²⁰ Lloyd (1966, 184).

vehicles of epic similes are rarely unique. Instead, they start from a traditional core and express originality through embellishment, or by manipulating audience expectations.

The use of extended similes, and the imitation of Homeric vehicles in particular, is a prominent characteristic of the epic genre. Contravention of these traditions, then, breaks the expectations of genre and introduces a dissonant quality. Non-traditional elements may come from an unprecedented vehicle topic (Vergil's Baiae building simile at 9.710-16, for instance) or from a traditional topic used in an unexpected manner (as the deer in the simile of 4.69-73 does not behave timidly).²¹ In some cases the dissonance may be explained away easily – the Baiae simile, one might conclude, is merely a sea simile, representing sound as usual, to which Vergil has added mention of contemporary technology and craftsmanship.²² In the case of Dido, the dissonance is not easily resolved, although it is productive. The word *incauta* highlights the fact that the queen lacks a deer's traditional timidity, and this trait contributes to her disaster. In this way, the manipulation of conventional simile vehicle topoi gives the comparison a new dimension, through the degree to which the simile hews to, or departs from, its tradition.²³

²¹ The deer is described as *incautam*; deer usually display fearful and timid, not incautious and foolhardy behavior. In a second break with convention, the simile does not appear in the context of battle. For a full study of this simile, see chapter three.

²² Lloyd (1966, 195) observes that contemporary technology and craftsmanship are among the earliest topics of metaphorical comparison. .

²³ Knauer (1981, 893) remarks on Vergil's tendency to "employ similes... to enhance the structure of a poem or to make cross references from one simile to another." This technique, which he claims is "unhomeric," is a central element of the motif-building studied by Pöschl.

Allusion: Process and Artistic Project

Problems of definition arise in discussing allusion as well as simile. Joseph Farrell, in the introduction to *Vergil's Georgics and the Traditions of Ancient Epic*, and Gian Biagio Conte, in the introduction and first chapter of *The Rhetoric of Imitation*, articulate useful principles and terminology for the study of allusion in classical authors. The following pages will, in large part, outline their ideas on allusion, with the addition of insights on the topic from other scholars.

Allusion is a type of literary reference. It differs from attribution or quotation; it would not be allusive, for instance, to cite Herodotus by name as source for an account of the character of Cambyses. Instead, allusion appropriates language to a new use. Using another's language in one's own literary project is a deviation from normal speech; if the external origin of that language is recognized by the audience, it succeeds as a literary figure, for it possesses the marked quality that distinguishes figurative from literal speech.²⁴

Allusion operates on a number of different levels. On the most understated level, repetition of certain literary markers serves to situate a work in its genre; for instance, the frequent presence of epic similes in the *Aeneid* and their rarity in Horace's *Satires* reinforce the alignment of each text with its respective subcategory of hexameter poetry. Conte considers this worthy of note as a type of allusion: "even the use of the ostensibly inert and inexpressive element is important to the functioning of the system... Even the

²⁴ Conte (1986, 23-24); Wills (1996, 2-3). Pasquali emphasized the importance of the reader's awareness of the reference: "allusions do not produce the desired effect if the reader does not clearly remember the text to which they refer" (1951, 2:275, translated by Segal in Conte 1986, 25). Pasquali also limited the "art of allusion" to instances of authorial, intentional reference. Conte (1986, 26) disagrees and argues for a focus solely on the text, without postulating authorial intent. Farrell (1991, 21-23) rejects this element of Conte's theory on allusion, although not of his readings of individual allusive passages; in particular, he argues that Conte's theoretical opposition to postulating authorial intent for allusions is unnecessary and not even adhered to by Conte himself.

most threadbare poetic residuum, when transferred from one context to another, acquires a varying, stratified connotation.”²⁵

More intentional allusion was frequently undertaken in a spirit of *imitatio* or *aemulatio*, efforts to absorb or improve upon the excellence of earlier authors by responding to them.²⁶ This imitation or emulation consisted in quotation, repetition, echo, or modification of phrases, words, metrical patterns, sound patterns, and figures of speech.²⁷ This process, reusing memorable characteristics of earlier artistic works, was particularly popular among the Alexandrians, but could be misunderstood.²⁸ Vergil, for instance, was accused of “theft” from his predecessors.²⁹ Yet this was, most certainly, a misinterpretation both of his intent and of his poetry, for imitation of excellent literary ancestors was prized.³⁰

On a third, deeper level, allusion can be analyzed as creating a dialogue or synthesis between two works. Conte has a number of observations on this crucial point about the mechanics of allusion, and how an author’s incorporation of his predecessors’ words expands the perspective and art of his work. Allusion can be a metaphorical process, he argues:

The gap in figurative language that opens between “letter” and “sense” is also created in allusion between that which is said (as it first appears), a letter, and the thought evoked, the sense. ... In the art of allusion, as in every rhetorical figure, the poetry lies in the simultaneous presence of two different realities that try to indicate a single reality.³¹

²⁵ Conte (1986, 52).

²⁶ Conte (1986, 26); Farrell (1991, 5).

²⁷ Wills (1996, 1-3) complains of the tendency to focus on diction and meter as signposts of allusion to the exclusion of other methods by which an author may reference his antecedents. He adds close repetition to the figures which deserve attention as signposts of allusion.

²⁸ Conte (1986, 26).

²⁹ Farrell (1991, 6 n. 4).

³⁰ Horace *Odes* 4.2 and 3.30.13-14, for example, praise imitation of Greek poets. Conte (1986, 69) gives the example of Ennius’ acceptance of the soul of Homer.

³¹ Conte (1986, 38).

...We may now go further and say that metaphor is in function most closely analogous to allusion. These two forms of poetic discourse rank equally as “cultural products,” and both require the dynamic functioning of memory, but a still more specific equivalence between the two derives from the fact that both are “improper” forms of expression. The literal forms taken by both appear to deviate from the meaning they convey. Both exist by virtue of their semantic “duplicity,” and their literary value lies in their capacity to enclose in tension within themselves the gap that extends between their lexical value and the image that they obliquely evoke.³²

The “letter” and “sense” of Conte’s description here would correspond to the vehicle and tenor, respectively, in Richards’ theory of metaphor. The connection is valid: along with metaphor and simile, allusion says one thing to mean another and, in the process, enriches our understanding of both components. A deeply affecting allusion will color the reader’s future responses to the original site of the referenced material, as well as to the allusion.³³

Allusion played a major role in each of Vergil’s works; Theocritus, among others, inhabits the background to the *Eclogues*. The *Georgics*’ literary antecedents are complex; in addition to the generic ancestry supplied by Lucretius, Aratus, and Hesiod, Vergil adapts prose authors into poetry and injects a significant proportion of epic material.³⁴ Farrell and Briggs have both examined the impact of allusion to epic on the didactic *Georgics*.³⁵ Briggs concludes that Vergil’s incorporation of epic language and style into the poem on nature raised its tone, producing something greater than his

³² Conte (1986, 53).

³³ It is hard to avoid thinking of Tchaikovsky when hearing the Marseillaise, for example.

³⁴ Thomas (1988a, 5-11) gives a succinct exploration of Vergil’s literary background in the *Georgics*.

³⁵ Farrell (1991, 3) in fact suggests that the *Georgics* may be the most allusive poem of antiquity. Farrell (1997) provides a brief, supplementary examination of allusion in all of Vergil; he terms it intertextuality, but I have attempted to avoid that term for two reasons. First, the term’s meaning is contested, even by Kristeva, who coined it (see Kristeva 1986, 111). Second, the particular set of allusions on which I wish to focus in this dissertation is *not* intertextual. Vergil’s allusions to other texts have been, and are still being continually noted by scholars, and I use shared allusive background as evidence for relationships between passages in the *Aeneid*. My central focus, however, is on allusion that occurs within one text, the *Aeneid*. It is therefore better termed *intratextual*.

didactic forebears.³⁶ Farrell sees in the allusions of the *Georgics* a literary-intellectual program that embraces the apparently diametrically opposed Callimachus and Homer.³⁷

A second element of Vergilian allusion becomes apparent in the *Georgics*, namely, allusion to Vergil's own other works. The *Georgics* concludes with an almost exact repetition of the first line of the *Eclogues*.³⁸ Vergil's tendency to allude to his own corpus becomes much more marked in the *Aeneid*. While the poem owes a profound debt to epic predecessors such as Homer and Apollonius, whose works Vergil alchemizes into constituent parts of his Roman poem, it also depends on his own earlier works for much of its grandeur.³⁹ Briggs' study on the reuse of material from similes in the two poems is the fullest exploration of this tendency.⁴⁰ His and Farrell's conclusions about the *Georgics'* epic qualities, namely that they are largely created through allusion, reveal a major reason for that poem's suitability as ancestor of the *Aeneid*.

Yet it is not only the *Georgics* and *Eclogues* which provide the *Aeneid* with material for allusion, but the *Aeneid* itself. Within such a large, literary and majestic work, the web of reference operates on a number of levels. Otis and Duckworth explored large structural patterns, such as ring composition, underlying the epic.⁴¹ Particular

³⁶ Briggs (1980, 97).

³⁷ Farrell (1991, 17).

³⁸ Putnam (1979, 321-3) reveals how this connection creates a cyclical impression and serves to emphasize the poet himself. Theodorakopoulos (1997, 162-64) provides a recent examination of the links between the endings of the three poems. Intratextual echoes within the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* are also worthy of note.

³⁹ For allusion to Homer in the *Aeneid*, Knauer (1964) is an invaluable resource, Nelis (2001) similarly so for Apollonian material. Particularly interesting are those moments in which Vergil draws on both Homeric and Apollonian antecedents simultaneously. See e.g. the aftermath of Dares' and Entellus' boxing match (A. 5.473-84), treated here in chapter four. Apollonius and Homer are, of course, not the only authors referenced by Vergil; Fernandelli (1998, 103-4 and 116-19), for instance, remarks on Vergil's fusing of Homeric and Lucretian models in the cauldron simile describing Turnus at A. 7.460-66.

⁴⁰ Briggs (1980), adapted from his dissertation (Briggs 1974). Briggs (1980, 1) cites a comment from Joshua Reynolds on the poverty of self-imitation; in this dissertation I hope to continue in Briggs' footsteps in proving that, for such a rich poet as Vergil at least, self-imitation is a tool of immense artistic worth.

⁴¹ Otis (1963, 215-382); Duckworth (1954).

images have been shown, by Knox and Pöschl especially persuasively, to build up themes and motifs.⁴² Repetition of words in close order is the focus of studies by Newton and Wills; Newton looks at how the repeated word forges a connection between episodes in close succession in the *Aeneid*, while Wills addresses repeated words as a sign of allusion to earlier repeated words in Latin literature as a whole.⁴³ Perhaps nearest in intention to my project is Hornsby's study of similes in the *Aeneid* repeating and referencing one another by theme.⁴⁴ Like Briggs, however, I find that Hornsby's approaches and conclusions differ significantly from my own, regarding both the relevance of Vergil's Greek epic background to the interpretation of a theme, and larger questions such as the overall tone and intention of the epic.⁴⁵

Theme, Motif, and Allusive Similes: Situating This Study

This dissertation explores allusion between similes and marked narrative episodes. The notable qualities of these passages contribute to successful allusion by keeping them in the forefront of the reader's memory, available for reference. Marked passages may begin or conclude books of the poem, involve actions or settings that break with epic convention, or contain omens, ecphrases, embedded focalization, or similes.⁴⁶ Generic scenes of battle or travel such as might be found on the average page of Homer are, generally, not involved in the simile-narrative allusion that I have explored; such an

⁴² Knox (1966); Pöschl (1962). Newton (1957) examines *Aen.* 4 in a third persuasive study in this vein.

⁴³ Newton (1953); Wills (1996).

⁴⁴ Hornsby (1970).

⁴⁵ For Briggs's assessment of Hornsby, see Briggs (1980, 31 n. 1).

⁴⁶ This is not an exhaustive list of characteristics which can render a passage notable. For omens and prodigies, see Heinze (1993, 248-9), Grassmann-Fischer (1966), and O'Hara (1990). On ecphrases, see Laird (1996), Barchiesi (1997), Putnam (1998) and Lowrie (1999, 111-14). On beginnings and ends, see Putnam (2001), Theodorakopoulos (1997) and Fowler (2000, 91-92, with n.7 and 8 for further bibliography on the topic). For narratological terminology, see de Jong (2004, x-xxiii).

episode is more likely to interact with a simile as its explicit tenor. Allusion, on the other hand, binds similes with equally memorable narrative elements elsewhere in the poem, allowing the reader to consider the meanings of two marked passages in concert.

On a theoretical level, the examination of a simile as one component of an allusion explores the boundaries and implications of Conte's theory of allusion as a "trope." Conte distinguishes two sorts of allusion, an "integrative" and a "reflective" type. In an integrative allusion, the "activation of poetic memory" subsumes the source and the new work into a unified whole.

Two voices dovetail in the poet's new voice. They tend to harmonize and so create a *single* "word" enriched by an internal resonance. ...[This type] has revealed its functional analogies with metaphor... It produces a condensation of two voices in a single image whose sense lies in an interdependence of meanings that become subjectively equivalent.⁴⁷

He gives as examples of this type of allusion Catullus' reference to the proem of the *Odyssey* in *C.* 101⁴⁸ and Vergil's generic imitation of Homer "where the emulative impulse is eclipsed by a desire to appropriate another poet's style."⁴⁹

The reflective allusion, on the other hand, sets the alluding text alongside its source for a literary dialogue.

[B]asic differences prevent the area of overlap from tending toward fusion or interpenetration. The final effect of this "dialogue" is to make the two voices virtually autonomous.... [This type] involves intentional confrontation; the rhetorical figure that corresponds to it is the simile.... The analytic nature characteristic of comparison – especially if it is a simile – is recognizable here, by contrast with the synthetic character of a metaphor.... Each term retains its separate values, and there is none of the integration of meanings within a text that occurs when a new intuition is synthesized. The affinity between reflective allusion and the simile derives from the property; the internal structure of the text is not disturbed in either.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Conte (1986, 66-67).

⁴⁸ Conte (1986, 32-34).

⁴⁹ Conte (1986, 66). On Vergil's learned refashioning of Catullus' allusion mentioned above, see *ibid.* (34-39).

⁵⁰ Conte (1986, 66-67).

Reflective allusions, in other words, contain explicit external markers of their allusive quality which function as the *velut* of a simile. Through these markers – such as language of memory, or mention of other authors’ most famous scenes – authors like Ovid set up an obvious back-and-forth between the two texts rather than synthesizing and concealing the relationship.⁵¹

Conte’s work does much to codify the theoretical language and underpinnings for an analysis of the parallel workings of metaphor or simile and allusion.⁵² But a practical exploration of the “how” of these processes remains a desideratum. Wills highlights what is one of the most important factors tying together the simile and the reflective allusion: repetition.⁵³ Repeated words, sounds, ideas and rhythms are the functional components of allusion; if nothing were repeated from the source text, an allusion could not be present. Wills examines repetitions within a text which allude to other texts, repetition in a small space within one work thus acting as a marker for the repetitive process of allusion to other texts.

A simile is likewise marked, a figure of speech. Interestingly, it also necessarily involves repetition of an idea (to an extent that metaphor does not). If the image described in the vehicle does not in any way echo or pick up that described in the tenor, the simile fails, producing confusion in the reader instead of enhancing the poetic image. Many similes also employ repetition of words or sound between tenor and vehicle; the

⁵¹ For example, mention of the name Amycus at A. 5.373 and Ovid, *Met.* 12.245 sets up a comparison between the combats described in those texts and the combat of Amycus and Polydeuces in the second book of the *Argonautica*.

⁵² Kyriakidou (2003) undertakes a similar exploration of the similar thought-processes underlying etymology and metaphor.

⁵³ Wills (1996).

similarities and repetitions between the two parts of the simile then triangulate to enhance the audience's perspective on the tenor.

Because of its status as marked speech, simile is an attractive locus for allusion. When allusion involves a simile, the web of comparative and repetitive functions involved becomes quite complex. The result is a synthesis of vehicle, tenor, and allusive site in which some of the relationships may be stronger than others. To return to the example of the deer, explored in full in chapter three, Dido (tenor) and the deer (vehicle) are explicitly connected in their wounded state. The deer who perishes in an ecphrasis at 7.475-504 is allusively connected to the deer of 4.69-73 by being a deer; to Dido by a forest lifestyle and involvement in hunting;⁵⁴ and to deer similes in general by more closely approximating a normal deer simile vehicle than the doe in the simile of book four does.

Allusion between a simile and another marked passage can have profound implications for the meaning of both participating sites in the poem. In the case of the deer, the simile of book four can be read by a knowing reader (one who has previously experienced the entire *Aeneid*) as presaging the tragedy of Latium in the tragedy of Carthage. In book seven, any attentive reader can recall Dido upon encountering Silvia's stag for the first time. The dialogue between these two scenes requests of the reader a sort of omniscient approach, synthesizing the events of Latium and those of Carthage to understand the thematic implications of deer in the epic.

⁵⁴ As well as a number of other characteristics, such as familial involvement, which require more elaborate argumentation; see chapter three.

This process is rather different than allusion to external texts because of the temporal synchronicity involved.⁵⁵ An author's interaction with an earlier, published text can never be as persuasively dialogic as interaction within a single text. The fact of Vergil's self-allusive practice, highlighted by the involvement of these memorable epic similes, may help to explain why scholars continue to debate the order in which Vergil composed the various books of the *Aeneid*. They are so closely integrated through this and other poetic mechanisms that questions of priority become necessarily recursive and circular.

Study of Vergil's epic requires the constant negotiation of a balance in focus between these relationships within the text and those of the *Aeneid* with other texts. Pöschl exemplifies an *Aeneid*-focused approach: he analyzes the similes of Vergil as integral parts of the text, rather than as articulations of some separate symbolic world, and his interest in Vergil's refashioning of literary tradition is subordinate to his interest in the interaction of different episodes within the *Aeneid*. The intervening decades have produced many eye-opening and sensitive readings of Vergil deriving from diverse schools of criticism, but few have been as informative about the *Aeneid* as a whole. Some studies have included analysis of a certain number of similes within a broader reading of Vergil,⁵⁶ while others have focused on similes alone.⁵⁷ Likewise, allusion is

⁵⁵ Theodorakopoulos (2000, 122) assesses the breakdown of "a linear model of tradition as 'influence'" in Catullus 64, which she reads as highly intratextually allusive. Writers on intertextuality have at times also called for an abandonment of temporal models in considering the relationship between separate texts by focusing on the reader; see Edmunds (2001, xvii-xx).

⁵⁶ E.g. Farrell (1991), Johnson (1976), Otis (1963) or Putnam (1965).

⁵⁷ E.g. Hornsby (1970), Rieks (1981), Briggs (1980) and Carlson (1972). Coffey (1961) observed that the defining study of Vergil's similes, to match Fränkel on Homer, was yet to be written. This is unfortunate (as the problems of any topic in Vergil studies are rather different than in Homer studies), but simultaneously understandable: the same intricate literary qualities which make Vergil's similes so ripe for interpretation also make a project analyzing all of them almost impossibly complex. Hornsby (1970) and Rieks (1981) are the most substantive studies that have since appeared. Rieks usefully collects and digests

sometimes handled in the context of a wide range of Vergilian literary techniques,⁵⁸ and at other times receives primary focus, particularly in the context of Vergil's use of Homer or Apollonius.⁵⁹ Some of the most interesting texts on simile, allusion or both have been brief studies, focused on one topic area or section of the text.⁶⁰

In organizing my chapters around thematic images, rather than books or other structural units,⁶¹ I am attempting to advance a project informed by Pöschl's approach. This dissertation examines intratextual allusions which reveal the emotional and structuring forces of simile-narrative interaction underlying four Vergilian nature motifs. As such, the undertaking is on a larger scale than many studies of the similes of the *Aeneid*, and can draw conclusions about how multiple themes shape the epic as a whole. Informed by the half-century of scholarship since Pöschl, I endeavor to understand the interaction of simile and narrative as a type of allusion forging intratextual connections.

Dissertation Outline

In the following pages I will briefly outline the structure of the four chapters, excursus and tables that make up the dissertation.

many of the interpretations of Vergil's similes but does not contribute significant textual analysis, while Hornsby focuses on readings of individual similes without engaging extensively with other criticism.

⁵⁸ Richard Thomas' work on the *Georgics* in particular.

⁵⁹ In, for example, Farrell (1991) or Nelis (2001).

⁶⁰ E.g. Newton (1957), Reckford (1974), Perutelli (1972), von Duhn (1957), Leach (1977), Fowler (2000).

⁶¹ Both approaches to the text have benefits: an approach through images can reveal underlying structures or emphases (this dissertation, for instance, highlights the central importance of book seven, because of the number of essential episodes found there), while an approach based on structural units of the text, epitomized by Putnam (1965), often reveals prevailing imagery within those units.

The list of similes

The first step in the writing of this dissertation was the construction of a new list of the similes of the *Aeneid*. This list may be found in tabular form in the Appendix. The table of similes identifies the full line numbers of the vehicle in each simile, and attempts to do so for the tenor as well. This is a more nuanced undertaking, as in some cases the simile is clearly applied to a very discrete element of the surrounding context, while in other situations the comparison seems to encompass the whole of the narrative episode.

After identifying the simile by its location, I summarize the contents of the simile, identifying the central element of both tenor and vehicle in a brief phrase or sentence. The basic topic of the vehicle is in each case highlighted with bold type. This information has seemed to me to prove sufficient for identifying which similes belong to which general simile types or categories. I have not placed a label of an overarching category on each simile, however, for two reasons. First, some of Vergil's similes – including some discussed in the chapters or footnotes of this dissertation – participate in more than one traditional category of similes.⁶² Second, I felt that the attachment of such labels by earlier scholars of epic similes occasionally obfuscated the real differences between similes in a category.⁶³ I do not wish to blur these distinctions for later explorers of Vergil's similes, and have opted to let the simile themes speak for themselves.

An additional column in the table includes external information about the simile.

One piece of information useful for this study is a suggestion of Homeric or other sources

⁶² The comparison of Jason and Medea to trees swaying in the wind in *Arg.* 3 is an example of a dual-category simile from outside Vergil. This has generally been interpreted as a tree simile, but I consider it more appropriate to label it a wind simile.

⁶³ I am thinking, for instance, of the appendix to Scott (1974). “Bird” similes, for example, are classified as signifying at one point “God” (14.290, 15.237), at another point “Attack” (15.690, 16.582). It might be helpful to the casual consulter of this table to know of the controversy surrounding those similes labelled as signifying “God” (and what does it mean to signify “God”?), but which have been frequently interpreted as descriptions of metamorphosis rather than similes.

for the similes. These connections are generally not mine, but have been culled from the commentary literature on the topic, as well as from studies which list Vergil's similes. The works consulted include, but are not limited to, Servius, Macrobius, Conington-Nettleship, Henry, Williams, Knauer, Nelis, Rieks, and the individual book commentaries from Oxford and Cambridge (e.g. Austin, Fordyce) and elsewhere (e.g. Norden, Horsfall). Suggestions of Homeric origins are not made for every simile, but are given for all similes that appear in the text of the dissertation for which Vergilian originality has not been proposed. A second column suggests connections for the simile with other passages in the *Aeneid*; some of these come from commentators, but more frequently the observations are my own. These two columns should give a hint of the extent to which allusion is an essential element of Vergilian practice in his use of the simile figure.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of formatting the chart was what might seem to be the easiest: presenting the similes in order, but clearly indicating the differences between similes and brief or literal comparisons, as well as marking paired or double similes. My practice has been to present everything that might possibly be considered a simile, in order. Each simile or comparison is assigned a number, consisting of a Roman numeral for the book of the *Aeneid* in which it is found, followed by an Arabic number indicating its order within that book; the renowned Statesman simile is thus I.1. Double similes – those in which a single tenor is compared to two distinct vehicles – receive two Arabic numbers, but are listed together; for example, Achaemenides' brief comparison of the Cyclops' eye to a shield or the sun at A. 3.637 is listed as III.1-2. If a simile seems to

be a literal rather than a figurative comparison or is a questionable inclusion in the table for some other reason, it is marked with an asterisk after the number.⁶⁴

Topic selection for the chapters

As may be observed from even a cursory examination of the appendix, Vergil's similes are intricately interwoven. An attempt to study every single interaction between simile and narrative would necessarily be much longer than the scope of this dissertation. In selecting the simile types which would form the topics of my four studies, I tried to consider three factors: first, my ability to contribute new observations or analytical principles to the topic; second (and related to the first), the existence of controversy surrounding Vergil's artistic choices in his creation of the simile or narrative passages under consideration; and third, the presence of recent commendable studies on the theme by other scholars, whose dialogue I could complement.

One of my underlying interests was to examine similes whose vehicles were related to text in the Georgics, the topic of Briggs' perceptive *Narrative and Simile from the Georgics in the Aeneid*.⁶⁵ While I have managed to include studies on trees, livestock and bees in this dissertation, I concluded that a chapter based on correspondences with the first *Georgic* – grain similes in the *Aeneid* – would be fruitless.⁶⁶ Similes focused on grain are few in Homer,⁶⁷ and there is only one in the

⁶⁴ Quantitative comparisons are more frequently marked with asterisks for reasons addressed earlier in this introduction (pages 20-21).

⁶⁵ Briggs (1980).

⁶⁶ Briggs (1980) likewise does not consider grain. He devotes chapter sections to the topics I have chosen as well as to ants, birds and snakes. While snakes have garnished sufficient attention that I bypass devoting a chapter to them, they form a frequent subtext in the first part of chapter four (horses), and ants figure in the first part of chapter two (bees in the first half of the *Aeneid*). Birds, as I explain briefly in the conclusion, are a complex subject which I intend to study further.

Aeneid, at 7.720-21. Little has been written on this simile; this is understandable, considering its simple quantitative function, lack of intriguing allusive background, and lonely lack of participation in any grand motif. Grain does not make much of an appearance in the epic's narrative, either.⁶⁸

There is a great deal to be said about trees in the *Aeneid*, on the other hand, because of their prevalence in the narrative. Exploring trees in the narrative of an epic poem might sound rather like an attempt to evaluate blades of grass in hyper-realist landscape paintings, until one realizes that trees, such a constant presence in our imagination of pre-modern life, are not actually common in the *Iliad* or in the books of the *Odyssey* that are set in civilization. Such trees as do appear in Homer have prominence and, in some cases, symbolic meaning.⁶⁹ In the *Aeneid*, however, trees form a much greater part of the setting than in earlier epic; it is this alteration and the Italian environment Vergil uses it to portray, rather than each individual mention of a tree, that I analyze in the first chapter. Because of the frequent appearances of trees, this chapter is the longest and most comprehensive. In it I strive to examine not only every tree simile in the *Aeneid* and its thematic impact on the forests of the narrative, but also to give at least passing reference to simile categories which are related to tree similes (flower and plant similes, and those describing rocks), and to follow allusions to one of the most

⁶⁷ In fact, there may be only three in the *Iliad*, at 2.147-9, 5.499-502 and 23.597-9. Grain is mentioned in the simile comparing Ajax to a donkey at 11.558-62. Thanks are due to Pura Nieto Hernández for drawing the chaff simile of *Iliad* 5 to my attention in this context.

⁶⁸ Camilla's speed is said to be such that she could run over the tops of grain at 7.808-9; there is not, however, any actual grain here in the narrative.

⁶⁹ Reckford (1974, 59-60) suggests that trees in the *Odyssey* "mark the way that natural endurance and divine favor sustain human life and the human spirit," giving as examples the recognition scenes with Penelope (olive) and Laertes (orchard) as well as the fig tree by which the hero escapes Charybdis. Pura Nieto Hernández, in addition to emphasizing the symbolism of olive and fig for Odysseus, suggests to me that the black poplar is another Homeric tree with a marked symbolism, connoting death and danger. This function may have a formative influence on Vergil's use of forested settings to create a foreboding atmosphere in the central books of the *Aeneid*, where a much greater portion of the action occurs in the woods.

interesting trees of the *Aeneid* in later poets. In so doing, I hope to show that some of Vergil's most perceptive and creative early readers, like Ovid, understood the import of Vergilian simile-narrative interaction.

The second and third chapters focus on bees and deer, respectively. Bees and deer, as a rule, do not appear in the action of epic narratives, but the *Aeneid* features both, and both in book seven. The bee omen which seems to announce the arrival of the Trojans, and the unusual stag-shooting episode, much execrated by ancient commentators as an insufficient *casus belli*, thus gain unusual prominence both from their novelty in the genre and from their position at the outset of Vergil's *maius opus*. Greek epic offers fewer examples of bee or deer similes than of tree or livestock similes, and the *Aeneid* preserves a similar ratio. This rarity makes each such scene and simile stand out more, and facilitates an in-depth, rather than a broad approach in these two chapters. The bee and deer studies focus more narrowly on the interactions between particular pairs of simile and narrative scenes, as I employ careful analysis of word frequency, sonic repetition, and other potential indicators of mutual allusion.

After completing the second and third chapters, it became apparent that more needed to be said on the topic of the *pastor* who appears in similes of both bees and deer in Vergil's epic. This figure seems to represent Aeneas and, as such, has attracted a good deal of scholarly attention. In particular, two 1968 articles struggled with the question of the extent to which the association of Aeneas with the *pastor* reflected the influence of the Homeric epithet, "shepherd of the people."⁷⁰ An excursus, therefore, follows the

⁷⁰ Hornsby (1968) and Anderson (1968). Haubold, Johnson and Chew, among others, have also made valuable contributions to the topic. While two articles in one year may not seem like fantastic excitement, Vergilian scholarship as a whole is spread over more than two millenia (I consider the reactions of Horace, Propertius and other contemporaries to mark the beginning of the conversation).

third chapter and attempts to draw some conclusions on the topic as it relates to Aeneas' role in both bee and deer similes. Because of the great complexity of the *Aeneid*, however, the role of the *pastor* is also relevant to the chapters on trees and livestock. Since his presence there is not textually explicit in the same way as it is in the bee and deer similes, however, my comments regarding the *pastor* have remained confined to footnotes in the tree and livestock chapters.

A fourth chapter, on large livestock, follows the excursus on the shepherd. This chapter is divided into two parts, which deal separately with horses and cattle. Large livestock in epic share a certain similarity with trees, in that they have a traditional place in narrative as well as in similes. Similes focusing on horses or bulls, however, tend to be restricted in number. As a result, this chapter, like that on trees, attempts to survey all mentions of these animals in the narrative of the *Aeneid* before drawing conclusions on the import of particular simile-narrative interactions. In exploring the role of horses in the *Aeneid*, I examine the transfer of equestrian epithets and similes from the Homeric Trojans to the Latins. The cattle section, on the other hand, reveals a much greater debt to the *Georgics* than to Greek epic. Vergil's allusions to his own poetry here allow him to at the same time ennoble and empower bulls, traditionally passive in similes, and to undermine normative oppositions of feral and domestic, predator and prey. In the final depictions of Aeneas and Turnus as two bulls of the same stable battling against one another, the poet fashions a powerful representation of the perversion of civil conflict out of the traditional materials of epic simile.

CHAPTER ONE: TREES IN THE *AENEID*

Introduction

Trees and forests have a far more pervasive presence in the narrative of the *Aeneid* than in earlier epic. Descriptions of numinous sites in the *Aeneid* feature trees prominently. The katabasis, and the books of fighting in the Italian wilderness that follow it, are set in profoundly symbolic and atmospheric forests.¹

This chapter will explore the interaction between the many trees in the narrative of the *Aeneid*, especially those in sacred contexts, and the meaning of tree similes, which equate the body and life cycle of a tree with those of a man.² Relationships between trees in narrative and simile will help to explain how the tree similes of the *Aeneid*, while few, nonetheless obtain the force of a motif in the epic by informing the reader's understanding of the woods that are so prominent in the narrative setting. The comparison of Aeneas to a tree at A. 4.441-46 has a particularly central significance, displaying Aeneas' mental steadfastness and his underlying similarity to the sylvan landscape of Italy in which he wages war against his future kinsmen.

¹ Fighting in a forest would be most unusual in the *Iliad*. Perhaps the *Aeneid* is influenced by Ennius' historical epic, or by the landscape of the *Georgics*. Later works, such as the first canto of Dante's *Inferno*, betray the artistic impact of Vergil's forests. Dyson (2001) argues that the prominence of trees in the *Aeneid* is due to an overreaching theme of the cult of Diana Nemorensis at Aricia. While it may be the case that Vergil alludes to this cult, I believe that it would be unwise to limit the potential significations of the trees of the *Aeneid* to a sort of allegory which would be communicated most fully to Diana's initiates. Dyson is right to emphasize the forests' prominence, and I will refer to some of her conclusions below. See Kronenberg (2002) for a fuller review of the strengths and weaknesses of Dyson's argument.

² The simile of A. 2.625-31 is an exception, comparing a tree to the citadel of Troy.

As in the other chapters of this dissertation, I will begin by examining earlier epic practice. Homer scattered tree similes throughout the battles of the *Iliad*, but Vergil uses only two in the entire second half of the *Aeneid*.³ Instead of a profusion of tree similes, the Roman poet skilfully interweaves forested narrative settings, simile types related to trees, references to the *Georgics*, and allusions to the few tree similes to create a profound thematic statement. The result is an analogy between the bodily integrity and vitality of men and that of trees which extends throughout the narrative. This theme is particularly integral to the portrayal of Mezentius as he strives against Aeneas in the tenth book. Mezentius' association with trees is balanced by Aeneas' own, and both of them reflect the forested landscape. Finally, a series of allusions in later authors to the mighty tree simile of *Aeneid* 4.441-6 will reveal the extent to which Vergil's imitators appreciated his self-allusive practice.

Trees in epic simile and narrative

Tree similes possess a more diverse set of associations than many traditional simile vehicles. It is possible to argue that trees have the most natural similarities to man, in that both grow up, stand firm, and then fall or are knocked down.⁴ All three of these life stages feature in epic tree similes.⁵ Vergilian tree similes are more restricted in scope

³ Pandarus and Bitias are compared to trees at 9.674 and 9.679-82. The first comparison is brief and quantitative and, as such, would not be considered a simile by all methods. I include it, however, as the men and trees do inhabit separate planes of existence. For the symbolism of trees in the narrative of the *Odyssey*, which sometimes creates similarly atmospheric settings and may also be a pattern for Vergil here, see note 69 to page 22 of the introduction. Interestingly, the *Odyssey* is devoid of extended similes involving trees.

⁴ The use of the word φύω of both men and trees is an example of the metaphorical connection between the two, going back to Homer, as Pura Nieto Hernández reminds me. On the equation of human bodies with trees see also Dyson (2001, 146-7).

⁵ Scott (1974, 70-71). It is one of the central arguments of Scott that these "consistent patterns of usage" (1974, viii) are evidence for similes' place as a customary, traditional, and integral element of Homeric oral

than Iliadic tree similes, however.⁶ This may be a result of the smaller sample size on offer in the *Aeneid*; the twelve books of Vergil's epic contain only six similes which focus on trees, while there are thirteen tree similes in the longer *Iliad*.⁷

Vulnerable trees in Homer

The most common type of tree simile in the *Iliad* involves felling. Trees are strong, yes, but in the face of superior forces, such as wind storms, natural disaster, men with axes, or the intervention of the gods, they can be knocked down. Once down, the tree is no longer anything but raw material for ships and weapons; it loses its life-force and awe-inspiring qualities. When a mature man is cut down like a tree, it is an awesome event, human violence overcoming the strength of a force of nature, as Ajax felling Hector (*Il.* 14.414-18):⁸

ὥς δ' ὅθ' ὑπὸ πλεγγῆς πατρὸς Διὸς ἐξερίπη δρυὶς
 πρόρριζος, δεινὴ δὲ θεοῦ γίγνεται ὁδμή
 ἐξ αὐτῆς, τὸν δ' οὐ περ ἔχει θράσος ὅς κεν ἴδῃται
 ἐγγὺς ἑὼν, χαλεπὸς δὲ Διὸς μέγαλοιο κεραυνός,
 ὥς ἔπεσ' Ἑκτορος ὦκα χαμαὶ μένος ἐν κονίῃσι.⁹

poetry; I find his interpretation more convincing than the contrary position, embraced by Shipp and Lee, that the similes are a later addition to the *Iliad*. See in particular Scott (1974, 162-5). Tree similes and related vegetal motifs also appear in the Bible; see for example trees growing, flourishing and standing firm as a representation of Israel in Hosea 14: 6-8, or the comparison of man and tree inherent in the parable of the fig tree (Luke 13: 6-9).

⁶ This may bear out Coffey's observation that Apollonius and Vergil limit similes' range of subject matter from their Homeric roots (1961, 65 and 72).

⁷ One brief simile, at *Il.* 18.56-7, is repeated. If the repetitions are counted as individual similes, there are fourteen tree similes in the *Iliad*. A fifteenth simile, at 16.633-4, comparing the din of battle surrounding the body of Sarpedon to the sound of men felling timber, should probably be added even though it does not conform to the themes of the individual tree similes.

⁸ Translations throughout the dissertation are mine unless otherwise noted. The text of the *Iliad* is cited from Munro and Allen's 3rd edition OCT.

⁹ "And like when a tree topples from the roots under the blow of father Zeus, and there is a terrible smell of sulphur from it, and it is not possible for a man to be bold who sees it up close, and the lightning of great Zeus is harsh; so fell the strength of Hector swiftly to the ground in the dust." It is notable that Hector is not felled permanently, but recovers.

Ajax' violence is compared to the cosmic destructive power of Zeus, one of the few forces terrible enough to fell a mighty oak.

Of the twelve individuals compared to trees in the *Iliad*, five are specifically identified as young men at the point of death.¹⁰ Often tender trees are being cut down, and occasionally the poet uses this circumstance to evoke great pathos, by involving the youthful growth and flourishing of the man and tree in the image (*Il.* 17.53-8):

αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοῖαι
 πλοχμοί θ', οἱ χρυσῶ τε καὶ ἀργύρῳ ἐσφῆκωντο.
 οἶον δὲ τρέφει ἔρνος ἀνὴρ ἐριθιλὲς ἐλαίης
 χώρῳ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ, ὅθ' ἄλις ἀναβέβροχεν ὕδωρ,
 καλὸν τηλεθάρον· τὸ δέ τε πνοιαὶ δονέουσι
 παντοίων ἀνέμων, καὶ τε βρύει ἄνθει λευκῶ·
 ἐλθὼν δ' ἐξαπίνης ἄνεμος σὺν λαίλαπι πολλῇ
 βόθρου τ' ἐξέστρεψε καὶ ἐξετάνυσσ' ἐπὶ γαίῃ.¹¹

Euphorbos' beauty is elaborated in the comparison to the olive tree which at the same time describes his doom. The regretful tone of the simile suggests that an olive tree and a warrior are both things of beauty in their youth that nevertheless provide much of their value at a more mature age; when that coming of age is denied them, it is a moment of tragedy. Similes in which flora other than trees are cut down are employed in similarly pathetic contexts.¹²

Young trees can evoke a sense of poignant tragedy even when not specifically used as a simile at the moment of death. As Scott points out, Thetis' two comparisons of Achilles (at *Il.* 18.56-7 and 437-8) to a young sapling grown to maturity – the only other

¹⁰ Tree similes in the *Iliad* involve the following people (Y indicates a man, identified as young, who dies immediately): Simoeisios (Y, 4.482-7); Orsilochos (Y, 5.560); Krethon (Y, 5.560); Polypoites (12.132-4); Leonteus (12.132-4); Imbrios (13.178-80); Asios (13.389-91); Alkathous (13.437); Hector (14.414-17); Sarpedon (16.482-4); Euphorbos (Y, 17.53-8); Achilles (18.56-7, 437-8).

¹¹ "His hair, like the Graces', was drenched with blood, and his locks too, which were bound with gold and silver. And like when a man nourishes a blooming sprig of olive in a lonely plain, where plenty of water bubbles up, beautiful and luxuriant-growing. The breaths of various winds shake it, and it swells with white flower; but a wind coming suddenly with a great storm uproots it from its trench and lays it low on the earth."

¹² The classic Iliadic example is that of young Gorguthion, whose severed neck allows his head to droop like a poppy bloom (*Il.* 8.306-7).

instance of a young, growing tree in the *Iliad* – are couched in an attitude of mourning which foreshadows his impending demise.¹³ Similar symbolism occurs in the elaborate back-story of one of Achilles' own victims, Lycaon, whom he kills in the battle of the river after having previously sold him into slavery (*Il.* 21.34-9):

Ἐνθ' υἱὶ Πριάμοιο συνήντετο Δαρδανίδαο
ἐκ ποταμοῦ φεύγοντι, Λυκάονι, τὸν ῥά ποτ' αὐτὸς
ἦγε λαβὼν ἐκ πατρὸς ἀλώης οὐκ ἐθέλοντα,
ἐννύχιος προμολῶν· ὁ δ' ἐρινεὸν ὀξείῃ χαλκῷ
τάμνε νέους ὄρπηκας, ἵν' ἄρματος ἀντυγες εἶεν·
τῷ δ' ἄρ' ἀνώϊστον κακὸν ἤλυθε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.¹⁴

What better image to represent the too-early death in war of the young prince than his own pruning of saplings for his war-chariot? Lycaon's back-story could just as evocatively have been a tree simile comparing him to the young branches of a fig tree trimmed by a youthful warrior for his chariot.¹⁵ The same effect is achieved by compressing two unfortunate meetings with Achilles into one, so that Lycaon's tree-trimming prefigures his own death at Achilles' hands.

Powerful trees in Homer

In the second life-stage of the tree simile, trees are a symbol of vigor and strength. This set of images draws upon the tree's nature as the largest of living organisms to present an image of inexorable growth and unbudging stability. There are few examples in Homer; one occurs at *Il.* 12.132-4, where the Lapith warriors Leonteus and Polypoites

¹³ Scott (1974, 71), "Thetis knows that he will never return to Phthia, that he is the young tree which will not escape destruction."

¹⁴ "Then he came upon a son of Dardan Priam fleeing out of the river, Lycaon, the very one whom at one time he himself had driven off, taking him unwilling from his father's orchard while attacking at night; and the boy was cutting the young shoots of a fig tree with sharp bronze to be the rims of his war-chariot; but alas, shining Achilles came to him, an unimagined evil."

¹⁵ This is the activity described in the simile which compares Simoeisios to a young, felled tree at 4.482-7.

stand firm outside the camp against Hector's onslaught.¹⁶ The other Iliadic simile in which a man stands still compares the tenor, Alkathous, to a "tree or stele." But his stillness does not denote courageous withstanding; he is bewitched and frozen in place, unable to move. In its aftermath this simile is just like one in which the tree is cut down (*Il.* 13.434-40):

τὸν τόθ' ὑπ' Ἰδομενῆϊ Ποσειδάων ἐδάμασσε
 θέλξας ὅσσε φαιινά, πέδησε δὲ φαίδιμα γυῖα·
 οὔτε γὰρ ἐξοπίσω φυγέειν δύνατ' οὔτ' ἀλέασθαι,
 ἀλλ' ὥς τε στήλην ἢ δένδρεον ὑψιπέτηλον
 ἀτρέμας ἐσταότα στήθος μέσον οὔτασε δουρὶ
 ἥρως Ἰδομενεύς, ῥῆξεν δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ χιτῶνα
 χάλκεον, ὅς οἱ πρόσθεν ἀπὸ χροῶς ἦρκει ὀλεθρον.¹⁷

The connection of tree and stele is interesting, however. Like trees, boulders, steles, columns, and other man-made stone structures – such as walls or even entire cities – are intended to stand firm, but occasionally fall in ruins. Other Iliadic examples include 17.434-5, in which Achilles' horses stand still like a stele, 16.212-13, when the Myrmidons in formation are compared to a stone wall, and 4.462, where a Trojan falls like a tower. Since both the standing still and falling functions of a tree simile can be substituted by a stone/structure simile, but the element of vitality is missing, it will be useful to pay attention to stone similes as well as tree and flower similes in this chapter.

Note on an Apollonian tree simile

Some similes which memorably contain trees might be better categorized as fire or weather similes. One such tree simile occurs in Apollonius (3.967-72):

¹⁶ This simile will be analyzed in connection with the Vergilian simile which most closely imitates it, on pages 50-52 below.

¹⁷ "This man then Poseidon overpowered under Idomeneus, after enchanting his shining eyes, and he bound his gleaming limbs; for he was able neither to flee backward nor to escape, but as he stood motionless like a stele or a lofty-leaved tree the hero Idomeneus wounded him in the middle of his breast with a spear, and he broke the bronze cuirass around him, which previously had warded off destruction from his flesh."

τὼ δ' ἄνεω καὶ ἄναυδοι ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν,
 ἢ δρυσίν, ἢ μακρῇσιν εἰδόμενοι ἐλάτῃσιν,
 αἱ τε παρᾶσσον ἐκηλοὶ ἐν οὐρεσιν ἐρρίζωνται,
 νηνεμίη· μετὰ δ' αὐτίς ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς ἀνέμοιο
 κινύμεναι ὁμάδησαν ἀπείριτον· ὥς ἄρα τώγε
 μέλλον ἄλῃς φθέγξασθαι ὑπὸ πνοιῇσιν Ἔρωτος.¹⁸

Otis considers this modeled on *Il.* 12.131-6 and a model for *Aen.* 4.441-9, discussed on pages 54-57 below.¹⁹ Briggs also elaborates upon this connection.²⁰ The whispering and inclination toward each other of Jason and Medea under the influence of Eros is compared to trees rustling under the impetus of a wind. As categorized by Scott, wind similes normally involve groups of people in motion or refraining from motion; alternately, they can indicate sound.²¹ This simile thus has less in common with all the similes which maintain a focus on a tree or forest, where life, vigor and death are generally of thematic importance, than it does with wind similes. The trees do make an impression on the scene, however, and similes of this type – in which trees or wood, although not the central theme, play a significant role in its setting or circumstances – are common in Vergil.

Vergilian trees

Trees in the *Georgics*

Vergil's most extensive writing on trees is the second *Georgic*, where he discusses topics of arboriculture, such as grafting, as well as the care of vines and olive trees. Traditionally, the second and fourth *Georgics* have been interpreted as depicting

¹⁸ "The two of them stood by one another silently and speechless, looking like oaks or great firs, which in a calm stand rooted side by side in the mountains at peace; but afterwards they are moved by a gust of wind and rustle immensely. Thus indeed the two of them were destined to speak to each other a great deal by the inspiration of Eros." The text of Apollonius is cited from Fränkel's 1970 OCT.

¹⁹ Otis (1963, 73).

²⁰ Briggs (1974, 240).

²¹ Scott (1974, 63).

an orderly universe in which humankind triumphs over the forces of nature through culture, technology, and observance of the gods' will. Otis, for instance, considered nature in the second *Georgic* "receptive and helpful," schematizing the book as "man's happy co-operation with inanimate nature (regarded as a friendly helper)."²² Thomas, however, recognized that the collaboration of man and nature is not entirely optimistic:

"In contrast to Books 1 and 3, where the forces of nature destroy the works of man, *labor* is successfully applied in this book, but it is the nature or quality of that success which Virgil calls into question, as well as the desirability of the products of the *labor*. ...[Book 2] presents, on a suggestive level, and in a complex manner, the notion that man's activities in the age of Jupiter do not simply succeed or fail: success itself may cost a price."²³

The difficulty of affecting trees, in comparison to animals and staple crops, presents an additional challenge to the successful application of *labor*. Trees are similarly impervious to many non-human influences, such as parasitic animals and rain.

The largest and one of the grandest of living things, trees submit only to early or slight modification, or to outright destruction.²⁴ Grafting can effect the greatest alteration in them.²⁵ Vergil praises the olive, hardy without the aid of man and fruit of peace (*Geo.* 2.420-25) and criticizes the vine, most easily grafted of plants but producing fruit that is an incitement to violence (*Geo.* 2.454-7). Mighty oaks and elms support smaller plants which are trained to grow in a particular direction (*Geo.* 2.290-97, 358-61). Failing alteration, trees can of course be chopped down; Vergil details several uses of wood

²² Otis (1963, 153).

²³ Thomas (1988a, 1:19 and 21).

²⁴ In describing the alteration or destruction of trees, Vergil evokes the themes of Greek epic tree similes, thus connecting the trees to epic heroes. Thomas observes that "the lesson of the Georgics" is that "The *nature* of violence directed against living but non-human objects is in the Virgilian scheme of things not inherently distinguishable from that directed against man" (1988b, 262). He adds that "pruning and grafting...both involve the application of force against the natural condition of the tree" (271).

²⁵ This is boldly depicted in a series of generally impossible grafts at *Geo.* 2.32-4, 69-82; see Thomas on the former section.

products at *Geo.* 2.431-53.²⁶ Plants growing, standing firm, and being felled thus appear in the *Georgics* much the same as in epic similes, and are even the tenor of one simile (*Geo.* 2.279-83).

The *Georgics* appear frequently in this dissertation as a source for the similes of the *Aeneid*, functioning alongside earlier, genre-specific models such as Homer and Apollonius. Briggs, who most fully explored this relationship between Vergil's two extended works, speculates that the small number of Georgic-influenced tree similes in the *Aeneid* results from the structure of the second *Georgic*, which contains the digressions in praise of Italy, on spring, and on country life, leaving less material for adaptation into similes.²⁷ Yet large livestock, small livestock, and bees each provide the topic for only half a book of the didactic work, but play a large role in allusive similes in the *Aeneid*.²⁸ A farming manual, even a decorative one, must devote itself mainly to those areas of agriculture which bend to human influence and, as such, will have little to say about the mighty and self-sufficient trees which are favored for similes describing mature warriors like Aeneas.²⁹

²⁶ Odysseus' efforts to build himself a raft in *Od.* 5 or Lysias *On the Olive Stump* are classic Greek examples of the positive and negative manifestations, respectively, of tree-felling. Vergil notes uses of wood including boats and weapons, two traditional emblems of the fall of man from the Golden Age (in Vergil himself, see for instance *Ecl.* 4.37-41). So it seems unfair that the vine is singled out for censure. On the Golden Age and its intersection with Odysseus' travels, see Nieto Hernández (2000).

²⁷ Briggs (1974, 238); Briggs (1980, 32).

²⁸ There are not a large number of bee similes, but they form a greater proportion of the similes in the *Aeneid* than in Homer.

²⁹ This does not explain why Pallas, Lausus and Euryalus, whose deaths would be aptly described with similes derived from the young shoots of the *Georgics*, are not endowed with any such similes. Instead, Pallas and Euryalus are described as flowers. While the choice emphasizes their beauty and taps into other allusive backgrounds to the text of the *Aeneid*, flowers constitute a topic Vergil refused to undertake in the *Georgics*.

Tree similes in the *Aeneid*: vulnerable trees

Of six tree similes in the *Aeneid*, two involve a falling tree, while the others focus on trees that remain standing; none depicts a young and growing tree. One simile of a falling tree is quite in line with its Homeric predecessors: the Sicilian boxer Entellus is knocked down in a boxing match (*Aen.* 5.446-49).

Entellus uiris in umentum effudit et ultro
ipse grauis grauiusque ad terram pondere uasto
concidit, ut quondam caua concidit aut Erymantho
aut Ida in magna radicibus eruta pinus.³⁰

The aging boxer is compared to a hollow pine, uprooted on a mountain. As happened when Hector was felled like a tree in the *Iliad*, he does recover and in fact wins the fight. It is not particularly common in similes for a tree to fall simply of its own accord, without any outside agency. Realistically, this does of course happen (as narrated in Horace, *Ode* 2.13), but frequently the woodsman or meteorological force serves to characterize the warrior who vanquishes the man being compared to a tree, and is thus an important part of the image.³¹

The other falling tree simile, at *Aen.* 2.624-31, is unlike all the other tree similes in Vergil and Homer in that its tenor is not a human being.

Tum uero omne mihi uisum considerare in ignis
Ilium et ex imo uerti Neptunia Troia:
ac ueluti summis antiquam in montibus ornum
cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
eruere agricolae certatim, illa usque minatur
et tremefacta comam concusso uertice nutat,
uulneribus donec paulatim euicta supremum
congemuit traxitque iugis auulsa ruinam.³²

³⁰ “Entellus poured out his strength on the air and spontaneously fell, heavy and heavily, to the earth, under his great weight, as when a hollow pine, torn up from the roots, falls on Erymanthus or great Ida.” All text of Vergil is cited from Mynors’ OCT.

³¹ For a detailed treatment of this scene see chapter four.

³² “Then in truth it appeared to me that all Ilium was collapsing in flames and that Neptune’s Troy was being overturned from the bottom: just as farmers work hard competing to tear up an ancient ash on the mountain tops, cut with iron and frequent axe blows; the tree threatens to fall and, trembling, nods its

Aeneas here describes what he sees, in the enhanced vision granted by his goddess mother, as the gods overturn Troy.³³ He compares Troy to an aged ash tree cut down by farmers; this beautiful image serves to endow the city with a great living force (symbolized also by the laurel tree at the central altar of Priam's palace, where he is killed) and to give an ambivalent picture of the gods. While it is certain that the gods will eventually succeed in completely destroying the city, by comparing them to farmers cutting down a great tree, Vergil suggests that the city is a greater organism than they (albeit unendowed with full capacity to resist destruction).³⁴

Perhaps it is appropriate that a city is the only tenor other than man to feature in an epic tree simile. Epics are, of course, focused on the enduring or collapse of men and cities. As noted above, stone structures can occasionally substitute for trees in simile vehicles which function to describe someone standing or falling. There is also a small set of similes in which a personal tragedy, not a literal fall, is compared to the fall of a city.

This memorably occurs at the death of Hector. The mourning for this man, who is so closely linked to the fortunes of his city, is compared to hypothetical (and actual future) mourning for the fall of Troy (*Il.* 22.405-11):

“Ὡς τοῦ μὲν κεκόνιτο κάρη ἅπαν· ἦ δέ νυ μήτηρ
τίλλε κόμην, ἀπὸ δὲ λιπαρὴν ἔρριψε καλύπτρην
τηλόσε, κῶκυσε δὲ μάλα μέγα παῖδ' ἐσιδοῦσα·
ᾤμωξεν δ' ἔλεεινὰ πατὴρ φίλος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λαοὶ

crown when its top is shaken, until finally, overcome little by little by its wounds, it groans its last and, torn up, drags off part of the crag in ruins.”

³³ Putnam (1965, 38) points out a number of connections binding the simile to the gods in the narrative: Juno is *ferro accincta* (*A.* 2.614) and the tree that represents Troy, her victim, is *ferro accisam* (627); Neptune's action and the farmers' are both described with the verb *eruo*. While the tenor of this simile is not, strictly, a person, Putnam (1965, 37-39) shows how the scene of Priam's death provides the background; king and city are identified with one another, much as Hector is identified with Troy in the Homeric simile below (*Il.* 22.405-11). On tree metaphor in the death of Priam (*truncus*, the laurel, etc.) see also Berno (2004) and Dyson (2001, 170-71).

³⁴ It is interesting that Aeneas chooses to use a simile to describe the gods' action. Here a secondary narrator-focalizer employs a simile to express the ineffable, much as we will observe the primary narrator do in the katabasis to describe the nature of the golden bough and the journey through Hades.

κωκυτῶ τ' εἶχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ.
 τῶ δὲ μάλιστα ἄρ' ἔην ἐναλίγκιον ὥς εἰ ἅπασα
 Ἴλιος ὄφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχοιτο κατ' ἄκρης.³⁵

Disaster for Troy is closely bound up with Hector's death, as he and his wife

Andromache had realized in conversation in book six (*Il.* 6.407-65). Therefore, it is reasonable that mourning for him should literally approximate mourning for the fall of the city. However, the literary image, of the flames that will in fact engulf the citadel, gives a prophetic and figurative character to the comparison.

Vergil uses a similarly prophetic hypothetical situation in a comparison at the death of Dido (*Aen.* 4.667-71):

Lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu
 tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether,
 non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis
 Karthago aut antique Tyros, flammaeque furentes
 culmina perque hominum uoluantur perque deorum.³⁶

Dido's death is compared to the fall of Tyre or Carthage. As Roman readers were aware, the fall of Carthage would in fact occur, and would form a central event for the history of Latin epic poetry.³⁷ The allusion to Homer's simile at the death of Hector reminds Vergil's reader also of the fall of Troy,³⁸ which has in fact been depicted in this epic (and illustrated by the felled tree simile.) The fall of cities thus comes into the interesting category of topics which are both the content of simile vehicles, and described by similes.

Returning to Vergil's similes of felled trees, then, both relate to mature entities, not young men. This is different from Homeric practice, where a substantial proportion

³⁵ "Thus was his whole head covered in dust; but now his mother tore out her hair, and she threw off her shining veil far away, and she bewailed the great evils, looking upon her son; and his dear father shouted piteously, and around them the army was in a state of wailing and shouting throughout the city. Behold, it was very like as if all beetling Ilium were utterly smoldering with fire." On the narratological aspects of this simile see Bremer (1986, 371).

³⁶ "The houses murmur with lamentations and groaning and womanly wailing, the sky sounds with the great lamentations, no differently than if all Carthage or ancient Tyre should collapse after enemies have been let in, and raging flames tear through the roofs of men and gods."

³⁷ This significance was observed by Conington-Nettleship *ad A.* 4.669.

³⁸ As noted by Austin *ad A.* 4.669 (1982, 192).

of the felled tree similes elaborate scenes of youthful warriors being cut down before reaching their full potential. Vergil's choice to avoid using trees to depict young men felled in battle is intriguing considering how much attention he devotes to the theme of *mors immatura*.³⁹ The death of Euryalus also deserves attention in this category even though it is not, strictly speaking, a tree simile. Instead, Vergil imitates a Homeric flower simile to great effect. The Iliadic source simile, couched in a highly pathetic episode, creates one of the *Iliad*'s more horrible death scenes (*Il.* 8.300-08). Teucros, intending to hit Hector, instead strikes down the beautiful son of Priam, Gorguthion. Gorguthion's severed head is compared to a drooping poppy.⁴⁰

Vergil's version likewise balances gruesomeness with poignancy (*Aen.* 9.431-7):

Taliam dicta dabat, sed uiribus ensis adactus
transadigit costas et candida pectora rumpit.
uoluitur Euryalus leto, pulchrosque per artus
it cruor inque umeros ceruix conlapsa recumbit:
purpureus ueluti cum flos succisus aratro
languescit moriens, lassoue papauera collo
demisere caput pluuiam cum forte grauantur.⁴¹

The boy's beauty and the detail of the poppy flower species refer to Homer's simile specifically, but Vergil's version is additionally infused with erotic hints from Catullus. As Williams and Conte have noted, Catullus and other lyric poets are most influential in

³⁹ The poignancy of the image, however, may not be entirely absent, as my analysis below of Pandarus and Bitias in comparison to their Homeric antecedents should show.

⁴⁰ For a clever symbolic use of the poppy head = human head comparative equation, the story of Tarquinius Superbus in Livy (1.54.6), and its Herodotean antecedent (Periander and Thrasybulus, 5.92), provide an interesting example.

⁴¹ "He was saying these things, but a sword applied with force passes through his ribs and bursts his white chest. Euryalus spins in death, and gore goes through his lovely limbs and his collapsed neck rests on his shoulders: just as when a purple flower cut by the plow languishes dying, and the poppy lets down its head from languid neck when by chance the rains weigh it down." Griffith (1985) identifies additional allusions, to Stesichorus, Apollonius and Sappho. In addition, he points out that the simile here presages Anchises' desire to sprinkle flowers on Marcellus in the narrative at 6.883-6 (Griffith 1985, 43). Fowler (2000) meanwhile analyzes the Nisus and Euryalus episode as intratextual refigurement of the *Aeneid* as a whole.

the *Aeneid* in scenes of pathos.⁴² It is interesting that the *flos succisus aratro* in its original context is the poet's love mangled by the predatory escapades of Lesbia, an image of pain and anger and not for instance one of separation or longing (much less from a boy lover such as Euryalus).⁴³ Because of this subtext of pain, it may provide a more suitable background for a death in battle than many moments in Catullus' poems.

Johnson meditates on the challenges of synthesizing the Homeric flower simile of Gorguthion, where "he dies a soldier's death, and the imagery that depicts that death is a handsome fusion of his vulnerability and his strength,"⁴⁴ with Catullus' flowers, resulting in a "beauty [that] is not merely vulnerable, it is utterly defenseless, and its pitiful demise is unrelieved by wider perspectives."⁴⁵ He believes that the "beauty of these verses calls attention to itself in a way that impedes the progress of the narrative."⁴⁶ They are powerfully beautiful and allusive lines, and it may be the literary intertext as much as the beauty that distracts from the action, much in the manner of Apollonius. If one reads without focusing on the learned allusions, considering the simile merely in the context of other tree and plant images in epic, the lines are less incongruous. Young men die pathetically as trees; Euryalus, outstanding for his beauty as much as for his rashness, is therefore compared to one of the most beautiful of living things as he is cut down.

⁴² Williams *ad A.* 11.1f. (1973, 381); Conte (1986, 88-90). Putnam points out that pathos is not the dominating characteristic of Catullus' version of this image, which focuses on an "abstraction," the poet's integrity, rather than a dead youth as would be more traditional (1974, 78). Newton (1957) is a perceptive treatment of the *sermo amatoria* in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*. The content of the Dido episode makes it clear why such language and themes are appropriate there. Attention to the *sermo amatoria* elsewhere in the *Aeneid* – for, as seen here, it can surface even in the battle scenes – might yield intriguing results.

⁴³ On Lesbia as active, damaging lover in contravention of Roman gender norms, see Konstan (2000b, 12-15) and Janan (1994, 29 n. 84).

⁴⁴ Johnson (1976, 64).

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Johnson (1976, 61).

Between vulnerable and powerful: trees and Mezentius

While there are only two similes involving felled trees in the *Aeneid*, many fewer than in the *Iliad*, the frequent appearance of trees in the narrative extends the symbolic influence of those similes into additional scenes. This process is analogous to Newton's concept of the "hidden simile," whereby repeated language from similes extends an image into ensuing passages.⁴⁷ As an example, I will examine the extended equation of tree and man that occurs surrounding Mezentius at the close of the tenth book and beginning of the eleventh.

Mezentius, in his *aristeia*, is endowed with a series of similes which characterize him as a traditional, violent hero and as a *contemptor divum* (his epithet on first appearing at 7.648). While none of these similes is, strictly speaking, a tree simile, each allusively evokes other tree similes in the *Aeneid*. The first simile in this section (10.693-96) compares Mezentius to a crag withstanding the surf (10.691-97):

concurrunt Tyrrhenae acies atque omnibus uni,
uni odiisque uiro telisque frequentibus instant.
ille (uelut rupes uastum quae prodit in aequor,
obuia uentorum furiis expostaque ponto,
uim cunctam atque minas perfert caelique marisque
ipsa immota manens) prolem Dolichaonis Hebrum
sternit humi.⁴⁸

Scott categorizes similes of this type as wind and sea similes, which use powerful natural forces to represent large numbers of people clashing in battle, or loud sounds; Lee on the

⁴⁷ A concise example of Newton's hidden simile (1953, 190) handles the reddening dawn at A. 12.77 (*Aurora rubebit*) as an echo of the simile describing Lavinia's blush at A. 12.64-69 (*rubent*, 68), suggesting the simile "blush=dawn."

⁴⁸ "The Etruscan lines run together and press upon the one man with all their hatreds and with close-packed weapons. He (just as a crag which extends into the vast sea, in the way of the ragings of the winds and exposed to the surf, it endures the whole force and the threats of both sky and sea, itself remaining unmoved) lays out Hebrus the child of Dolichaon on the ground."

other hand considers this type a rock/stone simile.⁴⁹ Here, the simile does not fit perfectly into its immediate context, drawing the reader's attention. Lines 691-92, in which the Etruscan forces charge Mezentius *en masse*, would be a much more suitable tenor for the simile than lines 693-97. In the Homeric passage, *Il.* 15.618-21, which Knauer identifies as a model for this simile, the action involved is a clash between Hector and a large force of Greeks. Instead, this comparison is cast as a parenthetical comment on Mezentius' violent slaying of one man. A crag jutting into the sea does not generally perform any sort of motion or action which would be akin to killing.

Instead, rock similes, like tree similes, frequently depict a motionless, enduring warrior.⁵⁰ The final feet of the comparison, where Vergil describes the sea cliff as *ipsa immota manens* (696), reinforces the connection to tree similes. Besides this *rupes*, Vergil describes only two feminine nouns with the phrase *immota manet*, and both occur in descriptions of trees.⁵¹ One tree appears in the *Georgics*, and the other in a simile in *Aeneid* 4. The language of this wave simile therefore alludes to tree similes.

A second simile further illustrates Mezentius' ability to defend against many simultaneous attackers, through the classic image of a boar (10.707-18):⁵²

ac uelut ille canum morsu de montibus altis
actus aper, multos Vesulus quem pinifer annos
defendit multosque palus Laurentia silua
pascit harundinea, postquam inter retia uentum est,
substitit infremuitque ferox et inhorruit armos,
nec cuiquam irasci propiusue accedere uirtus,
sed iaculis tutisque procul clamoribus instant;
ille autem impavidus partis cunctatur in omnis
dentibus infrendens et tergo decutit hastas:

⁴⁹ Scott (1974, 63-64). Scott sees the point of a simile at *Il.* 15.618-21, identified by Knauer (1964) as a model for this passage, as "stubborn resistance to movement." Lee (1964, 70) considers *Il.* 15.618-21 a "Rock/Stone" simile. Riëks (1981, 1095) categorizes the vehicle as a "sea cliff," focusing on the passive element which characterizes Mezentius rather than the active forces of wind and sea.

⁵⁰ See above, pages 29-30.

⁵¹ They will be discussed below on pages 50-55, on enduring trees.

⁵² Compare e.g. *Il.* 11.324-5, 11.414-18, 12.41-8, or 12.146-50.

haud aliter, iustae quibus est Mezentius irae,
non ulli est animus stricto concurrere ferro,
missilibus longe et uasto clamore lacesunt.⁵³

Boar similes are similar to mature tree similes in their shared emphasis on withstanding attack. This boar lives in wild, forested regions, protected by *pinifer Vesulus*, piney Vesulus, and feeding upon *silua harundinea*, a forest of reeds, in the Laurentian swamp. The word *silua* is here used in the transferred sense of “thickly distributed.”⁵⁴ Yet, the boar does live essentially *in silua*, and the forested location enhances his bristly, uncultivated archaic qualities. Williams notes that Vergil has added the specific Italian localization to the thickets of its Homeric antecedents.⁵⁵

A final simile compares Mezentius to the giant mythical figure Orion.⁵⁶ Deities and figures of legend are common in the vehicles of epic similes. Most frequent in Homer are brief comparisons to a god, either through the formulaic phrase ἰσόθεος φῶς or a phrase like θεὸς ὥς (*Il.* 3.230). Named divinities also occur, for example the ten comparisons of various lengths involving the god of war: these range from Ἴσος Ἄρηι to

⁵³ “Just like a boar, driven from the high mountains by the biting of dogs, a boar whom piney Vesulus has guarded for many years, and whom for many years the Laurentian swamp has fed with reedy forest; after he has come among the nets, he stands firm, grunts fiercely, and bristles along his shoulders. Nor does anyone have the courage to go into a rage or approach nearer; rather, they stand around at a distance with javelins and safe shouting. *He, however, unafraid, hesitates in every direction, grinding his teeth and shaking the spears from his back.* No differently, the people for whom Mezentius is a cause of just anger have no courage to meet him with drawn sword. They harry him from afar with projectiles and loud noise.” This is the longest extended simile in the *Aeneid*. Note that the line numbering in the simile is irregular: lines 717-18 (*ille...hastas*; italicized in the translation) intercede in Mynors’ text between lines 713 and 714, following Scaliger; the original placement in the manuscripts would assign these lines to Mezentius rather than the boar of the simile. Jones (1977, 50-51) argues for restoring the original order, suggesting Vergil’s intent is “to blur the distinction between man and beast, to hold out to the reader the opportunity to identify the two in a way more thoroughgoing and explicit than the preceding lines allow. If Vergil does offer to the reader such an opportunity, he is dealing more severely with Mezentius than with any other hero in the epic.” I am disinclined to agree with the final sentence, but the idea of deep engagement between narrative and simile is convincing, and my identification of tree-related elements in the life and death of Mezentius might exemplify a similar fierce and wild characterization.

⁵⁴ See *OLD* § *silua* 4, which cites a Statian phrase clearly imitating this line. This metaphorical sense of *silua* will recur in another passage about Mezentius, at 10.887, on which see below, page 47.

⁵⁵ Williams *ad A.* 10.707f. (1973, 367) cites Homeric boar similes at *Il.* 11.414-18 and 13.471-5.

⁵⁶ Mezentius is also compared to a lion (10.723-8), but this simile does not involve any trees and so does not come into the purview of this discussion. The lion simile is, of course, very characteristic of archaic heroism. It ends with a partial line.

a five-line simile (*Il.* 13.298-303) comparing the heroes Idomeneus and Meriones to the god Ares accompanied by Phobos. In Vergil, similes describing mortal figures of legend are even more common than those featuring named divinities. Such similes compare Venus to Harpalyce (1.316-17), Dido to maenads (4.301-03) and Pentheus or Orestes (as a dramatic character, 4.469-73), the Italians Catillus and Coras to centaurs (7.674-77), Aeneas to Aegaeon (10.565-8), Camilla to the Amazons, Hippolyte or Penthesilea (11.659-63), and Mezentius to Orion (10.763-67).⁵⁷

Like many of these other legendary characters appearing in similes in the *Aeneid*, Orion is an ambivalent figure.⁵⁸ He shares both positive and negative features with Mezentius, a character whose only virtues seem to be his bond with his noble son Lausus and his archaic accomplishments in violence. The comparison to Orion seems initially to be based on the size of the man and his battle gear, both elements which redound positively to Mezentius (10.762-68):

At uero ingentem quatiens Mezentius hastam
turbidus ingreditur campo. quam magnus Orion,
cum pedes incedit medii per maxima Nerei
stagna uiam scindens, umero supereminet undas,
aut summis referens annosam montibus ornum

⁵⁷ Six similes feature named gods: Dido as Diana, 1.498-502; Aeneas as Apollo, 4.143-9; Rome like Cybele, 6.784-7; Cacus faster than Eurys, 8.223 (although this is probably metonymy rather than an appearance of the personified deity); Pallas like Lucifer, 8.589-91; and Turnus like Mars, 12.331-6.

⁵⁸ For instance, Aratus *Phain.* 634-46 gives an aetiology for Orion's presence in the sky, as well as that of the constellation Scorpio, by recounting a story in which he attempted to assault Artemis. Orion is mentioned in the *Odyssey*, where his main offense against the gods seems (according to Calypso) to have been the fact that the goddess Eos fell in love with him (*Od.* 5.121-4). Odysseus observes Orion in the underworld immediately before Tityus (*Od.* 11.572-5). However, as he also immediately follows Minos, and (like Minos and Heracles) is conducting the same pastimes he had on earth, rather than being tormented, it seems that Homer classes him with the heroic inhabitants of the underworld, like Minos, Heracles, and Achilles, rather than with the sinners of Tartarus; in this I follow Heubeck *ad Od.* 11.568-627 (1990, 111). Fontenrose (1981) and Griffiths (1986, 66-69) both emphasize the variety of tales told of Orion. Pura Nieto Hernández reminds me of the astronomical connection between Orion and Sirius and the simile mentioning them at *Il.* 22.26-31, which describes the shining armor of the destructive Achilles, as observed by Priam. This simile emphasizes the ominous quality of the star (κακὸν σῆμα, *Il.* 22.30) and the hero compared to it, and is famously imitated to describe Aeneas in his armor, observed by Turnus and the Italians, at *A.* 10.272-5. Aeneas, compared to Sirius, is thus linked to Mezentius, compared to Orion, in the imagery of the tenth book: a destructive pair of heroes linked to a destructive pair of mythological figures.

ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit,
talīs se uastis infert Mezentius armīs.⁵⁹

Orion is a giant, large enough to arm himself with an entire mature tree, rather than merely a spear crafted from a particular sort of wood, like Achilles' ash or Camilla's "pastoral myrtle." The image is reminiscent of the much smaller Silvanus with his uprooted young cypress at *Geo.* 1.20.⁶⁰ This comparison emphasizes the impressive size of the hero and his weapon, but also his power over the life and death of his enemies, even mighty ones: he is strong enough to fell a tree that is *annosus*, the type of tree which regularly corresponds in similes to a strong, steadfast warrior.

Orion is not here undertaking any of the transgressive, violent actions, such as rape, killing, or kidnapping of deities, which are on occasion attributed to him. However, one of the more destructive supernatural forces of the first half of the epic, Fama, lurks in the background to line 767. The description of this vile female was too striking not to come to mind when the reader encounters a line from it again in the Orion simile (4.173-177):

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,
Fama, malum qua non aliud uelocius ullum:
mobilitate uiget uirisque adquirit eundo,
parua metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.⁶¹

⁵⁹ "Then indeed Mezentius enters the plain, violent and shaking his enormous spear. As great Orion, when he walks cutting through the midst of the greatest expanses of Nereus on foot, overtops the waves with his shoulders, or when bringing back an aged ash from the mountain-tops he walks on the ground and hides his head among the clouds, like him Mezentius rushed in in his huge equipment." Williams takes *armis* as from *armus*, which would provide a nice echo of *armos* at line 711 in the boar simile. However, I think that the image provides a clearer correspondence between Orion's tree and Mezentius' *ingens hasta* if *armis* is taken as "weapons" rather than "shoulders" – and if it were "shoulders" why not echo *umero* (765) when *ingreditur* already appears in both vehicle (767) and tenor (763)? No recent translator seems to follow Williams' suggestion in any case.

⁶⁰ On this cypress see Connors (1992, 7).

⁶¹ "Suddenly Rumor goes through the great cities of Libya, Rumor, than which no other evil is swifter: she thrives on movement and increases her strength by going, small at first in her fear, but soon she lifts herself into the air and walks on the ground while she hides her head in the clouds."

The Orion simile, therefore, connects Mezentius not only with a transgressive and dangerous giant, but also, through allusion, with one of the more powerful disaster-mongers of the first half of the epic. Meanwhile, the shared line could as easily depict a tree rooted in the soil and lifting its top into the heavens.

The Orion simile also alludes to the Cyclops Polyphemus as depicted in the third book of the *Aeneid*.⁶² Vergil describes Polyphemus as carrying a staff made from a tree and walking out into the sea (3.659-65), like Orion. The Cyclopes, like Orion and Fama, carry their heads up in the sky: Polyphemus *altaque pulsat/ sidera* (3.619-20), the Cyclopes *caelo capita alta ferentis* (3.678), and Orion and Fama each *caput inter nubila condit* (10.767, 4.177).⁶³ Both Orion and the Cyclopes are at times said to be sons of Poseidon.⁶⁴ They both have ambiguous relationships with the Olympian deities in general.⁶⁵

⁶² On this connection see Glenn (1971).

⁶³ These connections are observed by Conington-Nettleship *ad A.* 10.766 and explored by Glenn (1971, 148-49) as evidence for his argument that Mezentius is modeled on the Homeric Polyphemus, not Ajax. Hardie (1986, 266-67) raises, and then dismisses, the question of whether “the Polyphemus passage is then a ‘quarry’ for the description of Mezentius, an irrelevance which Virgil would eventually have expunged from the poem?” Rather, appreciating the significance of Vergil’s practice of alluding to his own text, Hardie concludes that the Polyphemus episode is important in articulating the moral atmosphere for Aeneas’ interaction with Mezentius.

⁶⁴ Pseudo-Eratosthenes *Catast.* 32 attributes to Hesiod the claim that Orion was son of Poseidon and Euryale, a daughter of Minos; Apollodorus 1.4.3 follows this version. An alternative story, recounted at Hyginus *Fab.* 195 and *Poet. Astr.* 2.34, makes Orion the putative son of a Boeotian, King Hyreus: childless and visited by Jupiter and Mercury (and, in the *Fabulae* version, Neptune as well), he sacrificed an ox to them and asked for a child. The gods consented, urinated on the oxhide and buried it in the ground; Orion (Urion) was born from this source. Apart from the late source of this tale and its superfluity of urine-related names, the autochthonous, motherless origin it postulates for Orion provides another link with Fama: according to Vergil (*A.* 4.178-80), Earth, angry at the gods, birthed Fama as the youngest sibling of Coeus and the giant Enceladus. If she did this on her own (as Hera angrily produces Hephaestus at *Theogony* 927-8), then Fama and Orion are similar not only in size, but in their origin through asexual reproduction.

⁶⁵ Glenn (1971, 134-38) outlines Mezentius’ and Polyphemus’ qualities as *contemptores deorum*. Nieto Hernández (2000, 349-50) explores Polyphemus’ anthropophagy as reenactment of Cronus’ swallowing of his children, in a wider context of the fall from the Golden Age.

Therefore, it is interesting that the Cyclopes, in one of the few tree similes of the *Aeneid* and the only extended simile of book three, are compared specifically to trees in a holy grove (3.677-81):

cernimus astantis nequiquam lumine toruo
Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentis,
concilium horrendum: quales cum uertice celso
aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi
constiterunt, silua alta Iouis lucusue Dianae.⁶⁶

In Homer, Cyclopes might most likely uproot a holy grove if they came upon it, for Polyphemus is concerned with religion only insofar as he is the son of a god.⁶⁷ The grove detail is not present in any Homeric or Apollonian tree simile, although oaks are traditionally associated with Zeus in Homer.⁶⁸ Vergil does not generally adopt the Homeric tendency to add details in the vehicle of a simile which are not strictly applicable to the tenor, unless those details serve some other purpose, such as to signify an allusion.⁶⁹ So, the sacral nature of these groves may emphasize the Cyclopes' relationship to Poseidon and their inviolability; for as Odysseus discovered, even blasphemous and cannibalistic sons of gods will be avenged by their divine fathers, much

⁶⁶ "We behold the Etnan brothers standing by in vain, each with his grim eye, carrying their tall heads in the sky, a terrible council: as when airy oaks or cone-bearing cypresses stand each with its lofty top, a tall forest of Jupiter or grove of Diana." This simile has received too little attention from scholars; Hornsby (1970, 80), for instance, suggests it indicates merely that they are large, immobile and not much of a threat. Glenn (1971, 148 nn.37 and 38) lists perfunctory treatments of the simile.

⁶⁷ In Vergil, Cyclopes are at times depicted as law-abiding laborers who will assist Aeneas with their craftsmanship at a deity's bidding in book eight. These Cyclopes, closer in character to Hesiod's (servants of Zeus at *Theogony* 139-46) than Homer's, also appear in a simile at *G.* 4.170-75, on which see Farrell (1991, 243-4): the *Georgics* simile alludes to Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis* and the Polyphemus episode of the *Odyssey*. The Cyclopes of book three, however, appearing as they do in the episode of Achaemenides, are clearly depicted as the vicious Cyclopes of the *Odyssey*. The particular god from whom Polyphemus is descended, Poseidon, also displays uncouth, archaic characteristics in Homer; on this see Nieto Hernández (2000, 355-62).

⁶⁸ As for instance at *Il.* 5.693, mentioned below on page 46.

⁶⁹ Dyson (2001, 179) finds the holy grove detail "shocking," but believes that its significance is tied in with the theme of the cult of Diana Nemorensis, hence explaining the "lucusue Dianae;" for Jupiter, she suggests "the shrine of Jupiter Latiaris, patron god of the ancient Latins, was on top of that mountain, not far from the shrine of Diana Nemorensis." While Vergil's geography is always worthy of attention, I think that such a surprising detail cannot merely be a coded reference to cult sites, but articulates poetic values or a moral or emotional significance as well.

as damage to a holy grove will be avenged.⁷⁰ Even the brutal Mezentius, connected through the Orion simile to the Cyclopes' grove simile, may then have some sort of inviolability: at the very least, the expectation of bodily integrity that is so frequently threatened in scenes of tree violation, and human vengeance, in the *Aeneid*.⁷¹

So Mezentius, a huge and violent man who has the power to fell trees and men, is connected via the Orion simile to both Fama and the Cyclopes. In addition to these connotations of archaic heroic power and transgression, the simile foreshadows Mezentius' death. The tree trunk Orion carries is the first in a series of images which lead up to Aeneas fashioning a *tropaeum* of Mezentius from a tree trunk at the beginning of the eleventh book.

The imagery proceeds when an injured Mezentius rests himself by a tree. He hangs his helmet on a branch and leans his body against the trunk (10.833-36, 838):

Interea genitor Tiberini ad fluminis undam
uulnera siccat lymphis corpusque leuabat
arboris acclinis trunco. procul aerea ramis
dependet galea et praeo grauius arma quiescunt.
stant lecti circum iuuenes; ipse aeger anhelans
colla fouet fusus propexum in pectore barbam.⁷²

The picture is almost bucolic in its restful setting, like the encounters of Aeneas with the Arcadians on the banks of the Tiber. The real origin of this scene of rest beneath a tree, however, is probably not Vergil's pastoralists, but Homer's injured Sarpedon, as he undergoes a near-death experience at the end of the fifth book of the *Iliad* (5.692-98).⁷³

⁷⁰ On this theme, see my comments later in the chapter on Faunus' oleaster (pages 68-71).

⁷¹ Segal (1971, 13-17) concisely examines the negative associations of bodily mutilation in Homeric epic. Thomas (1988b) explores the negative associations of damage to trees in Vergil, although this of course already has powerful resonance in earlier mythology (for example: the myth of Erysichthon).

⁷² "Meanwhile his father was cleansing his wounds with water by the flow of the river Tiber and was resting his body, leaning on the trunk of a tree. A ways off his brazen helmet hangs from some branches and his heavy armor lies still on the meadow. Chosen youths stand around; himself ailing and gasping he soothes his neck, having spread his beard combed forward on his chest."

⁷³ This connection was observed by Heyne *ad A.* 10.833.

The hero seems to die, but regains his breath, after his comrades have placed him to rest ὑπο αἰγίοχοιο Διὸς περικαλλεῖ φηγῶ, “beneath aegis-bearing Zeus’ very beautiful oak.” If it is permissible to attribute even subconscious or editorial literary design to Homer, this seems a prime instance of foreshadowing: Sarpedon, son of Zeus, will be compared to a tree when he later falls in death, at *Il.* 16.482-84.

After resting from his wounds and being informed of his son’s sad death, Mezentius engages Aeneas in battle. The word *silua* appears, again in its metaphorical sense (10.885-87):⁷⁴

ter circum astantem laeuos equitauit in orbis
tela manu iaciens, ter secum Troius heros
immanem aerato circumfert tegmine siluam.⁷⁵

Mezentius is a wild man, like a boar who dines on a forest of reeds or Orion who carries a whole trunk on his shoulder, and he has hurled a forest of spears at Aeneas. The thematic repetition of tree-related language in this series of scenes powerfully anticipates Mezentius’ demise. His death is not described with a tree simile, but after he is dispatched by Aeneas, Mezentius’ gear will adorn a trunk in the form of a *tropaeum* (11.2-11):

Aeneas, quamquam et sociis dare tempus humandis
praecipitant curae turbataque funere mens est,
uota deum primo uictor soluebat Eoo.
ingentem quercum decisis undique ramis
constituit tumulo fulgentiaque induit arma,
Mezenti ducis exuias, tibi magne tropaeum
bellipotens; aptat rorantis sanguine cristas
telaque trunca uiri, et bis sex thoraca petium
perfossumque locis, clipeumque ex aere sinistrae
subligat atque ensem collo suspendit eburnum.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The previous occurrence, at 10.709, is discussed above on page 41, n. 54.

⁷⁵ “Thrice he rode, throwing weapons from his hand, around Aeneas standing there, and thrice the Trojan hero carried a great forest [sc. of those weapons] around with him in his bronze shield.”

⁷⁶ “Aeneas, although his cares hasten giving a time for burying his comrades and his mind is agitated by the funeral, at first dawn the victor accomplished his vows to the god. He sets an enormous oak with all its branches lopped off on a mound and dresses it in shining armor, the spoils of the leader Mezentius, a trophy

The Tuscan is replaced by the trunk that, in the Orion simile, he carried, or that he leaned upon in his duress. Just as Mezentius has been cut down and killed, so the tree must be mutilated in order to serve as a trophy (*decisis undique ramis*).⁷⁷ Mezentius' weapons are even broken with tree-related language (*tela trunca*), as Gransden and Reckford observe.⁷⁸ As Mezentius had hung his own helm on a tree in his withdrawal from battle (*aerea ramis/ dependet galea*, 10.835-36), so Aeneas now hangs all of the defeated warrior's gear on a tree.⁷⁹ Where Mezentius had applied soothing care to his injured neck (*colla fouet*, 10.838), Aeneas hangs the captured ivory sword from the "neck" of the *tropaeum*.⁸⁰

The tree theme that permeates these scenes involving Mezentius, then, is predicated on the similarities between a tree and the body of a man that underlie the *Aeneid*'s tree similes. As men are like trees in that they fall in death, they can also be like trees in how they are mutilated while or after they die.⁸¹ This concept is inherent in the

to you, great lord of war; he attached the crests, dewy with blood, and the man's broken weapons, and the cuirass, attacked and pierced in twelve places, and he bound the bronze shield on the left and hung the ivory sword from the neck."

⁷⁷ Gransden *ad A.* 11.9 suggests this parallel (1991, 70).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*; also Reckford (1974, 78), who connects the scene of Mezentius' rest on a tree (see above, pages 46-47) to the *tropaeum*, which he dubs a "death tree." This line is particularly interesting as it juxtaposes *trunca* and *thoraca*, two words that can refer to the body of a man, neither of which here carries that meaning: *trunca* is connoting rather "truncated," like the shorn tree-trunk that forms the core of the *tropaeum*, while *thoraca* refers to the shell-like body armor rather than the body within.

⁷⁹ Dyson (2001, 187-88) reads this process as "grotesque parody" of an arming scene. Because Turnus receives the most extended, traditional arming scene in the *Aeneid* (at 12.87-95), and because he wears the armor of Pallas, which (Dyson claims) he ought instead to have dedicated as a *tropaeum*, Dyson reads this passage as revealing a sort of "poetic justice" for both warriors: "Turnus is sacrificed partly because he has symbolically transformed himself into a living *tropaeum*" (2001, 185-86), and "Mezentius' punishment resembles the doom he sought to inflict on others" (2001, 190) when he vowed to Lausus a *tropaeum* of Aeneas, at 10.773-6.

⁸⁰ How a tree trunk could have a "neck" without having head or shoulders is beside the point; as Conington-Nettleship comments *ad A.* 11.10, the word "carries out the identification of the trunk with the dead warrior."

⁸¹ Reckford (1974, 78 n.14) observes: "The tree trunk traditionally represented the body of the conquered foe, but throughout the *Aeneid* Virgil in a less positive vein associates the tree trunk with the mutilation of human bodies in war and the unnaturalness of killing." He compares the death of Priam and Evander's imagining of Turnus as a *tropaeum* at 11.172-5.

two sets of meanings of the noun and adjective *truncus* (the adjective is used in the *Aeneid* of Deiphobus at 6.497, as well as of Mezentius' weapons in the *tropaeum*). The two levels of the tree comparison – likeness to a warrior's body, and similar cycles of life and death – coexist brutally in the battles of the second half of the *Aeneid*, where heroes do violence to the landscape and to one another simultaneously.

Tree similes in the *Aeneid*: powerful trees

The connection between man and tree also retains a strong focus on the body in the similes that involve trees that stand firm. Vergil adds to this a sense of the mystery of the forest and the sacral function of trees and wood products, such as ceremonial wreaths and pyres. As a result, some of the most memorable tree similes of the *Aeneid* are connected to and intermingle with the great Italian and underworld forests. This close association of Italy and Avernus together with a characterization of Aeneas as a powerful, tree-like man works to suggest that Aeneas is particularly suited to command his ominous destined kingdom.⁸²

The trees of the three remaining similes and those scattered in narrative ecphrases and descriptive passages throughout the *Aeneid* and, earlier, the *Georgics*, are impressively mighty. A tree's stability and permanence make it similar to a force of nature (*Geo.* 3.232-34, of a bull training for battle):

⁸² The *Odyssey* also associates trees with the entrance to the underworld (e.g. at 10.510, in Circe's description of the entrance to Hades). However, what is unusual about the prominence of dense, numinous forests in the *Aeneid* is their frequent appearance and, finally, their location: permeating Italy, Aeneas' future kingdom, rather than being situated in mythic lands beyond Aeaea, like Odysseus' wooded adventures.

et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit
arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit
ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.⁸³

This image reveals that the tree, like the wind, is an unyielding practice dummy, capable of receiving the ferocity of blows again and again.

The stolidity of trees recurs as a focus when Vergil discusses the sort of tree that makes the best support for young vines to grow on (*Geo.* 2.289-92):

ausim uel tenui uitem committere sulco;
altior ac penitus terrae defigitur arbos,
aesculus in primis, quae quantum uertice ad auras
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.⁸⁴

Pliny also mentions this use of trees as supports for vines, commenting that “given the shade provided by the oak, it will not have been popular in this capacity.”⁸⁵ Varro tells of vine trellises supported on maple and fig trees near Milan; oak comes into play in his account only as wood for posts in a more traditional trellised vineyard, which he describes as the practice around Falernum.⁸⁶

Regardless of whether the oak was actually a good choice for the vineyard, the tree Vergil describes has a spectacular height and depth of roots, which ensure optimum stability (*Geo.* 2.293-97):

Ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres
conuellunt: immota manet multosque nepotes,
multa uirum uoluens durando saecula uincit,
tum fortis late ramos et brachia tendens
huc illuc media ipsa ingentem sustinet umbram.⁸⁷

⁸³ “And he tests himself and, by striving against the trunk of a tree, learns to channel his anger into his horns, and he attacks the winds with blows, and prepares for the fight with scattered sand.”

⁸⁴ “I would even dare to entrust a vine to a slender trench; and the support tree is deeper and deeply fixed in the earth, especially an oak, which as much as it stretches into the heavenly breezes with its top, so much does it stretch with its root into Tartarus.”

⁸⁵ Thomas *ad G.* 2.291-97 (1988a, 1:209); Pliny *NH* 17.201.

⁸⁶ Varro *RR* 1.8.1-4.

⁸⁷ “Therefore neither winter storms, nor winds, nor rains can rip it up: it remains unmoved, and rolling along many descendants, many ages of men it overcomes them by enduring, while stretching its mighty branches and limbs wide this way and that its very middle supports an enormous shade.”

The literary heritage of this tree mitigates the oak's inappropriateness as vine support (acknowledged in the shade mentioned at the end of the description). As noted by Thomas,⁸⁸ the mighty oak's vastness and stability are an allusion to a tree in Homer, *Il.* 12.132-36:

ἔστασαν ὥς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν ὑψικάρῃνοι,
αἳ τ' ἄνεμον μίμνουσι καὶ ὑετὸν ἥματα πάντα,
ρίζῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηνεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι
ὥς ἄρα τῶ χεῖρεσσι πεποιθότες ἡδὲ βίῃφι
μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον οὐδὲ φέβοντο.⁸⁹

Homer's tree is not just part of the landscape, however: it is the vehicle in a simile describing the Greeks Polypoites and Leonteus as they guard the gates of the camp against Asios and Hector's Trojan onslaught. These two Lapiths are the subject of a series of similes: at *Il.* 12.146-50 they are compared to wild boars defending themselves against men and dogs; at *Il.* 12.156-58 the missiles of their fellow-fighters are compared to snow; and finally at *Il.* 12.167-70 Asios, in a prayer to Zeus, compares them to wasps or bees fighting in defense of their young.

Vergil imitates this tree simile more than once. After using it as a model for the oak in the second *Georgic*, he reprises the entire scene of Polypoites and Leonteus' defense of the Greek camp in Pandarus and Bitias' defense of the Trojan camp at *Aen.* 9.672 ff. The young Trojans' imitation of their former opponents involves several variations on the Homeric original. In *Iliad* 12, the Lapith comrades were left alone outside the camp after closing their allies inside in a protective defensive action. Pandarus and Bitias, however, in fact open the gates to the attackers, finally allowing even Turnus inside before Pandarus shuts the gate in a panic. The fates of the youths also

⁸⁸ Thomas *ad G.* 2.291-97 (1988a, 1:209).

⁸⁹ "They stood as trees on lofty mountains, which withstand the wind and the rain every day, standing close together with great long roots: thus, behold, the two of them, trusting in their hands and strength, withstood great Asios approaching them and did not flee."

differ; as mentioned above, the Lapiths survive the fight stolidly while Bitias and Pandarus fall to Turnus in quick succession.⁹⁰

The similes Vergil employs, however, link the Trojan twins more closely to the Lapiths than do their fates. Homer had compared Polypoites and Leonteus to oaks on a mountain resisting the wind, boars, and (focalized by Asios) wasps or bees. Their allies' missiles are compared to snow. Vergil uses the same number of similes, comparing Pandarus and Bitias to two types of trees (9.674, 679-82), Turnus' weapon which fells Bitias to a lightning bolt (9.706; an appropriate cause of death for a tree, as in the simile at *Il.* 14.414 of Ajax attacking Hector, cited previously), and Pandarus' fall to masonry being hurled into the sea at Baiae (9.710-16).⁹¹

Pandarus et Bitias, Idaeo Alcanore creti,
quos Iouis eduxit luco siluestris Iaera
abietibus iuuenes patriis et montibus aequos...⁹²

This first comparison (*Aen.* 9.672-4) occurs in the context of the warriors' background story. As in the case of many youths in the catalogs of *Iliad* 2 or *Aeneid* 7, information about their promise, attractiveness, or affectionate family only serves to heighten the potential for pathos should they not survive. While referencing the δρῦες οὔρεσιν ὑψικάρηνοι of Homer's text (*Il.* 12.132), in context Vergil's comparison of Pandarus and Bitias to trees seems apt or even obvious, given the fact that these young men are sons of a wood nymph, born in Jupiter's holy grove. Mention of this grove on Mt. Ida is a detail which relates to two other tree similes in the *Aeneid*. At 3.679-81,

⁹⁰ Dyson cites this as an example of Turnus as tree-violator, because of the youths' similarities to trees (2001, 22 and 200).

⁹¹ The crashing fall of the rocks into the sea, and the sonic elements of the simile (*sonitu*, 715), echo certain falling tree similes. As cut timbers could also be used for building structures into the sea, it is possible to see in this unique comparison a connection with tree similes that might profit from further study.

⁹² "Pandarus and Bitias, born from Idaean Alcanor, youths whom rustic Iaera bore in a grove of Jupiter, youths equal to their ancestral firs and mountains..."

Vergil compares the Cyclopes to oaks or cypresses in a holy grove of Diana. Analysis of this simile above (pages 44-46) revealed the ambiguity inherent in comparing the notoriously godless Cyclopes of epic to a sacred and inviolable site.⁹³

The other simile alluded to in the biography of Pandarus and Bitias occurs at 5.448-9, when Entellus falls in the boxing match and is compared to a pine tree uprooted on Erymanthus or Ida. Mention of Erymanthus could well be an allusion to Hercules' exploit against the boar there, since Entellus claims connection with Hercules. Ida of course returns us to the same groves as here in the simile of book nine, in the ancestral lands of Aeneas and the Trojan twins, not Entellus' own Sicily. Entellus falls, but later wins the victory; Pandarus and Bitias will not be so fortunate.

Just as Vergil compared the Italian boxer Entellus to a tree located either in a zone important to his own origins or to Aeneas', so he compares the twins first to Idaean pines (a frequently-felled tree, used regularly in ship-building) and only a few lines later, in an extended simile, to mighty Italian oaks (*Aen.* 9.679-82):

Quales aëriae liquentia flumina circum
siue Padi ripis Athesim seu propter amoenum
consurgunt geminae quercus intonsaque caelo
attollunt capita et sublime uertice nutant.⁹⁴

The oaks reach to the sky, but unlike in Homer's treatment of the Lapiths we hear nothing about the solidity of their roots. *Intonsa* hints at the youthfulness of the two men, while *caelo / attollunt capita* echoes the simile of Orion and description of Fama discussed previously. Additionally, the trees *nutant* (nod) – a gentle swaying motion in the wind, surely, but possibly an indication that these youths will not be as steadfast as

⁹³ Dyson (2001, 198-99), however, identifies an interesting scene where the divinity of a grove gives her trees to Aeneas willingly (Cybele's pines, 9.85-89).

⁹⁴ "As lofty twin oaks grow up together either around the flowing waters of the river Po or near pleasant Athesis, and they lift their unshorn heads to heaven and nod with tall top."

their epic predecessors. Nodding or swaying has happened only in the Apollonian simile describing Jason and Medea, who were immature just like Pandarus and Bitias.

Vergil imitates Homer's simile comparing Polypoites and Leonteus to trees a third time in a simile at *Aen.* 4.441-46:

Ac uelut annoso ualidam cum robore quercum
Alpini Boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae
consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum uertice ad auras
aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit.⁹⁵

The second half of line 445 and all of 446 are repeated verbatim from *Geo.* 2.291-92. In addition, the directional language *nunc hinc nunc...illinc* reverberates from *Geo.* 2.297 *huc illuc*. In the *Aeneid* passage, these words describe forces buffeting the tree from without, while in the *Georgics*, they describe the tree's beneficent strength radiating from its center. There are some differences between the passages: in the earlier work the tree is referred to by the name *aesculus*, while in the *Aeneid* it is a *quercus*. (A third word for oak, *robur*, is hinted at in *annoso cum robore*.) The epic tree is planted in a rocky location, whereas the didactic tree resides near the trenches for vines. Finally, the tree to which Aeneas is compared is suffering a violent assault from the elements.

In its immediate context, the simile does not conclusively reveal whether Aeneas will stand firm under this attack: leaves and small branches have been stricken and have fallen with a noise, but nothing is said of the trunk except that it stretches a great distance. However, some assurance that the tree will hold firm comes not in the vehicle of the simile, but in its tenor, through allusion (4.447-49):

⁹⁵ "Just as when the Alpine north winds strive among themselves to uproot an oak tree, strong with aged might, with gusts now from this direction and now from that; there is a noise, and high leaves strew the earth after the branch is shaken; itself the tree clings to the rocks, and as much as it stretches into the heavenly breezes with its top, so much does it stretch with its root into Tartarus." Briggs (1974, 243) compares and contrasts this simile with that of the fall of Troy (*A.* 2.626-31).

Haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc uocibus heros
tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
mens immota manet, lacrimae uoluuntur inanes.⁹⁶

Vergil sets the gusts of wind in correspondence to the words spoken by Anna; while Aeneas, the tree, is shaken by these, his trunk – his mind, or decision – stands firm. *Mens immota manet* echoes *immota manet* at *Geo.* 2.294, where Vergil assures us that the oak will outlast many ages of men; *uoluuntur* also recalls *uoluens* from that same sentence (*Geo.* 2.295). It is interesting that it is specifically Aeneas' *mens* that stands firm; the tree simile has been adapted from its most common function, describing a warrior felled or steadfast in battle, to depict a hero undergoing a battle of wills.⁹⁷

Aeneas' firmness is confirmed by this allusion to the tree passage in the *Georgics*. Because Vergil's readers are aware that a tree whose branches reach to heaven and roots to Tartarus will, in the words of *Geo.* 2.293-7, outlast many generations of men, they can rest assured that Aeneas will not falter. Most specifically, it is said of such a tree that (*Geo.* 2.293-4):

ergo non hiemes illam, non flabra neque imbres
conuellunt.⁹⁸

The tree is ready to withstand the very types of assault which Aeneas, in the simile, is suffering. Perhaps even the original Homeric simile contains a hint of this perseverant quality, for both Polypoites and Leonteus stand firm and survive their valiant defense of the camp and go on to excel in the shot put at the funeral games of Patroclus (*Il.* 23.836-49), rather than dying like so many young men compared to trees.

⁹⁶ "Not at all otherwise is the hero pummeled from this side and that by continuous speeches, and he feels the cares deep in his great heart; his mind remains unmoved, the empty tears roll down."

⁹⁷ At the same time, however, the allusion may have negative connotations because of its association with the simile comparing Mezentius to a sea cliff (on which see above, pages 39-40). This is one of several instances where Aeneas and Mezentius have something in common, a set of connections which support the view that Aeneas behaves in violation of traditional mores (see e.g. Thomas 1988b), rather than always being a model of correct action (as e.g. Petter 1994).

⁹⁸ See translation above, note 87.

Allusion to the oak of the *Georgics* may also illuminate certain characteristics of Aeneas relating to family which, while thematically important to the *Aeneid*, are not immediately apparent in the text at this point in book four. According to Briggs, exploring Vergil's use of anthropomorphism in depicting this tree, he is

adding a human element to the picture, portraying the tree almost as a human (with *braccia*) father (with *nepotes*) that outlasts the ages of men. The paternal metaphor is the chief addition to the descriptions of Homer and Apollonius and by this unique vision of the tree, a natural object becomes a symbol of patient endurance and constant protection.⁹⁹

In his dissertation Briggs argues that Vergil, in the *Georgics*, humanizes nature and endows it with levels of emotion and pathos worthy of epic, and that this quality is what allows the poet to reuse material from the earlier work so seamlessly in the *Aeneid*. Briggs is very attentive to instances of anthropomorphism in the *Georgics* because they lend support to his epic and humanizing reading of the poem. In this instance, the allusions to the anthropomorphic passage in the *Georgics* suggest how the tree can valiantly survive the onslaughts of the personified winds.

The implications of the personification of this great oak in the *Georgics* carry over into the wider picture of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas is a man whose strength, especially as manifested through the decisions he makes, will last for generations, like the tree's. *Quantum uertice ad auras/ aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit*: his family reaches toward heaven in its fame and its divine origins; and he will soon visit Tartarus. As Briggs observes,

The roots descending to Tartarus may prefigure Aeneas' trip to the Underworld, the lofty branches his apotheosis. They may also show the sources of his

⁹⁹ Briggs (1974, 241). I identify additional elements by which Vergil has expanded the Homeric or Apollonian tree simile, namely mental significance and the connection to the numinous (illustrated here especially by *in Tartara*).

security in enduring the onslaught: his father, wife, and ancestors now reside in the Underworld, while usually, his mother lives in Olympus.¹⁰⁰

It is this web of family connections that separates him from Dido and hardens his will to seek out his fate in Italy, his forested land.

Narrative trees in the *Aeneid*

The forest and the underworld

Quite a complex of allusions is present in the tree simile of book four. The connections of Aeneas and his family with the heavens and the underworld are central to the themes of the epic. As we observe him descending *in Tartara*, trees and woods emerge as a defining element of the landscape of Italy and the underworld that seemingly resides in it. Since Aeneas himself has been compared to a tree, he seems to explore a land that is an analogue to his own body and life-force, and which he is uniquely fitted to inherit. At the same time, however, he wages a brutal war against his own land and its rustic inhabitants.¹⁰¹

An extraordinary collocation of woodsy terms forms the atmosphere and engages with the plot of the *Aeneid* beginning in the sixth book.¹⁰² Italy appears to be a wild and sylvan setting as soon as some of Aeneas' men leave the shore (6.7-8):

pars densa ferarum
tectata rapit silvas inuentaue flumina monstrat.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Briggs (1980, 38).

¹⁰¹ I am indebted to Pura Nieto Hernández for her aid in articulating this connection between Aeneas and the landscape of Italy.

¹⁰² Reckford notes the prevalence of trees in the latter half of the epic, in a "theme of desolation" in book nine in particular (1974, 71-72 and 76).

¹⁰³ "Some ransack the forests, dense homes of beasts, and reveal newfound rivers."

Aeneas goes in search of the Cumaean Sibyl in a grove which is closely connected to the underworld and Hecate (*subeunt Triuiuae lucos*, 6.13; *te...lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis*, 6.118).

Having found the Sibyl in the murky groves of Italy, Aeneas learns from her of the even more mysterious groves in which he will gain the key to the underworld. He will have to negotiate a great forest (*siluae*, 6.131). And trees are of course central to the Sibyl's description of the site where the golden bough, itself a botanical mystery, will be found (6.136-39):

latet arbore opaca
aureus et foliis et lento uimine ramus,
Iunoni infernae dictus sacer; hunc tegit omnis
lucus et obscuris claudunt conuallibus umbrae.¹⁰⁴

This forest location is entwined with the underworld to which it holds the key. Despite the bough's golden quality, it grows on a dark tree (*arbore opaca*, 136) and is consecrated to Proserpina (*Iunoni infernae*, 138). Shadows and darkness permeate its environment (*obscuris claudunt conuallibus umbrae*, 139).

Before Aeneas can undertake the quest to find the golden bough, he must accomplish another task, the Sibyl tells him, and one which necessarily also involves trees: the burial of Misenus. As at the beginning of book six, the wild and mysterious quality of the native Italian forest is emphasized when the men enter the forest to collect lumber (*antiquam siluam, stabula alta ferarum*, 179).

Five types of trees, most of which occur elsewhere functioning as ship parts, ritual torches, or trees in similes, are gathered to accompany Misenus to the next life: *piceae*,

¹⁰⁴ "A bough lurks on a dark tree, golden both in its leaves and its flexible stalk, said to be sacred to infernal Juno; the whole grove shields it and shadows conceal it in dim valleys."

ilex, fraxineae, robur, ornos (6.176-82).¹⁰⁵ When Aeneas returns from his concurrent trip collecting the golden bough, a second description of the pyre lists cypresses, a traditionally funereal tree (6.214-17). Cypress features in Horace's meditation on the intimate relationship between men and their trees through the medium of funeral rites in *Ode* 2.14.22-24:

neque harum quas colis arborum
te praeter invisas cupressos
ulla brevem dominum sequetur.¹⁰⁶

Comparison of the construction of Misenus' pyre with Pallas' bier later in the epic reveals some interesting differences in the use of trees in the two scenes. Only two species, oak and arbutus (11.65), go into the making of the young man's bier, which is also draped with costly gifts (11.72-5). Arbutus is mentioned nowhere else in the *Aeneid*, but in combination with oak, carries Golden Age associations from its appearances in the *Georgics* and in Lucretius.¹⁰⁷ Its absence from Misenus' pyre, and the rest of the *Aeneid*, might suggest either that it was not traditionally useful as wood, or that its symbolic connotations were inappropriate to the murky forests of the *Aeneid*.

Oaks, on the other hand, do feature in the burial of Misenus (*ilex*, 180; *robur*, 181). Yet while the men's excursion into the woods to cut down trees was a major focus on that occasion, in Pallas' case we are not informed as to the source of the *uimine querno* (11.65). An oak of the proper sort to provide these branches (*quercus*) was cut

¹⁰⁵ Thomas (1988b, 267-68) explores the extensive preparations for Misenus' funeral as an aspect of how Aeneas disobeys the Sibyl while undertaking his second "tree violation," the acquisition of the golden bough. He also suggests that Lucan's Caesar, in clear-cutting a sacred grove at *BC* 3.399-452, alludes not only to Ovid's Erysichthon passage (on which see below, page 72), but also to this funeral pyre.

¹⁰⁶ "Nor will any of these trees which you nurture follow their short-lived master except the hateful cypresses." See also Connors (1992, 1-2) on the literature on cypresses.

¹⁰⁷ Arbutus and acorns provide food to Golden Age man at *G.* 1.147-9 and allow primitive man to bribe primitive woman (an alternative to outright rape) at *DRN* 5.961-5, but are debased to providing fodder for livestock at *G.* 2.519-22. Acorns and arbutus also appear together at *G.* 2.61-72 in a catalogue of grafts. On arbutus see Maggiulli (1995, 240-42).

down sixty lines earlier, however: the tree which Aeneas uses to set up the *tropaeum* of Mezentius (11.5). The notion that Pallas' bier may be fashioned from little bits of the tree which now represents Aeneas' defeated enemy, and natural enemy of Pallas, is reinforced by the second appearance of *tropaea* in the youth's funeral procession (11.83-4).¹⁰⁸

An additional element of vegetal imagery permeates the Pallas episode when his body is compared, with the language of erotic lyric, to a cut flower (11.68-71):

qualem uirgineo demessum pollice florem
seu mollis uiolae seu languentis hyacinthi,
cui neque fulgor adhuc nec dum sua forma recessit,
non iam mater alit tellus uirisque ministrat.¹⁰⁹

This simile performs the traditional function of a growing tree simile, in lending pathos to the death of a beautiful young warrior whose potential is unfulfilled (see above, pages 28-29). Even the adjective *uirgineo*, describing the young lady who plucks the flower, destroying it through her appreciation for it, evokes the epic obituaries of young men, whose death before they were able to marry or consummate marriage is also mentioned to elicit pathos.¹¹⁰ The young man's burial, then, in its emphases on his beauty, Golden Age trees, and symbolic vengeance on enemies, differs markedly from the earlier burial scene for Misenus, where the account focused on masculine labor, diverse elements of the forest, and the wild Italian surroundings.

Aeneas' excursion into the woods to find the golden bough while Misenus' pyre is built had occasioned numerous mentions of trees, at lines 6.186, 187, 188, 195, 196,

¹⁰⁸ Vengeful brutality, suggested by the mutilated trunks of *tropaea*, is foregrounded in Aeneas' human sacrifice (A. 10.517-20, 11.81-2).

¹⁰⁹ "Like a flower picked by a virginal finger, either of a tender violet or a drooping hyacinth, whose brightness and shape have still not yet left it, but mother earth no longer nourishes it and tends its strength."

¹¹⁰ On the Catullan aspects of this simile, especially the role of the female as agent of destruction, see above, pages 36-38, on Euryalus.

203, 204, and 209. A botanical simile occurs at 6.205-209, featuring funereal elements, although unlike the flower simile, it is not associated with an actual burial:

quale solet siluis brumali frigore uiscum
fronde uirere noua, quod non sua seminat arbos,
et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos,
talis erat species auri frondentis opaca
ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea uento.¹¹¹

The mistletoe of this simile is a plant with Druidic connections which may have been known to the Romans by this time, due to Caesar's expeditions.¹¹² Norden analyzes the lore about mistletoe and the extent of Vergil's awareness of the traditions.¹¹³ At the very least, the simile mentions two qualities which mark out the mysterious qualities of the mistletoe: its unknown origins (*non sua seminat arbos*) and winter flourishing in the absence of greenery on its host tree, both of which elements suggest a unique relationship to the normal cycle of life and death.

The simile initially seems to compare two things which are essentially alike: both the golden bough and mistletoe are in fact plants, shaped like sprigs or shoots, growing on trees which do not match them.¹¹⁴ While it may not seem to be particularly illustrative to compare like with like, this simile nonetheless performs its basic function, because the

¹¹¹ "As the mistletoe in the forests is accustomed to green with new leafage in the winter chill, which a tree begets, not its own, and to encircle the slender trunks with golden offspring, of such sort was the appearance of the leafy gold on the dark live-oak, thus the foil rattled in the light wind."

¹¹² Austin *ad A.* 6.205 ff. (1986, 100-01) points out that Vergil may have been aware of the sort of ethnographic reports given in Pliny, *NH* 16.251, recounting the role of mistletoe in Druidic ritual. According to Pliny, the Druids associate mistletoe with the moon, which would, to the Romans, imply a connection with deities like Hecate. Caesar *de Bello Gallico* 6.16 reports that Druids practice human sacrifice, certainly a grim ritual. Austin *ad A.* 206 (1986, 101) also identifies a literary allusion to the bizarre grafts of *Geo.* 2.82, "miraturque nouas frondes et non sua poma."

¹¹³ Norden (1957, 163-75).

¹¹⁴ J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough* famously took this connection too far and asserted that the branch Aeneas had to pluck was in fact mistletoe; some aspects of his theory, namely the association to the cult of Diana Nemorensis, are picked up in Dyson (2001).

golden bough belongs to a different sphere of reality.¹¹⁵ It is possible that Vergil's audience had seen mistletoe, a common ingredient in bird-lime, but certainly none of them had been chosen to go on a quest into the Avernan forests, the plane of existence proper to mythological talismans such as the golden bough. So a simile that, at first, seemed to set up two types of vegetation against one another, is actually performing a function akin to comparing songbirds to the doves that draw Venus' chariot.

Weber, moreover, shows that there is a deeper comparison at work: the language of the simile is evocative of philosophical discussions of the relationship of the body and the soul.¹¹⁶ Here too the tree stands in for the body of a man, while the golden bough is assigned the role of the soul. Pârvulescu makes a somewhat similar argument, but specific to the character of Aeneas; after suggesting that the branch represents *pietas*¹¹⁷ and is modeled on the suppliant branch,¹¹⁸ he concludes that in "the same way the mistletoe is planted in the tree not by the tree itself, so is the will of the gods planted in Aeneas' mind not by Aeneas himself. Aeneas becomes only the carrier of a mission not created by himself but entrusted to him by the gods."¹¹⁹ This connection might reinforce the image of the simile at 4.441-46, where the strength of the tree actually corresponded to Aeneas' mental determination (*mens immota manet*, 4.449) rather than physical steadfastness. In this sense, the golden bough might not represent, as Weber argues, Aeneas' soul, to be left in the Underworld, but the soul of the Italian forest (and, by

¹¹⁵ Johnson identifies incomprehensibility as one of the characterizing features of Vergil's Hades (1976, 90-91). Apparently straightforward similes, then, may be an artistic coping strategy particularly suited to the katabasis episode.

¹¹⁶ Weber (1995, 5-14). He goes on to argue for an identification of the tree with Aeneas, who leaves his "Trojan soul" behind in the underworld as the bough too is left, and is reborn (16).

¹¹⁷ Pârvulescu (2005, 890).

¹¹⁸ Pârvulescu (2005, 896-902).

¹¹⁹ Pârvulescu (2005, 908-09).

extension, the entire country's spirit).¹²⁰ Its hesitation to be plucked, then (*cunctantem*, 6.211), parallels the resistance that Aeneas will encounter from the Latins and their allies, as well as foreshadowing his eventual success.

Following the acquisition of the golden bough, at long last Aeneas enters the Underworld, only to confront more trees, forests and groves. The entry to Avernus is in a shady woods (6.237-38):

spelunca alta fuit uastoque immanis hiatu,
scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris.¹²¹

Once entered, it seems that all the denizens of Hades' realms reside in groves or forests of some sort. In a forest, Hecate approaches, and the Sibyl warns off some spirits in a grove (6.255-61):

ecce autem primi sub limina solis et ortus
sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moueri
siluarum, uisaeque canes ululare per umbram
aduentante dea. 'procul, o procul este, profani,'
conclamat uates, 'totoque absistite luco;
tuque inuade uiam uaginaque eripe ferrum:
nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.'¹²²

A simile follows, which compares Aeneas' voyage on the murky underworld path to travel through a forest on a dark night (6.268-72):

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram
perque domos Ditis uacuas et inania regna:
quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna
est iter in siluis, ubi caelum condidit umbra
Iuppiter, et rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.¹²³

¹²⁰ In this formulation I am again indebted to discussion of my argument with Pura Nieto Hernández.

¹²¹ "There was a deep cave, immense with huge opening, jagged, protected by a black lake and the shadows of the woods."

¹²² "Behold moreover at the threshold and rising of first light, the ground bellowed beneath their feet and the ridges of the forests began to move themselves, and it seemed that dogs were howling through the shadow as the goddess approached. 'Away, be away, uninitiated,' shouts the seer, 'and stay away from the entire grove; but you, enter the road and snatch your sword from its sheath: now there is a need for courage, Aeneas, and now for a steady heart;'"

¹²³ "They were going dimly beneath the lonely night through the shadow and through the empty homes and bodiless realms of Dis; as under an indeterminate moon beneath her scant light one journeys in the woods,

This comparison of like situations again appears, on the surface, too obvious to be a simile, until one realizes the great chasm between the levels of experience involved. Like the encounter with a golden bough, the experience of walking through a forest in the Underworld is one that none of Vergil's readers can have had. Austin suggests that it is the immateriality of Aeneas' surroundings that the simile captures: "the simile is insistent on the insubstantiality of the underworld."¹²⁴ And yet it seems rather that it is the darkness, the absence of any but mysterious (and supernatural – note the presence of *Iuppiter*) nocturnal light,¹²⁵ that is rather the focus of the vehicle: *incertam lunam, luce maligna, umbra, nox abstulit atra colorem*.¹²⁶ The simile also recalls certain other passages encountered in this exploration of tree similes through the words *caelum condidit*: both Orion, carrying his uprooted tree (*caelo capita alta ferentis*, 10.767), and Fama (*caput inter nubila condit*, 4.177) were said to carry their heads in the clouds, while the Cyclopes were *fratres caelo capita alta ferentis* (3.678). Here the situation is reversed, and the sky is itself hidden by clouds, which draws the reader's attention to the fact that the absence of a visible sky is of course highly appropriate in the underground realm of Hades.

The incomprehensibly dark dimness of the forests of the Underworld, then, can best be understood by comparison to a dark forest voyage on the upper earth. In his

when Jupiter hides the sky in shadow, and black night steals the color from things." The placement of *nox* in the center of the final line evokes a void, with "Jupiter" and "color" situated as far from it as possible.

¹²⁴ Austin *ad A.* 6.270 ff. (1986, 117).

¹²⁵ Jupiter is frequently responsible for bad weather in similes, but the result is usually more terrifying than a darkened sky. For instance, at *Il.* 10.5-8 Zeus inflicts rain, hail, snow and battle on mankind, while at *Il.* 16.384-92 Zeus' storm is occasioned by human injustice. These comparanda may suggest that the darkness in the underworld is quite as awe-inspiring as a thunderstorm or other manifestation of the irritable divine. Whether Jupiter is here responding to any human injustice is another matter, but such an interpretation may be appropriate for the sector of Hades Aeneas is about to enter.

¹²⁶ Weber (1995, 6-7) and Segal (1965, 624-26) remark on the emphatic contrast of light and dark in the passage.

explorations and conquest of his soon-to-be-native land, Aeneas will yet encounter Austin's immateriality in the mysterious forests. First, however, he encounters an odd and insubstantial sight, the greatest tree of Vergil's Hades: an elm about which cluster false shapes and dreams (6.282-89):

in medio ramos annosaeque brachia pandit
 ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia uulgo
 uana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.
 multaeque praeterea uariarum monstra ferarum,
 Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes
 et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lernae
 horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,
 Gorgones Harpyiaeque et forma tricornis umbrae.¹²⁷

This is the only elm of the *Aeneid*, although it is a tree that appears in four of the *Eclogues* and eight times in the *Georgics*. Its inhabitants seem little like the singing doves and pigeons that inhabit Vergil's first elm (*Ecl.* 1.57-8). Rather, they recall Lucretian discourses about things which have never existed, but which the mind can be tricked into believing it has seen, or seen in dreams. First, at *DRN* 4.732-48, Lucretius describes how vision can be confused by the confluence of simulacra from diverse creatures, creating sights of Centaurs, Scyllas, or Cerberus. In his second treatment of Centaurs, at *DRN* 5. 878-906, he connects them with Scylla and Chimaera. Two of the other inhabitants of this elm, the hydra of Lerna and the triple-bodied one (Geryon), populate the labors of Hercules, which are cited at *DRN* 5.22-54 as being less impressive than the accomplishments of the philosopher Epicurus.

Austin speculates that, while these creatures are not among the cast of characters traditionally resident in Hades, Vergil must be drawing on some popular tradition also

¹²⁷ "In the center an elm stretches out its branches and aged limbs, a dark, enormous elm, which perch they say the empty Dreams hold in common, and they cling beneath all the leaves. And there are many monstrosities of diverse beasts besides: Centaurs abide in the doorway, and two-bodied Scyllas, and hundredfold Briareus and the monster of Lerna screeching fiercely, and Chimaeras armed with flames, Gorgons and Harpies and the shape of the three-bodied shade."

represented in Lucretius.¹²⁸ Lucretius' beasts, however, have nothing to do with the Underworld except insofar as he believes neither in the monsters nor in Hades. Rather, I would argue that the creatures are better associated with the dreams, especially false dreams, which also inhabit the elm. Lucretius' passage on Centaurs and Scyllas in *DRN* 4 is closely followed by a discussion of simulacra in dreaming (4.757-76, 788-93).

Servius too thought false dreams one of the most salient characteristics of this elm, identifying it with Aeneas' exit from the Underworld at the end of book six. He postulates that this would argue for the falsity of the entire episode (Servius *ad A.* 6.282):

IN MEDIO: aut vestibulo: aut absolutum est, et intelligimus hanc esse
eburneam portam, per quam exiturus Aeneas est. quae res haec omnia indicat
esse simulata, si et ingressus et exitus simulatus est et falsus.¹²⁹

If Servius were correct about the identity of this lair of false dreams with Aeneas' exit at the gate of ivory, a long argument might be settled. And yet, even if there are false dreams, monsters and apparitions at every turn, the narrator attests that false dreams really move about and leave the gate: so while the contents of Aeneas' trip may be false, it is attested that he really made the excursion. He has certainly seen much before coming to this tree.

As Aeneas and the Sibyl cross in Charon's boat, aided by the token of the golden bough, and proceed into those regions of the underworld inhabited by the shades of the dead, forests and trees continue to define the landscape. The unburied dead, clustering at the shore of Styx, are compared to leaves fallen in a forest at the first frost, as well as to

¹²⁸ Austin *ad A.* 6.285 ff., 286 (1986, 121-22).

¹²⁹ "In the center: either in the foyer; or it is absolute, and we are to understand that this is the ivory gate through which Aeneas is going to depart. Which matter would signal that all these things are feigned, if both the entrance and the exit are feigned and false." DServius charmingly adds on 6.283 that "et quidam tradunt ideo in ulmo somnia inducta, quod vino gravati vana somnient et ulmus apta sit viti..." ("And some relate that the dreams are exhibited in the elm for this reason: because people who are heavy with wine will dream false dreams, and the elm is suited to the vine.") The detail of elm used as support for vines may be found in the *Georgics* at 2.221, and 2.358-70. The aged oak had performed the same service at *G.* 2.291-2, which, as we have seen, is then translated into the simile of Aeneas and the oak in *Aen.* 4.

birds in a storm (6.309-11). The dead lovers, including Dido, roam a grove of myrtle, the wood sacred to Venus (6.442-74). It is in this wooded locale that Aeneas memorably encounters his former lover. It is not only the sorrowful shades who live in forests, though. Aeneas and the Sibyl find more groves as they approach the realms of the blessed (6.638-9):

deuenere locos laetos et amoena uirecta
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.¹³⁰

The river Eridanus, which flows through these pleasant abodes, has its source in a laurel woods – again, an appropriate choice of tree, given the laurel’s part in honorific wreaths (6.656-9). Musaeus confirms that the souls of the great live in groves (6.673-5). Aeneas and Anchises walk by Lethe, surrounded by woods and forests, where innumerable souls are clustered (6.703-5).

The forest and Italian religion

As the souls of the righteous live in groves of laurel in the underworld, numinous powers live in trees and woods on the earth. Some of these are the standard nymphs, fauns or satyrs. Other trees, domesticated in the courts of kings, serve as centers for worship and are revered as holy sites without being considered a personification of an immortal being.¹³¹ In the *Aeneid*, Italian religion seems particularly to be associated with trees, both wild and civilized. The character of the Latins’ religious practices is matched by the topography, for nowhere in his travels thus far has Aeneas encountered so much

¹³⁰ “They arrived at the happy places and the pleasant greenswards of the groves of the fortunate and the blessed dwellings.”

¹³¹ This is of course also possible outside Italy; see for instance Ceres’ cypress (*A.* 2.713-15) or the grove of Athena in Scheria (*Od.* 6.321-2), although the descriptions are in each instance cursory.

greenery.¹³² Italy is a very wild and wooded place when the Trojans arrive, and this characteristic is emphasized in the battle books of the latter half of the epic.

Ritual is focused on the woods for both Aeneas' allies and his opponents. Latinus seeks guidance from the oracle of Faunus, which is in the woods (7.81-101), and the Sibyl, according to Helenus, was known to prophesy with leaves (3.441-52). Circe, powerful relation of Helios, lives in the woods (7.10-14), and Allecto lurks there as well (7.563-71). Evander sacrifices to Hercules in a grove (8.102-6); Hercules had established an altar in a grove (8.270-72); and the central holy sites of later Rome are revealed to be numinously wooded (Argiletum, 8.345-6; Capitoline 8.348-54). Silvanus also has holy sites in forested locations (8.596-602) and it is there that Venus delivers the shield to her son (8.608-616), under an oak. Turnus waits in a grove sacred to Pilumnus (9.3-4).

This mysterious and tree-oriented religion plays a role in the final scenes of Aeneas' contest with Turnus. Aeneas' tree-like (12.888) spear gets stuck in the stump of an oleaster sacred to the native Italian deity Faunus.¹³³ The description of this tree, and its past callous, irreligious cutting by the Trojans, is one of the last ecphrases describing landscape in the *Aeneid*.¹³⁴ The passage emphasizes the lack of religious or superstitious respect among Aeneas' men (12.766-71):

Forte sacer Fauno foliis oleaster amaris
hic steterat, nautis olim uenerabile lignum,
seruati ex undis ubi figere dona solebant
Laurenti diuo et uotas suspendere uestis;

¹³² See Fowler on the middle of a journey, especially the journey of life, figured as the middle of a wood (2000, 110).

¹³³ Dyson notes this characteristic of Aeneas' weapon (2001, 223).

¹³⁴ The only later passage that could be considered such is the description of the boundary stone which Turnus strives to throw at Aeneas (12.896-902). However, the form of this description focuses more on traditional epic hyperbole ("a stone no twelve men today could lift") than on landscape. Thomas recognizes the ecphrastic character of this passage (1988b, 269).

sed stirpem Teucris nullo discrimine sacrum
sustulerant, puro ut possent concurrere campo.¹³⁵

The Trojans cut down the tree without consideration for its sacred qualities; and they cannot plead ignorance, for the tree was covered in votives (12.768-69). We have heard little of Italian sailing prowess, so the olive's cult role for seamen is something of an anomaly.¹³⁶ Aeneas and his men, however, have sailed widely and been rescued from storms by divine intervention, so it would be more appropriate for them to revere the tree than to remove it.¹³⁷

Thomas connects this scene to two other instances of what he calls "tree violation": Aeneas' assault on the bush on Polydorus' tomb, and the plucking of the golden bough. He points out the danger of damaging trees without propitiating the

¹³⁵ "By chance a wild olive tree with bitter leaves, sacred to Faunus, had stood there, its wood venerated by sailors in the past when, after being kept safe at sea, they were accustomed to fasten gifts to the Laurentine god and hang up the clothing they had vowed. But the Trojans had removed the holy plant indiscriminately, so that they could fight on an open plain." The beginning and the last two lines of the excursus exhibit short bursts of alliteration (*f* and *s* in *forte sacer Fauno foliis*, *s* and *t* in *sed stirpem Teucris* and *sacrum sustulerant*; *p* and *c* in *puro possent concurrere campo*) which seem to evoke the sounds of rustling interrupted by chopping.

¹³⁶ It is also unusual that sailors should be offering votives to a rustic forest divinity; Horace *Odes* 1.5, which employs an extended metaphor of salvation from shipwreck, describes offering *vestimenta maris deo* (offering "clothing to the god of the sea"), as is logical. Weadon (1981, 70), in an attempt to elucidate Vergil's choice of the wild olive here, observes insightfully that the line echoes *Geo.* 2.314, *infelix superat foliis oleaster amaris*. The presence of the "epithet" *foliis amaris* describing the oleaster at 12.766 certainly reinforces his idea that we are meant to recall that passage, in which Vergil warns against grafting the domestic olive onto the wild, because only the wild will survive if there is a fire. (This passage is explored in more detail in the Excursus.) Weadon explores the implications of this Georgic subtext, and identifies the Romans with the domestic olive, the Latins with the oleaster. His interpretation is more nuanced than a traditional "Romans destined to cultivate wild Italians" reading, as he makes the point that *cultus* can have a corrupting influence and "both improves and weakens the sterile growths of nature" (1981.71). Also note the interesting remark of *Geo.* 2.420, *non ulla est oleis cultura*, the falsity of which is remarked by Thomas (1988b, 269 n.27). The domestic element of the graft too lacks *cultus* in this perspective. I wonder, however, if the relevance of the Georgic source passage actually reaches further: in a graft of cultured Trojans onto wild Italians, only barbarity will survive after a disaster (such as, for instance, civil war). Dyson (2001, 223-25), unsurprisingly, argues that the oleaster is actually sacred to Diana, because of its role in the death of Hippolytus. The evidence she cites from Pausanias might rather suggest that the oleaster should be abhorrent to Diana, and at any rate, this ignores the role of Faunus, whom Vergil asserts is the tree's actual dedicatee.

¹³⁷ The chopped down tree echoes the ash carried by Orion at 10.766 and Silvanus' uprooted cypress seedling at *G.* 1.20 (on these see page 17), as well as any number of felled-tree similes. It also calls to mind the stiff penalties for violating a sacred olive brought up in Lysias' *On the Olive Stump*. Nethercut observes the "ironic" quality of the Trojan sailors' desecration (1968, 89 n.2).

relevant deities, using documentary, mythological and literary evidence.¹³⁸ I find the plucking of the golden bough less disturbing than the other two incidents, since Aeneas feels that he is operating according to oracular instructions. The connection between the lives of men and trees that permeates tree similes appears clearly in the personified or enspirited character of Polydorus' bush and Faunus' tree, while the golden bough is supernatural in a more mysterious fashion, depending on the philosophical language of the mistletoe simile to humanize it.¹³⁹

Far from being sanctioned by an oracle, and failing to attempt any propitiation of the god of the place, the Trojans willingly clearcut the trees *puro ut possent concurrere campo*, so they can fight freely. So too they are willing to commit carnage against their future people in order to accomplish their Italian destiny. The use of the word *purus*, which normally denotes a freedom from ritual defilement, is deeply ironic in this context, since the act of clearing the plain destroys a religious site.

Aeneas is only very briefly punished for the Trojans' destruction of this sacred tree.¹⁴⁰ Turnus' prayer to Faunus to keep Aeneas' spear trapped in the stump is the Rutulian's last request to a deity.¹⁴¹ While it is heard and granted, it is not particularly effective. His final prayer in the epic is even less effective, of course: his request for some degree of mercy (even posthumous) from Aeneas. This confrontation may be

¹³⁸ Thomas (1988b, 263-65).

¹³⁹ The Polydorus episode is similar to the similes comparing young warriors to tender or vulnerable trees in that it closely associates a plant with the body of a young man. Because the association is not a simile, but an actual identification, both youth and plant suffer tragically at Aeneas' hands. On the ominous encounter with the shrub of Polydorus see Dyson (2001, 35-38), Thomas (1988b, 265-66, connecting it with the story of Erysichthon in Ovid and Callimachus) and Casali (2005, Erysichthon and dramatic portrayals of Lycurgus).

¹⁴⁰ The lack of clear ramifications for Aeneas' tree violations is the major theme for Thomas (1988b, e.g., p. 265).

¹⁴¹ Putnam points out that Aeneas' use of a spear has not been mentioned in the action leading up to this scene. He also argues that Faunus fails to fulfill Turnus' request because he "is forced to give up protecting his own," as Juno will likewise (1965, 189).

foreshadowed in the simile of book four. Aeneas, whose will (*mens*) is characterized as a tree that stands firm while reaching up to heaven (Venus) and down to Tartarus (to visit Anchises), was in that context holding fast and ignoring Dido's pleas that he relinquish his destiny. As he stood up to that request, so he stands up to the request of Turnus. Aeneas, like Mezentius, has many of the diverse qualities denoted in tree similes: he stands firm, but also has the woodsman's power to cut short a human life.¹⁴²

The tree simile of *Aen.* 4.441-6 in later Latin poetry

I have shown that the oak tree of *Georgics* 2.291-2, reused in the simile describing Aeneas at *Aen.* 4.441-6, has wide-ranging thematic significance within the epic. Specifically, this pair of images suggests an underlying connection between Aeneas' personal qualities and the landscape and population of Italy, with which he nonetheless interacts on a largely hostile basis. This fact seems to have impressed itself on Vergil's imitators, for the tree is alluded to in various ways by Ovid, Lucan, and Silius.¹⁴³ These authors combine reference to the oak simile with reference to other moments in the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*, continuing into later Latin literature the resonance of a tree theme which incorporates both narrative and simile and modulates the tone of the entire second half of the *Aeneid*.

¹⁴² Putnam (1965, 189) suggests another way in which this scene demonstrates parallelism between men and trees: *nullo discrimine* is "the same phrase Virgil had applied to Aeneas' mad slaughter not long before (line 498)." The Trojans and their leader alike subject Italy to indiscriminate destruction. Nethercut (1968, 89 n.2) separately observes the connection between the two scenes. Dyson puts it nicely: "by assimilating his characters alternately to trees and to violators of trees, Virgil illustrates the moral complexity of men's relationships with one another and with the natural world" (2001, 234).

¹⁴³ Thomas lays out a rationale for analyzing the allusive poetry of Imperial Latin poets as commentary: "This sort of 'commentary through allusion' seems to provide a useful critical tool, in that the 'alluding' poets (here Ovid and Lucan) are closer in time and spirit than any ancient commentary we have, and potentially give us not only their own readings of the earlier (here Virgilian) text, but quite possibly some sort of general critical consensus" (1988b.268).

Ovid refers to this tree in the story of Erysichthon at *Metamorphoses* 8.739-76.¹⁴⁴

This tree whose desecration results in Erysichthon's horrible fate is also an oak (*quercus*), and is holy to the goddess Ceres. In the passage, Ovid alludes extensively both to the episode of Polydorus in *Aeneid* 3 and to the oak simile of *Aeneid* 4.¹⁴⁵ This tree is *ingens annoso robore* (743; cf. *annoso robore*, 4.441; the Georgic tree had an *ingentem umbram*), and personified as it suffers the blows of the axe, *contremuit gemitumque dedit Deoia quercus* (758; cf. Briggs on the anthropomorphic qualities of the Georgic oak, page 29 above). In both size and anthropomorphism, however, Ovid employs massive hyperbole. The tree is itself the size of a grove (*una nemus*, 744),¹⁴⁶ suffers a wound (*vulnus*, 761) that bleeds (*sanguis*, 762), and this goriness is the subject of a simile in which the tree is compared to a bull being sacrificed (763-4). Tellingly, Ovid does not employ the lines, common to the *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, describing the tree reaching toward the heavens and Tartarus. Since this tree in the *Metamorphoses* does not stand firm, but is chopped down, Ovid refrains from adapting the language with which Vergil described Aeneas' peculiar fortitude.

Lucan again adapts Vergil's two oaks into a simile of a vulnerable tree when Pompey is compared to an aged oak at *BC* 1.136-43:

Qualis frugifero quercus sublimis in agro
exuvias veteres populi sacrataque gestans
dona ducum nec iam validis radicibus haerens

¹⁴⁴ The central myth is that of Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, which also provides a model for Ovid. A close comparison of the two would be interesting as a comparandum for Connors (1992), in which she argues that the story of Silvia's stag, imitated in Ovid's story of Cyparissus, is probably modeled on an earlier Greek version of the story of Cyparissus. I have not searched the episodes of tree violation in the *Aeneid* carefully for allusions to Callimachus, but doing so would be an excellent opportunity to assess the potential of Connors' methodology in an instance where the potential Greek model of Ovid's myth is extant.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas (1988b, 266) details the echoes of the Thracian episode, speculating that "Ovid seems to be commenting on the actions of Aeneas, suggesting that they are indistinguishable from those of his own Erysichthon." He does not relate the Ovidian tree to the simile of *Aeneid* 4.

¹⁴⁶ Hollis *ad Met.* 8.744 (1970, 134) observes Silius' imitation of this Ovidian phrase.

pondere fixa suo est, nudosque per aera ramos
 effudens trunco, non frondibus, efficit umbram;
 et quamvis primo nutet casura sub Euro,
 tot circum silvae firmo se robore tollant,
 sola tamen colitur.¹⁴⁷

The simile combines allusions to Vergil's text in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, but uses the references to highlight the differences between the tenors of the two similes. The oak is *sublimis*, like its literary predecessors which stretched their tops *ad auras aetherias*. It is called a *quercus*, as in *Aen.* 4, but is located *frugifero in agro*, an agricultural setting more similar to that of the vine-supporting tree in *Geo.* 2 than to the rocky perch of the tree to which Aeneas is compared. In this comfortable location, the tree is loaded with honor and regarded as a reverend site, unlike either of the source trees; rather, this detail evokes images of the holy laurel trees in the palaces of Priam and Latinus, or Faunus' oleaster.

The roots of Vergil's tree were remarkable in their length and tenacity, as they stretch *in Tartara* (*A.* 4.446) and *haeret scopulis* (*A.* 4.445), but Lucan's on the contrary have lost their supportive strength, *nec iam validis radicibus haerens*. The tree of *Geo.* 2 created a magnificent shade with its mighty branches (*Geo.* 2.296-97) but this oak casts a shadow only with its massive, denuded trunk (*BC* 1.139-40). Lastly, Pompey and the tree to which he is compared will fall to a named wind, *Eurus*, whose relatives (*Alpini Boreae*, *A.* 4.442) could not hope to fell Aeneas. Lucan's tree is quite as large as its Vergilian antecedents, but in this case does not stand firm; perhaps its *robur* is overly

¹⁴⁷ "As a lofty oak in a fruitful field is fixed in place by its own weight, wearing the ancient spoils of the people and their leaders' dedicated gifts, no longer clinging with powerful roots, spreading out bare branches through the air it creates a shadow with its trunk, not its leaves; and even though it nods, about to fall under the east wind, and so great a forest lifts itself up around it with firm strength, nevertheless it alone is culted." See Berno (2004) on the interchange in tree symbolism between Priam and Pompey in Lucan and Seneca.

annosum. In fact, this oaky strength has been passed to a new generation, who yet stand about in awe of the weakened trunk (*tot circum silvae firmo se robore tollant*, *BC* 1.142).

Silius too alludes to the two Vergilian trees, at 5.480-509, converting the scene back into narrative and filtering it through Ovid (5.480-88):

annosa excelsos tendebat in aethera ramos
 aesculus, umbrosum magnas super ardua silvas
 nubibus insertans altis caput, instar, aperto
 si staret campo, nemoris lateque tenebat
 frondosi nigra tellurem roboris umbra.
 par iuxta quercus, longum molita per aevum
 vertice canenti proferre sub astra cacumen,
 diffusas patulo laxabat stipite frondes
 umbrabatque coma summi fastigia montis.¹⁴⁸

Known for his assiduous imitation of Vergil, Silius here outdoes himself in incorporating references to both Vergilian tree scenes mentioned above, as well as other loci. The first tree described is an *aesculus*, like the supportive oak in the second *Georgic*. The very first word of the passage, *annosa*, evokes the strength of the oak featured in the simile of *Aen.* 4. Imitating both, it *tendebat in aethera*. Like the tree in the *Georgics*, and directly in opposition to Lucan's version, this tree casts a great shade and overtops the other trees in the forest. Silius' language describing this loftiness is reminiscent of Vergil's Fama (4.173-190), specifically *nubibus insertans altis caput* as Fama had *caput inter nubile condit* (4.177), and of the related simile comparing Mezentius to Orion.¹⁴⁹

Silius imitates the passage from Ovid discussed above in the detail that this tree, if growing alone in the open, would appear to be a whole grove.¹⁵⁰ Again, we hear of its

¹⁴⁸ "An aged oak was lifting its lofty branches into the sky, thrusting its shady top into the high clouds high above the great woods, the equivalent, if it stood on the open plain, of a grove, the black shade of the leafy oak held the earth far and wide. Nearby an equal oak had labored for a long time to display its tip with whitening top beneath the stars, and it extended widespread leaves from its spreading stalk and overshadowed the top of a high mountain with its foliage."

¹⁴⁹ See the discussion of Orion and the Cyclopes, pages 42-46 above.

¹⁵⁰ Bruère (1958, 486-88) uncovers a number of Ovidian allusions in this episode, including, elsewhere in book eight of the *Metamorphoses*, Nestor climbing a tree during the Calydonian boar hunt (*Met.* 8.365-8).

robor. He then introduces a second tree, and in describing it manages to include some of the Vergilian details he had left out of the first tree's depiction. With *patulo*, Silius alludes to the spreading beech of the first line of the *Eclogues*. *Stipite frondes* repeats the final two feet of *Aen.* 4.444, though there the *frondes*, cast down from the tree, were the grammatical subject and here they are stable and an object in the accusative. This tree passage concludes with an assertion potentially even more hyperbolic than the previous tree's comparison with a grove – this one overshadows mountaintops. Men take refuge in the tree, and Sychaeus cuts it down, crushing them; fire destroys the second tree, burning people alive. This scene combines the two topoi of tree similes: unbending strength and unfortunate felling, while alluding to the hyperbolic qualities of Ovid's holy tree and the weakness of the old oak in Lucan's simile describing Pompey.

This series of allusive adaptations of the Vergilian tree simile and its Georgic source reveals that Ovid, Lucan, and Silius were fully aware of Vergil's tendency to self-imitative allusion. Incorporating references to both *Geo.* 2.291-2 and *Aen.* 4.441-6, the imitators conflate the two trees just as Vergil did, and import the powerful context of those two scenes into their own work. Yet, each author refrains from employing Vergil's specification about the roots of the tree stretching toward Tartarus that appears in both scenes. This mystical strength remains the possession of Aeneas alone, describing his unique fortitude, origins and destiny in the forested land of Hesperia.

The Erysichthon episode is the primary source of allusion, and Bruère recognizes the influence of Vergil's oak simile on both later authors (1958, 488).

CHAPTER TWO: BEES IN THE *AENEID*

Introduction

The three bee similes of the *Aeneid* (1.430-436; 6.707-709; 12.587-592) have attracted scholarly attention especially for the way in which they reuse material from the *Georgics*. In the fourth *Georgic* Vergil mythologizes and anthropomorphizes the bees, describes them with similes and uses them to comment on Roman society.¹ The appearance of bees in the similes of the *Aeneid* therefore creates a tantalizing prospect of the continuation of one of the major motifs and themes of the prior work. The reiteration has serious implications for an understanding of Vergil's treatment of Rome in his Roman epic.

The society of bees, however, like many of the simile vehicle subjects discussed in this study, is not a univalent symbol in the epic. Certain episodes are more profoundly related to one another through shared language and repeated allusions to the *Georgics* and to Greek epic. In line with Otis' arguments for diptych organization in the *Aeneid*, I have found close relationships especially between the bee scenes within the two halves of the epic (1 and 6, 7 and 12). The bee similes of books one and six are connected particularly by their shared references to Greek epic and the *Georgics*.² The relationship between the narrative episode involving bees in book seven and the simile of book 12

¹ On bees' likeness to man in the *Georgics* see Farrell (1991, 239) and Thomas (1988a, 2:21-22). This line of inquiry is generally indebted to the observations on ethnographical approach of Dahlmann (1954).

² The only other insect-related simile of the *Aeneid*, that of the ants in book four, participates in this web of reference and enhances the compositional unity of the Trojans' sojourn at Carthage, as I will show.

references Varro primarily, and is more complex: echoes between simile and narrative substitute for formal repetition in a plot construction of the “prophecy-fulfillment” type. As such, the link between narrative and simile contributes strongly to the structure of the poem while substituting a literary figure for the more literal event.

Insects in epic simile and narrative

Homeric similes feature various insects, including bees, wasps, and flies, often in combination. In general, these similes compare a group of insects to a group of men,³ although individual insects can appear as annoyances in similes of other categories, such as those centering on livestock or humans. The vast number of beings is the most important point of comparison, followed in emphasis by violence.⁴ Wasps appear to represent the most warlike qualities: the Myrmidons finally entering battle are compared to angry wasps at *Il.* 16.259-65, while the Trojan ally Asios had described Greeks on the defensive as wasps or bees at *Il.* 12.167-70. In each case, the insects are described as roused to anger and protecting their young. Flies appear in greedy swarms:⁵ at *Il.* 16.641-43 the fighters clump around Sarpedon’s corpse like flies at a milk pail,⁶ and the Greek fighters gathered in review at *Il.* 2.469-71 are described similarly, with lines 2.471

³ Scott (1974, 74-75).

⁴ The bee simile of Aeschylus’ *Persians* 128-29 shares in these characteristics.

⁵ For an idiosyncratic reading of the flies of the *Iliad*, see Maiullari (2003).

⁶ The necessary correlation between the enticing milk pail and Sarpedon’s dead body is somewhat discomfiting. However, the *μύια* in epic often seems more attracted to biting human flesh than to drinking cow’s milk: for instance, in a brief simile at *Il.* 4.130-31, a mother is described brushing a fly away from her child, while at *Il.* 17.570-72, Athena inspires Menelaus with the daring of a persistent biting fly. Also, the two *μύια*-focused similes in *Il.* 2 and 16 share a clause, *ὥρην ἐν εἰαρινῇ*, with an Odyssean simile involving the vicious gadfly, *οἰστρος*, at *Od.* 22.299-301. While the exigencies of oral-formulaic composition may have demanded the use of this phrase to indicate verse-initial springtime, it is also possible that the three similes contain the same phrase because to the performer they were all versions of the same insect simile. If they are related, the apparently non-violent milk-stealing flies may in fact have a violent resonance as much as the gadflies, wasps and bees do, thus making their lust for the milk a more effectively bloodthirsty analogy for the battle over the body of Sarpedon. On a Vergilian reference to Greek traditions about the gadfly (*οἰστρος*) and horsefly (*μύωψ*) see Thomas (1999, 305-10).

and 16.643 being in fact identical. The emphasis here is upon the sheer number of individuals in the swarm, a quantitative focus clearly indicated by the structure of the simile in *Iliad* book two: the word τόσσοι (so many) is used to introduce the tenor.

Apollonius' insect similes are closely based upon Homer's, according to his usual practice. The *Argonautica* includes three similes (1.879-82, 2.130-34, 4.1452-55⁷) where a group of insects is the main focus, and two (1.1265-69, 3.276-77) where a single fly pesters a herd animal who is the object of the comparison. As in Homer the insect group similes largely serve to describe a huge number (as one might use grains of sand) or the anger of a group under provocation.

The greatest contributor to the entomology of epic, however, was Vergil himself, in his fourth *Georgic*.⁸ Within the larger framework of the didactic poem, Vergil employs epic techniques, including numerous similes, to characterize the bees as heroic and a fitting analogue for human society. The similes of the first part of the fourth *Georgic* are Homeric in style and distributed more liberally than in any other portion of the *Georgics*.⁹ As a result of these epic techniques, poetic qualities balance and even outweigh information in the fourth *Georgic* to a much greater extent than in the rest of the poem. Vergil also references traditions which connect bees to poets and poetry, giving his more general social commentary literary overtones.¹⁰ Reutilization of the bee

⁷ Wilkins (1914, 164) has a minor error, listing the ant simile which begins at 4.1452 as being located at 4.145f.

⁸ Briggs argues for the epic quality of the whole *Georgics*: "The *Georgics* was already sufficiently epic to permit borrowing of epic materials and most of Homer's similes were drawn from nature. The *Georgics*, even if it had been written by another person, would have been a trove for such similes" (1974, 234).

⁹ On the heroic qualities of the bee discourse see Farrell (1991, 240 ff., especially 240-41, 248 and 253) and Knauer (1981, 895).

¹⁰ On bees and poets see Kenney *ad DRN* 3.11-13 (1971, 76); Farrell (1991, 246-53); Sibona, who notes bees' and poets' complementary activities of gathering information or pollen and sublimating it into a new and beautiful form (poetry or honey), and proceeds to suggest that Vergil's *bugonia* in the fourth *Georgic* implies that poetic inspiration arises from physical decomposition in a form of rebirth (2002, 347-8); and

episode in similes of the *Aeneid*, therefore, functions as an allusion to a quasi-epic, highly literary predecessor, rather than merely an allusion to didactic or agricultural writing.

Bees in the first half of the *Aeneid*

The bee simile of *Aen.* 1.430-36

The *Aeneid*'s three bee similes incorporate elements from bee scenes in Homer, Apollonius, and the *Georgics*. The similes in books one and six, in fact, both allude to the same Iliadic bee similes; but the effect of the allusion differs in each context because of the intermediate influence of the *Georgics* on the first one. It will be necessary to draw the ant simile of book four into the discussion in order to see how the three scenes are not discrete, unrelated manifestations of an image, but a cluster within the overall bee theme.

The first of these bee similes is particularly important, since it is the first demonstrably allusive simile in the *Aeneid*.¹¹ This simile combines citation of the *Georgics* with thematic and content-based reference to the *Iliad*. The text runs as follows (1.430-36):

qualis apes aestate noua per florea rura
exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella
stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,

Peraki-Kyriakidou, who focuses on Plato's *Ion* but also collects a number of classical citations on the topic (2003, 164-68 and nn. 87-89). Lucretius 1.936-42 famously compares the poetic trappings of his treatment of philosophy to honey used to mask the flavor of medicine. While the Orpheus story's relevance to book four has already been demonstrated on many grounds (e.g., appropriate forms of love and culture, on which see Segal (1966), or as an example of a failed approach to life through poetry, for Conte (1986, 130-40)), the connection of bees to poetry is another reason for the legendary artist's symbolic force.

¹¹ To the best of my knowledge, no one has identified a model for the famed Neptune – statesman simile, *A.* 1.148-53. There are, of course, examples of its inverse: Knauer (1964) for instance cites the simile of *Il.* 2.144-48, in which a crowd is compared to waves; it is Vergil's use of the waves as the tenor instead of the vehicle that is innovative. The comparison of Venus in disguise to "Thracian Harpalyce" (*A.* 1.316-17) also precedes this, but alludes to no particular comparison to a mythical figure that I am aware of. It focuses on Venus' physical appearance.

aut onera accipiunt uenientum, aut agmine facto
ignauum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent;
feruet opus redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.¹²

Vergil had earlier written almost identical lines at *Geo.* 4.159-69:

pars intra saepta domorum
narcissi lacrimam et lentum de cortice gluten
prima fauis ponunt fundamina, deinde tenacis
suspendunt ceras; aliae spem gentis adultos
educunt fetus; aliae purissima mella
stipant et liquido distendunt nectare cellas;
sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti,
inque uicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli,
aut onera accipiunt uenientum, aut agmine facto
ignauum fucos pecus a praesepibus arcent;
feruet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.¹³

His model is the first extended simile in the *Iliad* (2.87-90),¹⁴ a standard insect

comparison that depicts a large, active group of men (*Il.* 2.87-93):

ἡὔτε ἔθνεα εἴσι μελισσάων ἀδινάων,
πέτρης ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομένων·
βοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν·
αἱ μὲν τ' ἔνθα ἄλῃς πεποτήαται, αἱ δέ τε ἔνθα·
ὥς τῶν ἔθνεα πολλὰ νεῶν ἄπο καὶ κλισιάων
ἡϊόνος προπάροιθε βαθείης ἐστιχόωντο
ἱλαδὸν εἰς ἀγορὴν.¹⁵

Macrobius conducted an early side-by-side comparison of these passages, concluding that

the function of the two similes differed (*Sat.* 5.11.4):

Vides descriptas apes a Vergilio opifices, ab Homero vagas: alter discursum et
solam volatus varietatem, alter exprimit nativae artis officium.¹⁶

¹² “As bees in early summer do their work among flowery fields under the sun, when they lead forth the grown young of the race, or when they pack in the oozing honies and stretch the compartments full with sweet nectar, or receive burdens from the arriving bees, or drawn up in order they fend off the dusky herd of drones from the enclosure; the work heats up and the warm honies smell strongly of thyme.”

¹³ “Part within the enclosures of the hive place the narcissus’ tear and slow gum from bark as initial foundations for the comb, and then hang the tough wax; others lead forth the clan’s hope, their grown young; others pack in the purest honies and stretch the compartments full with flowing nectar; guard-duty at the gates falls to some by lot, and in turn they observe the waters and the clouds of the sky, or receive burdens from the arriving bees, or drawn up in order they fend off the dusky herd of drones from the enclosure; the work heats up and the warm honies smell strongly of thyme.”

¹⁴ Four brief comparisons, of two to three words, precede it: 1.47, 1.104, 1.265, 1.359.

¹⁵ “As the bands of buzzing bees go, always bringing their young out of the hollow rock; and they fly in a bunch to the spring flowers; some fly in a swarm to one place, others to another: thus the many bands advanced in ranks from the huts and tents along the low-lying shore to the meeting-place.”

¹⁶ “You see that the bees described by Vergil are workers, those by Homer wanderers: the latter displays only the activity and variety of their flight, the former the employment of their natural skill.”

The focus in Homer, he notes, is on the large group of bees and their busy swarming.

The comparison is reinforced with the word ἔθνεα, which describes the bees at the beginning of the vehicle (2.87) and the Greeks at the resumption of the tenor (2.91, ἔθνεα πολλὰ). In the *Aeneid*, Carthaginians and bees do not parallel one another as closely: this is an example of West's "unilateral" simile.¹⁷ The bees as they work are very much the focus of the vehicle, representing the unnarrated activities of the Carthaginians. Aeneas' observations in the tenor do not center on the people in action (indicated simply as *alii...alii*), but on the things built by the Carthaginians (e.g. *portus, fundamenta, columnas, moenia*). Macrobius observed that Vergil's bees, unlike Homer's, are notable for their handiwork (*opifices*) as well as for their number: a nod to the busy Carthaginians. Both authors mention training the young (*educunt fetus, νέον ἐρχομενάων*) and flying in the fields.

Leach, in her treatment of the heroic language and style of the first half of the fourth *Georgic*, argues that the idealization of bee life and the glorification of labor form a fitting counterpart for the activities of Carthaginians in this first simile. Yet, all the industry of bees can produce is honey. While honey was an important sweetener for the Greeks and Romans, food sweetening is of course unnecessary;¹⁸ Varro classes beekeeping along with the construction of fishponds among the pleasant but less than central employments of a farmer.¹⁹

¹⁷ West (1969, 41-42).

¹⁸ Pura Nieto Hernández reminds me of another, more practical ancient use of honey, in embalming. For stories connecting bees and burial, see Thomas (1978, 33). Bees' association with Hermes, who was involved in the soul's passage to the underworld, may also be relevant: on bees and Hermes see Larson (1995, 348-57).

¹⁹ Varro, *DRR* 3.16 (bees) and 3.17 (fishponds) are the last two topics in the treatise, because of their inessential nature. Note also that the Carthaginians' buildings seem to include a large theatrical (i.e. inessential) edifice. On theaters in the Carthaginian episode, see Clay (1988, 196). This may enhance the Carthaginians' bee-like qualities, because of the association of bees and poetry (on which see above, n. 10).

There are other ways in which this first bee simile of the *Aeneid*, while quoting from the *Georgics* nearly verbatim, fails to import all the heroism and accomplishments of the Georgic bees. In changing the text from its origin in his earlier poem, Vergil has made two significant alterations. First, in the lines immediately preceding mention of the *gentis adultos*, he has adapted the specifics of the bees' labors in their flowery harvest (*narcissi lacrimam*, etc.) into a line and a half of more general scene-setting (*aestate...labor*). More significantly, he has omitted two lines, 4.165-66, on the bees' guarding and meteorological duties:

sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti,
inque uicem speculantur aquas et nubila caeli.²⁰

The omission of these lines and retention of others has interested commentators, notably Austin, who opines that the "mannered pattern" of 1.435 was perhaps more likely to be cut in Vergilian epic.²¹

Thomas' comment on the two lines in their original context may shed some light on Vergil's intent: "It is a mark of the bees' cultural status that they observe *signa*."²² It is possible that Vergil did not wish to represent the Carthaginians as keeping watch and observing *signa*.²³ The Carthaginians are on their guard against strangers, as discovered by Ilioneus (1.540-543), but the queen yields easily to requests for hospitality.²⁴

²⁰ "There are some to whom guard duty at the gate fell by lot, and in turn they observe the rain and clouds of the sky..."

²¹ Austin *ad A.* 1.435 (1971, 150). Grant demonstrates how the stylistic characteristics of the source passage from the *Georgics* are actually better represented in the narrative of the *Aeneid* describing the Carthaginians' efforts than in the bee simile itself (1969, 382).

²² Thomas *ad G.* 4.166 (1988a, 2:178).

²³ Larson cites a slightly different interpretation, in which bees' behavior predicts weather as a subset of general *human* interpretation of bee activity as prodigious. Their awareness of *signa*, then, is more for a human observer's benefit (1995, 356 n.51).

²⁴ See Grant on Carthaginian guarding in the bee simile and the divine interventions of book one (1969, 382-83).

Likewise, the two mentions of defensive action in the bee passage of *Georgics* 4 are reduced to one in the simile of *Aeneid* 1: while the bees/Carthaginians still battle to protect their territory (*agmine facto/ ignauum fucos pecus a praesepebus arcent*, Aen. 1.434-35), they fail in maintaining a regular and organized watch (*Geo.* 4.165, *sunt quibus ad portas cecidit custodia sorti* has been omitted). Meanwhile, the role of prophets in Dido's court, who observe *signa* and keep a watch of a different sort, seems to be one of failure.²⁵ As Briggs notes, elements which immediately precede this scene in its Georgic source and emphasize awareness of the future are also not incorporated into the *Aeneid* simile.²⁶

Vergil has adjusted the bee simile in these ways from Homer and from his own didactic, and yet the end result is not perfectly suited to its immediate context. Servius believes that tenor and vehicle do correspond perfectly, claiming

Nihil in hac vacare conparatione. Nam Poenorum operi apum labor, custodiae litorum *adversum alienigenas* fucorum comparatur expulsio.²⁷

A closer reading reveals, however, that these are not the only salient points in the simile vehicle. The bees and Carthaginians do in fact both work hard, and the weather seems to be pleasant and charged with activity, if not necessarily with redolent odors of thyme.

One subtle dissonance between tenor and vehicle lies in the fact that Aeneas does not observe the Carthaginians doing anything with their young people to correspond with the *educunt fetus* which appeared in the simile and in its Homeric model. Young men will appear subsequently, in Dido's cohort at 1.497 (where they play the role of dancing

²⁵ See for instance 4.65-66; they attempt to read the signs but fail.

²⁶ Briggs (1974, 261).

²⁷ Servius *ad A.* 1.436. "Nothing is unused in this comparison. For the work of the bees is compared to the undertaking of the Phoenicians, and the expulsion of the lazy bees is compared to the guard of the shore against foreigners."

nymphs in a simile),²⁸ but Carthaginian children never appear, and in fact Dido's failure to have children will be one of her great grievances at Aeneas' parting (4.327-30).²⁹

While bees' chaste behavior receives strongly positive interpretation in the Greek poetic tradition, especially when applied to women,³⁰ altruistic, sexless labor is not the role of the queen bee. Symbolically, therefore, Dido's failure to continue her royal line may in fact be a greater tragedy than her abrogation of her vowed chastity in widowhood. The Carthaginian society will fail to renew itself, whereas there is much focus on Ascanius in the African episode: Aeneas' future lineage, if he cares for it properly, is assured.

Next, the Carthaginians are building their city, not stocking it (*contra* 1.432-33 *cum liquentia mella/ stipant et distendunt nectare cellas*; see below on the ants). Finally, where Servius sees a parallel between the bees fending off lazy drones and Carthaginian shore patrols fending off foreign invaders (e.g. Trojans), the Carthaginians will in fact fail to reject Aeneas and his men, instead incorporating them into their society until all concerned are overcome with dronish torpor (4.86-89). Vergil suggestively communicates these differences between the bee society of the *Georgics* and the Carthaginians.

The narrative context of the first bee simile is also deserving of comment: it reveals that Carthage's similarity to a bee-hive is part of Aeneas' perceptions, not simply the analysis of the author.³¹ The simile forms one element of a discrete scene (1.418-

²⁸ For nymphs as an appropriate analogue of bee-like people see Larson (1995).

²⁹ Note, however, with Briggs (1974, 288), that the bees "do not bear children as man does but they rather bear them home from the flowers in which they find them...love would be an indulgence, sex an enervation and birth a toil." Dido has succumbed to the "indulgence" and "enervation" but does not reap the reward of "toil" and offspring that the bees (unscientifically) obtain without all that.

³⁰ Semonides' poem (fr. 7 West) on the various types of women is most well-known. Xenophon *Oec.* 7.17 also uses the image. North (1977) references a number of other appearances of the trope, especially in the context of philosophical discussion of women's virtues.

³¹ Grant (1969, 384).

440) of Aeneas' viewing of Carthage from above. His agency in perceiving what Vergil reports is mentioned at 418-22:

Corripuere uiam interea, qua semita monstrat,
iamque ascendebant collem, qui plurimus urbi
imminet aduersasque aspectat desuper arces.
miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum.³²

Aeneas (with trusty Achates) gets into position to view the city from above, described with language that will be echoed in the description of the Trojan horse (2.46-7):

...haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,
inspectura domos uenturaque **desuper** urbi.³³

Aeneas' visual impressions are emphasized with the anaphora of *miratur*, and *strepitumque* involves his hearing as well.

Verbs of sensory perception frequently introduce complex narrator-text, involving embedded focalization by characters, according to the narratological frameworks of de Jong.³⁴ Less explicit than the direct speech through which we will experience Aeneas' views in the second and third books of the *Aeneid*, embedded focalization is nonetheless an effective manner of coloring the narrative with a protagonist's perspective. Aeneas marvels at the sights and sounds of the city, and the narrator asks us to identify with Aeneas' hilltop perspective and, as it were, see through his eyes. At the close of the scene and directly following the simile, we are reminded that Aeneas has been our eyes

³² "Meanwhile they [Aeneas and Achates] took the route, where the path led, and already they were climbing the hill which overlooks the city the most and looks down on the citadel opposite. Aeneas marvels at the mass, once huts, he marvels at the gates and the noise and the paving of roads." Note the *aduersas arces* – like *Karthago Italiam contra* in 1.13, this emphasizes the topographical opposition to Aeneas and Rome.

³³ Laocoon speaking: "...this siege engine was created to go against our walls, to spy on our homes and come into the city from above."

³⁴ de Jong (2004, xx). De Jong's terminology is derived from the categories of Gerard Genette and Mieke Bal.

and ears throughout the scene when he exclaims in direct speech and yet another verb of perception, *suspicit*, is used of him (1.437-38):

‘o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!’
Aeneas ait et fastigia suspicit urbis.³⁵

It is Aeneas’ perception, not merely the epic narrator’s, that the Carthaginians are similar to industrious bees in a field.

The simile of *Aen.* 6.707-09

The second bee simile of the *Aeneid* is brief, but it invokes both a Homeric and an Apollonian simile (6.707-09):

Ac ueluti in pratis ubi apes aestate serena
floribus insidunt uariis et candida circum
lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.³⁶

As Austin and Conington have noted,³⁷ the simile harks back, especially in its mention of flowers, to the first bee simile of Homer, and likewise focuses on the large number of individuals in the group.³⁸ *Argonautica* 1.879-882 has also been identified as a predecessor to the simile here:³⁹

ὥς δ’ ὅτε λείρια καλὰ περιβρομέουσι μέλισσαι
πέτρης ἐκχύμεναι σιμβληίδος, ἀμφὶ δὲ λειμῶν
έρσηεις γάννται, τὰι δὲ γλυκύν ἄλλοτε ἄλλον
καρπὸν ἀμέργουσιν πεποτημέναι⁴⁰

Austin is correct that the Apollonian allusion is stronger than the Homeric in the content of the simile vehicle, though both sources are in play: Vergil’s mention of *candida lilia*

³⁵ “‘Oh fortunate people, whose walls already rise!’ Aeneas says and inspects the roofs of the city.”

³⁶ “Just as when bees, during the calm summer, settle on divers flowers in the fields and are scattered about the white lilies, and the whole plain resounds with the buzzing.”

³⁷ Austin *ad A.* 6.707ff. (1986, 217); Conington-Nettleship *ad A.* 6.707.

³⁸ The Homeric simile, *Il.* 2.87-90, is cited and translated above on page 80.

³⁹ Austin *ad A.* 6.707ff. (1986, 217), claiming “Virgil is closer to Apollonius than to Homer, and his application of the simile is more sensitive than that of either poet.”

⁴⁰ “Just as when bees, pouring out of the hive rock, buzz around the lovely lilies and rejoice throughout the dewy meadow, and flying hither and thither they gather the sweet fruit...”

alludes closely to Apollonius' λείρια καλὰ, as compared to Homer's more generic ἄνθεσιν εἰαρινόισιν (*Il.* 2.90).

Unlike the bees of his source texts, Vergil's are not engaged in any particular busy work or martial activity in this simile. Rather – perhaps unusually, considering the narrative setting is Hades – the scene presented is one of summer serenity. Austin goes so far as to describe it as a scene of “light and colour and excitement.”⁴¹ Certain elements, however, suggest a less joyful picture. First is the place of flowers in the poem. Vergil mentions lilies three times in the *Aeneid*.⁴² Two instances are in similes: the one considered here, and that describing Lavinia's blush (12.67-69). The third appearance of lilies occurs in the Marcellus passage, less than two hundred lines after this simile (6.883).⁴³ Other flowers appear in scenes of pathos at the death of young men such as Euryalus and Pallas.⁴⁴ Flowers are therefore not simply a beautiful harbinger of the pleasant seasons of spring and summer. Rather, as emblems of short-lived beauty, they are intimately related to the theme of *mors immatura* that will be stated so evocatively in the Marcellus passage.

The second factor suggesting an underlying sadness to this simile is the interaction between Apollonius' tenor and Vergil's. In the *Argonautica* these apparently happy (ἄμφι γάνυται) bees represent the women of Lemnos, led by Hypsipyle, as they

⁴¹ Austin *ad A.* 6.707ff. (1986, 217).

⁴² Vergil also mentions lilies twice in *Ecl.* and once in *Geo.* 4.

⁴³ Pura Nieto Hernández suggests to me that Lavinia and Marcellus are linked by their purity, a result of limited exposure to the corrupting influences of the world at large, thus making a white flower a well-suited image for each.

⁴⁴ The poetic antecedents of this theme and its significance in the *Aeneid* were addressed in chapter one (see e.g. pages 36-38).

make a desperate farewell to the Argonauts.⁴⁵ This is discordant⁴⁶ with its vehicle of bees in a beautiful meadow (*Arg.* 1.882-887):

ὥς ἄρα ταίγε
ἐνδυκὲς ἀνέρας ἀμφὶ κινυρόμεναι προχέοντο,
χερσὶ τε καὶ μύθοισιν ἐδεικνύοντο ἕκαστον,
εὐχόμεναι μακάρεσιν ἀπήμονα νόστον ὀπάσσαι.
ὥς δὲ καὶ Ὑψιπύλη ἡρήσατο χεῖρας ἐλοῦσα
Αἰσονίδεω, τὰ δὲ οἱ ῥέε δάκρυα χήτει ἰόντος⁴⁷

The form of leave-taking is of particular interest here. While the bees are characterized as more joyful than the Lemnian women ought to be, Apollonius' abandoned ladies are in fact a suitable comparandum for the dead souls of Vergil's underworld. They bid the Argonauts farewell with unusual gestures: rather than an exchange of gifts such as normally occurs at a friendly departure in epic (e.g. Odysseus from Scheria, Telemachus from Pylos and Sparta, Aeneas from Sicily), they clasp hands fervently. This gesture of hand-clasping, known as *dexiosis*, was popular on Athenian funerary monuments in the fifth century.⁴⁸ While Apollonius lived in third century Alexandria, it is still possible that the image of clasping hands was a symbol of farewell for the departed and, thus, another potential realm of allusion that would make this

⁴⁵ Nelis identifies several Vergilian allusions to this Lemnian farewell in the Dido episode of *Aeneid* books one and four, particularly during the Trojans' arrival. He suggests that the simile of book one, and other allusions to the *Argonautica*, foreshadow Aeneas' eventual abandonment of Dido, who "will prove then to be more Medea than Hypsipyle" (2001, 117)

⁴⁶ Any dissonance is notable, considering Apollonius' dedication to parallelism between tenor and vehicle. Of course, he may be focused merely on the traditional characteristics of bees in similes, namely, number and movement. For concise statements of Apollonian practice in similes, and relevant bibliography, see Coffey (1961, 65) and Carspecken (1952, 84-86).

⁴⁷ "In that way [like bees], then, the women sedulously pour forth, lamenting around the men, and they were saluting each of them with their gestures and words, praying to the gods to send them a safe trip home. And so also Hypsipyle prayed, taking the hands of the son of Aison, and she spoke these words to him, in need of him as he left..."

⁴⁸ Fantham (1994, 81). One example (1994, pl. 3.1) is the tombstone of Aristylla, ca. 430-425 BC [Athens, National Archaeological Museum 766]. The fourth-century grave stele of Nikomache from the Piraeus museum, on show 12/10/2008 through 5/9/2009 at the Onassis Cultural Center in Manhattan as part of its "Worshipping Women" exhibit, is a second example. This meaning of the gesture does not seem to carry over into Roman culture; see for instance *A.* 1.514, where Aeneas and Achates are reunited with Ilioneus and the other missing Trojans. It may however be relevant that each had believed the others to be dead.

particular Apollonian bee simile a good source for Vergil in the underworld episodes of the *Aeneid*.

This bee simile may also evoke the underworld setting through religious symbolism. Bees at *Od.* 13.106 were allegorized by Porphyry as souls awaiting reincarnation.⁴⁹ Larson, arguing for an identification of the “bee maidens” of the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes* 552-66 with the Corycian Nymphs of Parnassus, connects bees with Hermes, the psychopomp.⁵⁰ The interweaving of the bee discourse in the fourth *Georgic* with the underworld-focused *bugonia* of Aristaeus⁵¹ and *katabasis* of Orpheus might also suggest a perceived connection between the flitting spirits of the dead and the floating bees.⁵² While the wise might indeed consider this simile, then, with its associations of *mors immatura*, parting, and reincarnation, to be well suited to Vergil’s depiction of Anchises’ tranquil existence in the underworld, the funereal themes are surely more deeply engrained in the image than the bright surface textures.

The bee simile of book six is connected to that of the first book not only by shared allusion to the *Georgics* and Homer, but also through the narratological context. Once again, Aeneas focalizes the perception that a group of people is like a swarm of bees. In

⁴⁹ *Cave of the Nymphs*, 18; see Briggs (1974, 298) and Farrell (1991, 262).

⁵⁰ Larson 1995. The most well-known “bee priestesses,” however, are associated with Demeter and, to a lesser degree, Diana, on whom see Grant (1969). I should also note that if Larson’s identification of the “bee maidens” with Corycian Nymphs is correct, that may support the reading of the *Corycium senem* of *Geo.* 4.127 given by Ross (1987, 204-05), namely, that the old man’s Corycian origin underlines the connection between gardens and Parnassus, rather than suggesting that he is a resettled pirate; see Thomas *ad G.* 127 (1998a, 2:170-71).

⁵¹ Farrell (1991, 262-3), Thomas (1978, 34) and Sibona (2002, 356-58), among others, argue that the *bugonia* suggests an underlying thematic connection between bees and a philosophical concept of resurrection or even immortality.

⁵² Farrell suggests that the souls here awaiting reincarnation evoke the bee *Quirites* of the fourth *Georgic* who are born again in the *bugonia* after civil strife (1991, 263-64). Briggs (1974, 286) meanwhile traces human and divine influences on the bees throughout the fourth *Georgic* which are united in Aristaeus and evoked in the *Aeneid*; though I fail to see where he identifies any connection between bees and the divine in the *Aeneid* besides the simile of souls in book six. The bee omen in book seven would be an obvious choice. Larson refers to divination practices based on the observation of bees (1995, 355-56).

the first book, he determines that the Carthaginians are, like himself, endeavoring to found a new city, but that through fate and industry their effort is blessed (*o fortunati quorum iam moenia surgunt*, 1.437); this perception of solidarity affects how he reads the artwork in Juno's temple which he views in the following lines.⁵³ In the underworld, however, Aeneas cannot interpret what he sees (6.710-12):

Horrescit uisu subito causasque requirit
 inscius Aeneas, quae sint ea flumina porro,
 quique uiri tanto complerint agmine ripas.⁵⁴

Aeneas' perspective is much more limited in the strange environment of Hades than it was looking down over fledgling Carthage, and he must ask for interpretive assistance from the ghost of his father Anchises. In fact, this is one of several instances where Aeneas (*inscius*) experiences a failure of knowledge or understanding.⁵⁵ It meshes well with the overall atmosphere of Hades, which is a place of dark, obscure ways and false dreams.⁵⁶ Although the simile vehicle depicts light and color, the pleasant abodes of the worthy dead and those awaiting resurrection are no more transparent to the understanding of a living human than the dark and grim ways which Aeneas experienced earlier in the *katabasis*.

The ant simile of *Aen.* 4.401-07

In the ant simile of book four, Vergil again transforms the allusion to the *Georgics*, focalizing the scene through Dido and evoking a swarm of insects in the

⁵³ The temple is in a grove, reiterating the association between religion and trees in the *Aeneid* that I explored in Chapter 1.

⁵⁴ "Aeneas in his ignorance shudders at the unexpected sight and seeks the cause – what these rivers are in the distance, and who the men are who fill the banks in a line."

⁵⁵ On this theme see the Excursus and Chew (2002).

⁵⁶ On the obscurity and incomprehensibility of Hades see Chapter 1, especially pages 63-67.

context of the Trojans' departure. Aeneas' men troop out without a Carthaginian farewell to match the Lemnian, intimating future hostility between the races (4.401-407):

Migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis:
ac uelut ingentem formicae farris aceruum
cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,
it nigrum campis agmen praedamque⁵⁷ per herbas
conuectant calle angusto; pars grandia trudunt
obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt
castigantque moras, opera omnis semita feruet.⁵⁸

The ants' behavior repeats the bees' activities in the similes of books one and six.

All three similes begin in a verdant outdoor setting: here, *per herbas* (404); for the bees, *per florea rura* (1.430) or *aestate serena* (6.707). The phrase *opera...feruet* (407; note also *feruere* in the tenor, 409) echoes the conclusion of the bee simile in book one, *feruet opus* (1.436), while being metrically identical to the conclusion of the bee simile of book six, *strepit omnis murmure campus* (6.709).⁵⁹

The similarities between the ants and the bees of book one are yet more extensive.

The ants are initially depicted carrying impressive burdens, *ingentem formicae farris aceruum/...populant* (402-3) and *praedamque...conuectant* (404-5); these can be read as a gloss on the bees' *onera* (1.434). The phrase *it nigrum campis agmen*⁶⁰ both recalls the bees, *agmine facto* (1.434), and evokes the traditional tenor of bee similes: descriptions of

⁵⁷ Putnam (1995, 67) shows how this echoes, and undermines, Ilioneus' pledge at 1.527-8 that the Trojans have not come to Carthage to plunder or carry off booty: "*non nos aut ... populare .../venimus, aut ...vertere praedas.*" Grant (1969, 385) also observes this connection.

⁵⁸ "Just as when ants plunder a huge heap of grain and place it in their home, mindful of winter, and the black file marches on the plain and they carry their booty through the grasses on a narrow path: some push the huge grains, striving against them with their upper arms, some put the line in order and rebuke delayers, and the whole path seethes with labor."

⁵⁹ And, for that matter, to the conclusion of the bee simile of book twelve: *uacuas it fumus ad auras* (12.592).

⁶⁰ Briggs (1980, 55) reports but does not concur with interpretation of the ant simile as mock-heroic on the basis of Servius' comment *ad A.* 4.404 that the phrase *it nigrum campis agmen* was previously used by Ennius of elephants. In his argument against considering the allusion humorous, he fails to attribute some other purpose to it. To my view such an appropriation of earlier epic and tragedy at once conveys incongruity (describing elephants and ants with the same words) and nobility (the ants are made solemn through language a great poet has used of greater creatures), and need not be explained away in order to retain the seriousness of Vergil's passage. See also Harrison (1970) on the "clever" elements of this allusion.

large numbers of soldiers in motion. The ants' division into cohorts accomplishing different tasks (*pars...pars*, 405-6) parallels the Carthaginians in the bee simile's tenor (*pars...pars...alii...alii*, 1.423-8) and the bees in the source passage in the fourth *Georgic* (*pars...aliae...aliae*, *Geo.* 4.159-63). Failure to work hard is in each case punished (*ignauum fucos pecus a praesepebus arcent*, 1.435; and for the ants *castigantque moras*, 407).

There is a serious difference in tone between the ant and bee passages, however: the language of the ant simile, describing the departing Trojans from Dido's perspective, is more negative. The beautiful sensory details in the conclusion to the bee similes (*redolentque thymo fragrantia mella*, 1.436; *floribus insidunt variis et candida circum/lilia funduntur*, 6.708-9) are absent. The ants are attributed a positive quality, that of foresight and planning,⁶¹ that is undermined by its reference to a passage from the *Georgics* about pests.⁶² Awareness of the seasons and the weather is a characteristic which Vergil had attributed to the bee society exclusively⁶³ at *Geo.* 4.153-66,⁶⁴ yet it is not repeated in the bee simile of *Aeneid* 1. Briggs' suggestion⁶⁵ that "a mention of [the bees'] frugality in storing up for the winter is not necessary... both because it would

⁶¹ In the *Georgics*, *inopi metuens...senectae*; in the *Aeneid*, *hiemis memores* (403). Amy Mertl, an entomologist and ant specialist at Boston University, assures me that ants are not actually *hiemis memores*, as they generally have rather brief lifespans.

⁶² Ants, as noted by Briggs (1974, 261), are classified as pests at *Georgics* 1.181-6, along with mice, moles, toads and weevils, in a passage that Vergil cites in this simile (*Geo.* 1.185-6):

populatque ingentem farris aceruum

curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae.

See Mynors *ad G.* 1.181 (1990, 41-42) for the literary sources of these pests at Varro 1.51.1 and elsewhere. This negative characterization is traditional for ants, while bees have a wide variety of (mostly positive) associations, on which see notes 10 and 18 above.

⁶³ That these characteristics pertain to bees alone in the *Georgics* is highlighted by the repeated *solae...solae* (4.153, 155).

⁶⁴ Briggs (1974, 261), pointing out this reappropriation, suggests that "the bees' positive work of gathering their grains into a common store in preparation for a long winter, contrasts with the hasty sinister work of the ants, plundering their hosts' land in the *Aeneid*." As the *Georgics* passage on pests is a source for other parts of the ant simile, this makes good sense.

⁶⁵ Briggs (1974, 293).

violate the carefree summer atmosphere and also because the Carthaginians are building a city, not raising crops” is to me not convincing.

The removal and reattribution of this positive quality from bees to ants is especially foreboding in the light of other negative elements in the ant simile, such as plundering (*populant*, 403) and booty (*praedamque*, 404). The parallels between bee simile and ant simile thus impute negative characteristics to the ants. While the Carthaginians’ activities at the beginning of the African episode brought hope to Aeneas, the Trojans’ labors are perceived in a very negative light by Dido at the end of his stay – for it is through Dido’s eyes that we view the actions depicted in the ant simile.⁶⁶

Immediately before the ant simile,⁶⁷ Vergil addresses the reader (*cernas*) in language which will be echoed (*cernenti*) in the series of sensory perception verbs that immediately follow the vehicle (4.408-11):

quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,
quosue dabas gemitus, cum litora feruere late
prospiceres arce ex summa, totumque uideres
misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!⁶⁸

This sensory language characterizes the simile as representing Dido’s view⁶⁹ of the situation, while identifying the reader with Dido through repeated words.

⁶⁶ As Grant (1969, 385) points out, however, this is not apparent until the end of the simile.

⁶⁷ Two lines before the simile, a half-line occurs (400). Sparrow 1931.32-33 considers the half-line combined with the unusual opening wording of the simile – *ac uelut* not followed by a *sic* clause – to be evidence of incompleteness in the context here. Certainly the hemistich may be evidence for incompleteness in the passage ending in line 400; but the simile seems to initiate a very integrated and polished series of episodes. It might be debated whether the repetitions of *cernas* (401)...*cernenti* (408) and *feruet* (407)...*feruere* (409) would stand in a finished Vergilian passage, but they certainly seem to indicate a tenor and vehicle that are closely tied together.

⁶⁸ “What feelings you had then, Dido, perceiving these things, and what groans you emitted, when from the top of the citadel you beheld the shore bustling far and wide, and you saw the whole sea mixed up before your eyes with such great noises!”

⁶⁹ As Briggs (1974, 265) suggests, but does not pursue: “The point of recalling the bee similes is to contrast Dido’s last view of the Trojans (as a destructive pack of ants) with Aeneas’ first view of the Carthaginians (as hardy, industrious bees).”

The apostrophe and pathetic evocation of Dido's emotions, supported by multiple verbs of visual and auditory perception, create an instance of embedded focalization that parallels the narrative context of the first bee simile discussed above. Aeneas' men in Dido's view correspond closely with Dido's men in Aeneas' view prior to his arrival in Carthage in book 1, especially in their qualities of hard work and team coordination. Yet the ants plan for the future, while lack of foresight, both in keeping watch for enemies and observing the weather signs, distinguishes the Carthaginian bees from their Georgic literary forebears. Dido and Aeneas, through similes that are narratologically attributed to their respective points of view, are quite aware of one another's strengths and weaknesses.

Matters have, however, changed from Aeneas' first observation of Carthage to Dido's observation of his departure. Strictly speaking, it is unlikely that Aeneas' view of Carthage would be the same, when he is leaving, as it was when he arrived: the public works he so admired and viewed as analogous to the busy hive have come to an end. Likewise, Dido's initial view of Aeneas has been tempered by her sufferings, resulting in a negative view of the Trojans as scavengers, that she did not possess when first addressed by Ilioneus.

The insect similes of the first half of the *Aeneid*, then, offer three reinterpretations of a pair of similes from Homer and Apollonius, with allusions to the *Georgics* suggesting variations from the ideal bee-state. This constellation of images within the bee motif is also unified by its formal reliance on embedded focalization. Aeneas' and Dido's points of view are foregrounded in the similes of books one and four, as each views the other's forces from a high point and makes prescient observations, via simile,

about the future. Finally, in the bee simile of book six, the wonders of the underworld are focalized through Aeneas, who cannot interpret unaided. In this supernatural context, the bees take on additional significance through traditional religious associations with the afterlife.

The Second Half

Both halves of the epic begin with bee images: the bees of book one were a positive impression of the Carthaginians, observed by Aeneas, while book seven features an ambiguous omen, associated probably with the Trojans, and observed by the Latins. The bee similes of the first six books of the *Aeneid*, which focus on the number and busy activity of the tenors, are representative of the most prevalent variety of insect simile in the epic tradition. In the second half of the poem, the sole simile involving bees (12.587-92) incorporates the other signal characteristic of the Homeric insect simile: violence.⁷⁰ Bees are also associated with violence in the narrative in the context of the swarm prodigy (7.59-67), which is interpreted as presaging military action. The bee simile of book twelve will be found to function in the plot as the fulfillment of the bee prophecy,⁷¹ while allusions to the *Georgics* and Varro tie the two scenes together as a didactic subset of the overall bee theme.

⁷⁰ See pages 77-78 above. The Iliadic similes in question are at *Il.* 12.167-70 and 16.259-65.

⁷¹ Both episodes have attracted a number of incompatible interpretations. Disagreement over a *tertium comparationis* is no new phenomenon in the world of similes; this quality of ambiguity is also traditionally associated with oracular pronouncements and prodigious events.

The bee prodigy of *Aen.* 7.59-67

The difficulty of interpretation which characterized Aeneas' experiences in Hades and the bee simile of book six⁷² resurfaces in the narrative early in book seven, when a swarm appears in Latium and seems to require expert explanation (7.61-67):

laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis
sacra comam multosque metu seruata per annos,
quam pater inuentam, primas cum conderet arces,
ipse ferebatur Phoebos sacrasse Latinus,
Laurentisque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis.
huius apes summum densae (mirabile dictu)
stridore ingenti liquidum trans aethera uectae
obsedere apicem, et pedibus per mutua nexis
examen subitum ramo frondente pependit.⁷³

The bees settle on a laurel that is significant to King Latinus and his people because of its age and consecrated status.⁷⁴

Because of their unexpected nature and sacred settling-place, the bees are considered an omen, which is immediately interpreted by an unnamed *uates* (7.67-70):

'externum cernimus' inquit
'aduentare uirum et partis petere agmen easdem
partibus ex isdem et summa dominarier arce.'⁷⁵

It is easy to take for granted that the prophet is correct, and that the bees represent a foreigner (Aeneas) coming from the shore to rule the city. However, omens in Vergil are commonly understood incorrectly or ambiguously, if they are interpreted at all.⁷⁶ Vergil

⁷² See above, pages 86-90.

⁷³ "There was a laurel tree in the middle of the dwelling, deep in the inner chambers. It had holy leaves and had been cared for reverently for many years. Father Latinus himself is said to have found it when he was first founding the citadel and dedicated it to Apollo, and to have named the settlers Laurentines on its account. Bees thickly settled on the very top of it – a marvel to tell it – carried through the clear air with a huge buzzing. The unexpected swarm hung from a leafy branch with legs entwined with one another."

⁷⁴ This laurel is reminiscent of the one in the center of Priam's palace, about which Hecuba and her daughters gathered (2.512-14); see Dyson (2001, 20 and 173). It is also a prominent early statement of the religious connection of Italians to trees that I have analyzed in chapter 1.

⁷⁵ "We perceive that a foreign man comes," he says, "and that a force seeks this very spot from the same direction and takes charge in the high citadel."

⁷⁶ Cf. 4.65, *vatum ignarae mentes*, or the ill-fated, misunderstood oracle which led the Trojans to settle on Crete. Also see, more generally, O'Hara (1990).

declines, for instance, to offer a prophetic interpretation of the prodigious close of the famous Laocoon passage, in which the snakes take refuge at Minerva's shrine.

The omen of the bees is closely followed by another supernatural event, in which the princess Lavinia's hair appears to catch fire.⁷⁷ The clustering of these scenes increases the legitimacy of the claim of the first to be an omen. Together, the two omens, along with the following scene of King Latinus' incubation at the shrine of Faunus, have raised questions as to whether Vergil's readers would have understood the portents as positive or negative.⁷⁸ Williams claims that "the portent of a swarm of bees is frequent in Roman religion" and "generally (but not invariably) unfavourable."⁷⁹ Henry argues at length that Romans considered bees a bad omen in military affairs, citing evidence from Plutarch's *Brutus* and from Ammianus. His conclusions raise an interesting point regarding the prophecy, and one which directly contradicts the *uates*:

"Bees were considered a bad omen because so often dispossessed by an enemy of their citadel, so often expelled from their quarters by smoke and noise. ...Accordingly, the swarm of bees that settled on the laurel tree of Latinus typified not the strangers who were to come and dispossess Latinus, and take possession of Laurentum, but that Latinus and his Latins would be driven out of their settlement by strangers, as bees are driven out of their hive."⁸⁰

Bees, on Henry's reading of the historical sources, are a premonition that one's army will be routed, and correspond to a tenor consisting of Latins, not Trojans. While suiting the narrative somewhat less closely than the seer's interpretation (as pointed out

⁷⁷ Conington-Nettleship *ad A.* 7.79 comments, interestingly, that "the fire round the princess herself portends her own bright fortunes, that which spreads from her over the palace portends the general conflagration of war over the land of which she was to be the cause." Pura Nieto Hernández suggests to me that the bee portent, as well as the fire portent, is evoked in the simile of Lavinia's blush at 12.67-69: the fiery color of her blush references the fire portent, while the lilies are the traditional pasture of bees (as in the simile of 6.707-09). Bees visit lilies in a subset of bee imagery that associates them with love and its pains, on which see Sider (1999, 155-57). Therefore, the bees which take up residence in Latinus' laurel may also represent (among other things) Aeneas' courtship of Lavinia, as a bee to a lily.

⁷⁸ Briggs (1974, 301 n. 165) discusses some bee-omens in Roman history from the second Punic war to the civil wars. He contests Herrmann (1931), who sees them as unfavorable; Briggs prefers to interpret them from Augustus' viewpoint rather than his opponents', on which reading they are favorable.

⁷⁹ Williams *ad A.* 7.64f. (1973, 172).

⁸⁰ Henry *ad A.* 7.64-94.

in the words *isdem* and *easdem*,⁸¹ the directional movement of the bees suits an invasion rather than a dispossession), it is possible that this reading is closer to what bee omens would have signified to Vergil's Roman audience. Whether Vergil himself intended these bees to represent Trojans or Latins is a very characteristic poetic ambiguity, but one which may be clarified by analysis of the interplay between this scene and the bee similes.

In its immediate context, the bee omen has received nuanced observations from Horsfall, who argues convincingly from textual cues such as ring composition that the bee and fire events are a "diptych," with the incubation scene serving as a "consequence" (rather than being an undifferentiated series of three prodigies).⁸² Referring to the alternative accounts of Aeneas' life in Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other sources, which involve premonitory dreams for both Latinus and Aeneas, he focuses on the definitively Vergilian bees and flame. Horsfall reads the bees as being treated in "Greek colonial terms,"⁸³ suggesting that perhaps it is unnecessary to interpret them as a bad omen in the Roman historical tradition discussed above. Finally, he addresses Faunus' oracle, noting that it possesses "a specificity in marked contrast to the *uates*' grandly obscure warnings at 69-70, and also in terms far less alarming."⁸⁴ In Horsfall's view, then, the omens are increasingly positive and specific, each building on the preceding premonition while incorporating motifs from elsewhere in the epic as well as from the Aeneas tradition.

⁸¹ Horsfall *ad A.* 7.70 (2000, 90).

⁸² Horsfall *ad A.* 7.58 (2000, 84).

⁸³ Horsfall *ad A.* 7.64-70 (2000, 87-88).

⁸⁴ Horsfall *ad A.* 7.96 (2000, 105).

The bee portent's literary antecedents also inform its place in the narrative and in Vergil's overarching treatment of bees. Their behavior recalls language from the *Georgics* (4.257),

aut illae pedibus conexae ad limina pendent...⁸⁵

which occurs during a description of a sickened hive where the bees do not go out to accomplish their normal tasks. The rest of the passage in book seven, however, certainly describes a hive that is making excursions, using martial language familiar from the bee discourse of the beginning of the fourth *Georgic*.⁸⁶ The density of the clustered swarm – *densae (mirabile dictu)* (7.64) – seems to be the primary characteristic in Vergil's description, emphasized over the other salient features, noise and violence. The poet uses a double simile to illustrate this characteristic in a bee battle in the *Georgics* (4.78-81):

erumpunt portis: concurritur, aethere in alto
fit sonitus, magnum mixtae glomerantur in orbem
praecipitesque cadunt; non densior aëre grando,
nec de concussa tantum pluit ilice glandis.⁸⁷

After density, violence and noise take their place in the description, characteristics which come to the *Aeneid* from Varro, mediated by the *Georgics*. The most striking feature of the bees' appearance in the portent of book seven is way in which they cling together: *pedibus per mutua nexis/ examen subitum ramo frondente pependit*. This type of behavior is described in Varro as the first indication of swarming:⁸⁸

⁸⁵ "Either the bees hang from the threshold, linked by their feet..."

⁸⁶ Putnam (1970, 418) notes that the warlike elements of bee culture predominate over the energetic in this reference to the *Georgics*.

⁸⁷ "They burst from the gates; they run together, there is a loud noise in the high heavens, and they gather mixed up in a big ball and fall headlong. Hail falls no denser from the sky, nor do as many acorns rain from an oak tree when it is shaken." This shaken oak tree may call to mind the simile at A. 4.441-46, on which see Chapter 1, especially pages 54-57.

⁸⁸ *DRR* 3.16.29-30. Section 29 features three different similes; within Varro's bee discourse, only the beginning (3.16.4-8), with its association of bee and human society, involves a similar concentration of figurative language.

Multae ante foramen ut uvae aliae ex aliis pendent conglobatae.⁸⁹

Varro's second sign of impending swarming is the martial character of the bees' buzzing:

Alterum, quod, cum iam euolaturae sunt aut etiam inceperunt, consonant
vehementer, proinde ut milites faciunt, cum castra movent.⁹⁰

Vergil develops this camp-movement into a sort of *Batrachomyomachia*⁹¹ at *Geo.* 4.67-87, characterized by its sonic effects (4.70-72):

namque morantis
Martius ille aeris rauci canor increpat, et uox
auditur fractos sonitus imitare tubarum.⁹²

The bee simile of *Aen.* 12.587-92

The bee simile of book twelve likewise draws on these passages in the *Georgics* and Varro for its literary and scientific background, as well as indicating martial ardor and violence rather than mere number or industriousness. Modeled most closely on an Apollonian bee simile and descriptions in the fourth *Georgic*, the simile depicts a farmer smoking out bees (12.587-92):

Inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor
uestigavit apes fumoque impleuit amaro;
illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra
discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras;
uoluitur ater odor tectis, tum murmure caeco
intus saxa sonant, uacuas it fumus ad auras.⁹³

⁸⁹ "Many bees hang from one another in front of the entrance, balled up like grapes." Note the language of simile in comparing the bees to grapes.

⁹⁰ "Second, that, when they are just about to fly forth and even have begun, they make noise together violently, just as soldiers make when they move camp." Once again Varro employs a simile, this time using human society as an analogue for bee behavior, although the explicit comparison is only in terms of sound.

⁹¹ Farrell (1991, 239 n. 68) considers, but rejects, the possibility of "mock-heroic" interpretation of much of the bee discourse of the fourth *Georgic*.

⁹² "and that Martial sound of the harsh bronze thunders at the laggards, and a voice is heard imitating the broken sounds of trumpets."

⁹³ "As when a farmer has tracked down bees in the crannied rock and fills it with bitter smoke; they within, fearful of events, run to and fro through the waxy camp and sharpen their anger with great buzzing; the black stench envelops the roofs, and then the rocks sound within with hidden noise and smoke rises to the empty breezes."

Aeneas, who is leading an attack on Latinus' city with fire and sword, corresponds in this case to the farmer and his besieged victims to the bees. Putnam reads Aeneas here as destroying the pastoral world; Leach disagrees, insisting it is merely a "calculated unkindness."⁹⁴ This may be an understatement for an act which causes the deaths of many, even if they are merely insects, but Leach cites three of the several ancient sources on the use of smoke in beekeeping to support her claim that Aeneas is conducting a normal beekeeperly activity.⁹⁵

Georgics 4.42-44⁹⁶ provides the setting, a hive located deep in a rock. Some of the details echo the Georgic bee vs. bee battle (4.78-81; cited above on page 20).

Argonautica 2.130-34 also imagines a herdsman or beekeeper smoking out bees from a rock:

ὥς δὲ μελισσάων σμήνος μέγα μηλοβοτῆρες
 ἤε μελισσοκόμοι πέτρῃ ἐνὶ καπνιόωσιν,
 αἱ δ' ἥτοι τείως μὲν ἀολλέες ὧ ἐνὶ σίμβλῳ
 βομβηδὸν κλονέονται, ἐπιπρὸ δὲ λιγνύοντι
 καπνῷ τυφόμεναι πέτρης ἐκὰς αἰσσοῦσιν—
 ὥς οἱγ' οὐκέτι δὴν μένον ἔμπεδον ἀλλὰ κέδασθεν
 εἴσω Βεβρυκίης, Ἀμύκου μόρον ἀγγελέοντες.⁹⁷

The Argonauts' opponents take flight and scatter, like bees disturbed by smoke. There is a certain notable difference, however, between the motion of the bees in Apollonius' simile and in Vergil's. In the Greek, the bees πέτρης ἐκὰς αἰσσοῦσιν – they escape far from their hive. In the Latin, however, they *per cerea castra discurrunt* – run about in

⁹⁴ Putnam (1965, 176); Leach (1977, 9). The question of the shepherd's role will be explored more fully in the Excursus.

⁹⁵ Leach (1977, 9 n. 24): *Geo.* 4.220-230; Varro, *RR* 3.16.17 and 3.16.31.

⁹⁶ As Conington notes *ad A.* 12.586. The phrase *latebroso in pumice* constitutes the verbal link:

saepe etiam effosses, si uera est fama, **latebris**
 sub terra fouere larem, penitusque repertae
pumicibusque cauis exesaeque arboris antro.

⁹⁷ "And as herdsman or beekeepers fumigate a great swarm of bees in a rock, and indeed the bees, bunched up in the hive, swarm buzzing for a while, but then crazed by the sooty smoke rush far away from the rock – thus the Bebrykes did not remain steadfast long but scatter inward, announcing the fate of Amykos."

their own camps. Lest there be any confusion about the lack of direction of Vergil's

bees, *discurrunt* echoes a description of the Latins from just ten lines earlier (12.577-78):

discurrunt alii ad portas primosque trucidant,
ferrum alii torquent et obumbrant aethera telis.⁹⁸

Discurrunt in this case indicates a confused attempt at defense, and this may be the best way to understand the bees' behavior in the simile that follows. The fact that the bees do not flee the hive as they did in the Apollonian simile has several implications. On the one hand, it may emphasize the invalidity of Henry's interpretation of the bee portent in book seven (on which see above, pages 97-98). The Latins are not expelled from their city. This is of course a key element of the fulfillment of Aeneas' fate, for Latin and Trojan peoples are destined to merge. On the other hand, since only smoke escapes the hive (*uacuas it fumus ad auras*, 12.592), rather than live bees, it is possible to read Vergil's simile as depicting a scene of graver devastation: where the Bebrykes escaped to warn their compatriots, the Latins are trapped in smoke and confusion. The emphasis on smoke might also highlight the fulfillment of the portent of fire and smoke surrounding Lavinia (discussed further below on pages 110-11).

Finally, the simile suggests that the *pastor's* bee-smoking endeavor has not achieved any benevolent objective. The very purpose of smoking a hive, at least in agricultural literature (including the didactic *Georgics*) is to evict the bees, either temporarily, to effect a cleansing of the hive, or permanently. The ultimate goal of a beekeeper is to maintain the health of his hive and optimize its production of quality honey. To this end he may employ all the tactics of the *Georgics*, including e.g. smoking the bees out to clean the hive, killing an inferior king, etc. If our *pastor* in this passage

⁹⁸ "Some run to and fro to the gates and kill the first fighters, while others hurl weapons and shade the heavens with projectiles."

were in fact the bees' keeper,⁹⁹ performing Leach's "calculated unkindness," he has failed to expel the bees; a smoky hive full of dead insects can be beneficial to no one.

Rather, it is more likely that his is a retributive and warlike action occasioned by ongoing strife between herd/herdsman and hive. In one Homeric simile of disturbed insects (*Il.* 12.167f., of μέλισσαι or σφήκες, bees or wasps), men come to destroy a roadside hive and confront a violent response. A closely related simile, sharing many of the same formulae (*Il.* 16.259f., where the insects are referred to only as σφήκες, wasps), offers a plausible explanation of the strife between humans and bees: boys have been tormenting the hive by the wayside. The men's regulatory action against a dangerous hive in a frequented place is perhaps necessitated only by the earlier, unjust human invasions.

Apollonius' simile does not specify any motive, but the individuals doing the smoking-out are described as μηλοβοτῆρες ἢ μελισσοκόμοι, shepherds or beekeepers. Beekeepers could have a variety of reasons, most of them benevolent, for evicting bees,¹⁰⁰ but shepherds might be more inclined to the retribution model of hive invasion seen in Homer.¹⁰¹ Either the bees have tormented the herdsman himself, we may imagine, or his flock – a situation envisioned in another Apollonian insect simile, that of a biting fly at 1.1265f. On the Homeric model we may be in some doubt as to where the blame should lie for the origin of ill-will between men and herd animals on one side, and hive insects on the other. Their circumstances have put them in each other's way, much

⁹⁹ Unlikely, since Vergil has omitted the profession of beekeeper in adapting the Apollonian source passage.

¹⁰⁰ Putnam emphasizes that proper beekeeping involves the exertion of a "stabilizing" influence (1979, 248).

¹⁰¹ The Apollonian context also suggests that the relationship between shepherds and bees is oppositional, as this is the second part of a double simile. In the first simile, the Argonauts were compared to wolves attacking and scattering shepherds; they then assume the role of shepherds and scatter bees.

as Aeneas, in his search for his destined land, comes into conflict with the naturally defensive pre-existing inhabitants of that land.

Regardless of the *pastor*'s motives, he has not succeeded in making the bees exit the hive. Instead, the hive belches smoke, and the bees presumably have either died or are still flying about in a confused attempt to protect their home. The bees' fate is not the only area of ambiguity involved in the simile of book twelve. The correspondence between tenor and vehicle is open-ended in other ways, leaving questions about what the bees and shepherd represent in the narrative. By rights, the angry bees should represent the besieged Latins, whose city is aflame and who have undertaken the same action – *discurrunt* – as the bees, while the shepherd smoking them out should stand for Aeneas. However, these references are not explicitly supported, as there is no repetition of language between tenor and vehicle, and the simile focuses on smoke and confusion.¹⁰²

Let us examine what actually occurs in the narrative immediately before and after this simile. Aeneas addresses the city under siege, claiming that he will destroy the city if it does not surrender (12.567-69), and “reappropriate the treaty with flames,” *foedusque reposcite flammis* (12.573). He then leads his men in putting the city to the torch (12.574-76). Thus far, the narrative corresponds well with the simile: Aeneas is the shepherd who intends to subdue, evict or destroy the hive (12.587-88):¹⁰³

inclusas ut cum latebroso in pumice pastor
uestigauit¹⁰⁴ apes fumoque impleuit amaro.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰² A similar problem occurs in the case of the Dido-doe simile, where there is no immediate contextual referent for the *pastor* – see my comments in chapter three.

¹⁰³ As discussed on page 103 above, it is unlikely that the shepherd is a beekeeper who is cleaning the hive.

¹⁰⁴ Newton (1953, 213) notes that this word also refers back to Aeneas' actions (*uestigans diuersa per agmina Turnum*) at the time (12.554-559) when Venus had incited him to make the attack here described with the simile. Putnam (1965, 176) also notes the import of this echo.

¹⁰⁵ Translated above in n. 93.

However, the correspondences break down when we examine the behavior of the Latins inside the city in comparison with the bees of the simile. The bees band together in violent reaction against the smoke (12.589-90):

illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra
discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras.

The Latins on the other hand engage in civil discord against one another, even threatening the person of the king (a decidedly un-beelike action; 12.583-86):

Exoritur trepidos inter discordia ciuis:
urbem alii reserare iubent et pandere portas
Dardanidis ipsumque trahunt in moenia regem;
arma ferunt alii et pergunt defendere muros.¹⁰⁶

The latter group, then, is similar to the defensive bees whose description immediately follows in the simile; the former faction, however, has no corresponding group of bees in the simile.

Two possible interpretations of this disconnect between the bee simile and the narrative which it supposedly illuminates reveal a difference between human and bee society. The first such reading, which privileges the ethics of human society, would restrict the simile's point of reference to only one group of defenders in the city. The other, apparently traitorous citizens, who wish to haul Latinus to the walls, could have been convinced to surrender by Aeneas. Unlike bees, they have the power to listen to persuasion and make a rational decision to put aside their martial anger in favor of retaining their city unburnt. However, when they direct traitorous impulses at Latinus, rather than focusing on Turnus as the root of the resistance, they seem more confused than convinced. Like the bees, the Latins' minds are clouded with smoke.

¹⁰⁶ "Discord arises among the fearful citizens: some command that the city be unlocked and the gates laid open to the Trojans, and they drag the king himself to the walls; others bear arms and proceed to defend the walls." Michael Putnam points out to me the citation of *Ecl.* 1.71 in *discordia ciuis*; Vergil links the civil conflict in which Aeneas (depicted as a shepherd in the simile) engages with the near-contemporary civil conflict that has displaced the herdsmen of the *Eclogues*.

A second hypothetical reading of the difference between tenor and vehicle is that in bee society there are no traitors to the king, and everyone defends the walls together. This reading would reflect poorly on the Latins, whose society is less well-ordered than the bees'. However, it is unlikely that this was Vergil's intended meaning. As already noted, Varro's remarks on bees in the *De Re Rustica* 3.16 are a major source for Vergil's knowledge of the creatures, reflected in the *Georgics* and the similes of the *Aeneid*. Varro does not rule out mutiny in the bee state, suggesting that it is a common result when a hive develops multiple kings (*RR* III.xvi.18):

Praeterea ut animadvertat ne reguli plures existant; inutiles enim fiunt propter seditiones. ...cum duo sint in eadem alvo, interficere nigrum, cum sit cum altero rege, esse seditiosum et corrumpere alvum, quod fuget aut cum multitudine fugetur.¹⁰⁷

Vergil imagines the strife between two kings of the hive at *Georgics* 4.67-87 with an extended war metaphor (cited above on page 17-18).¹⁰⁸ He also echoes Varro's advice on exterminating the lesser of two kings (*Geo.* 4.88-95):

Verum ubi ductores acie reuocaueris ambo,
deterior qui uisus, eum, ne prodigus obsit,
dede neci; melior uacua sine regent in aula.
alter erit maculis auro squalentibus ardens –
nam duo sunt genera: hic melior insignis et ore
et rutilis clarus squamis; ille horridus alter
desidia latamque trahens ingloribus aluum.
ut binae regum facies, ita corpora plebes...¹⁰⁹

Strife between factions is an apt description of the situation at the siege of Latinus' city. Aeneas is the desirable type of king, shining and scaly with gold (the main

¹⁰⁷ "Besides, that he [the beekeeper] should pay attention lest many kinglets arise; for they become useless on account of their sedition. ...When there are two in the same hive, the keeper should kill the black one [as opposed to a striped one, which is the preferred type], since when he is with the other king, he is seditious and destroys the hive, because he drives him out or is driven out along with the swarm."

¹⁰⁸ As Thomas *ad G.* 4.67-87 (1988a, 2:158) notes, this may be inspired by Varro's use of a military comparison at *RR* III.xvi.30.

¹⁰⁹ "But when you have called both leaders back to the line, hand over the king who seems worse to be killed, lest the wasteful one hinder the hive; allow the better king to rule in an empty hall. One of them will be shining with spots rough with gold – for there are two types: this, better type, both distinguished in features and bright with ruddy scales; that other one bristly with sloth and dragging his with belly unheroically. As the kings have two appearances, so also the bodies of the commoner..."

constituent of his new armor, as described at 8.619 ff. and 10.270-75), but he does not yet inhabit the hive. The current leader, Latinus, may be analogous to the king, infected with *desidia*, who should be exterminated and whose presence leads to the destruction of the hive by civil warfare. Turnus' quality as shiny or dusky – good or bad leader – is not immediately clear. His emergence as an alternate source of leadership in the hive of Latinus' city certainly contributes to the civil strife and confusion.¹¹⁰

Thomas points out that Vergil's assignment of like underlings to each king contradicts the technical writings of Varro and Aristotle on the topic, according to which workers and drones exist independently of the quality of the king.¹¹¹ This division of bees and humans into genetic categories entirely determined by their leader, however, is thematically important to the entire *Aeneid*. At each port of call, Aeneas and his men have been judged by the local inhabitants based on Aeneas' (generally positive) reputation for valor and persistence in the face of hardship, or the (negative) reputation of his relatives Venus, Paris and Laomedon for weakness, luxury, theft and deception.

Regardless of the accuracy of either of these readings, which use a difference between tenor and vehicle to laud human or bee society, respectively, it is clear that a perfect correspondence between simile and narrative is not present. Once again we have a simile which relates just as strongly to another narrative passage in the *Aeneid* as it does to its own tenor.

¹¹⁰ Grant (1969, 387) interprets the Carthaginian "relapse into lethargy (4.86 ff.)" as emerging from their bee-like dependence upon their "king," Dido. Such an interpretation would add to the parallels between Dido and Turnus observed by Pöschl (1962, e.g. 129, 133 and 137-38).

¹¹¹ Thomas *ad G.* 4.95 (1988a, 2:164). Science of course would support this omnipresence of workers and drones; but as is clear from his reliance upon Varro and literary embellishment thereof, Vergil is not terribly worried about the actual behavior of bees.

Several characteristics tie this simile, in fact, to the bee omen of book seven. First is the violence, lacking from the manifestations of the bee motif in the first half of the epic. The word *stridor* describes the bees' noise in both books (7.65; 12.590); it does not occur in books one or six, where the bees behave more peacefully (there, their noise is remarked with the phrase *strepit omnis murmure campus* 6.709). *Stridor* is regularly a noise of violence: the *stridor ferri* emanating from the tortures of Tartarus (6.558); the sound of rampaging winds contesting around a tree (simile; at 4.443); the *Dirae stridorem* recognized by Juturna (12.869).¹¹² Sound is not the only violent aspect of the bees here. They reside in *cerea castra* (12.589), a blatantly martial anthropomorphism in place of the more technical *aluearia*. They *acuunt iras* (12.590), partaking in the spirit of Juno; bees in the civil war between hives described at *Georgics* 4.67-87 *spicula exacuunt*.

More repeated language cements the ties between the scenes. In the passage leading up to the bee simile, Aeneas' men are described as *densi* (12.563),¹¹³ as the bees had been *densae* when swarming in book seven (7.64). Aeneas, like the swarm, takes his position in a high location (although not yet the top of the citadel):¹¹⁴ *celso medius stans*

¹¹² In a verbal form, the aural word *stridor* appears once in conjunction with bees in the fourth *Georgic*, describing the sound of their wings. Dyson (2001, 173) also remarks on the violence of *stridor*.

¹¹³ Multiple instances earlier in the twelfth book also refer to the Trojans as *densi*: they are *densi* at 12.280; *agmine denso* at 12.442; and *densi* at 12.457. This last citation is of interest because it immediately follows a storm simile (12.451-55). The connection of a storm with "thick" battle recalls the pair of similes from the *Georgics* bee battle, *G.* 4.78-81 (see above, pages 24-25), where close-packed swarms of battling bees were likened to a hailstorm. Also, the storm in the simile at 12.451-55 promises destruction to trees (*arboribus*, 12.454) as well as crops; as shown in Chapter 1, trees are the defining feature of the Italian landscape and an element with which Aeneas maintains an ambiguous, often destruction relationship.

¹¹⁴ At 12.654-55, Saces will describe Aeneas to Turnus as a very threatening figure, mastering the heights of the city:

fulminat Aeneas armis summasque minatur
deiecturum arces Italum excidioque daturum.

The mention of "summas arces" recapitulates the "summa arce" of 7.70 while evoking other moments of destruction throughout the epic: the gods dismantling Troy (2.615), and the collapse of Dido's trust in Aeneas (her vantage point for the ant simile discussed earlier is "arce ex summa," 4.410). The "summa arx" is also interesting as a site for shrines of Pallas Athena and unsuccessful propitiation of that goddess, both by the Trojans and Italians: 2.166, 2.615, 9.151, 11.477.

aggere (12.564). Thence he produces a surprise: *subitus ignis* (12.576, recalling the *examen subitum* of book seven),¹¹⁵ and makes a loud noise, *magnaue incusat uoce Latinum* (12.580).

Next is the swarming tendency, a salient characteristic of the bees in both books. As described above (on pages 99-100), Vergil's swarm in book seven is based on a description in Varro. In that passage, Varro recommends a three-fold strategy to the beekeeper who wishes to maintain control over his hive in uproar: first, subdue the bees with loud noise and dust; second, smear the location where he wishes them to settle with a bee-attracting substance; and last, control their direction with smoke, which they will try to avoid (3.16.31):

fumo leni circumdato cogunt eas intrare.¹¹⁶

Smoke in this case is being used to drive a swarm of bees from the open into a new hive structure. The *pastor* of the bee simile in *Aeneid* twelve, however, is no beekeeper, and may be trying, and failing, to evict the bees with his smoke. However, in the martial character of the simile (*cerea castra, magnis stridoribus*, etc.) it picks up on the tone of Varro's broader bee passage.

The smoke in this bee simile serves to cement a connection with the portent of fire that surrounded Lavinia in book seven, immediately after the bee omen; the fire itself appears here when Aeneas and his men set fire to the walls with torches, the sight of which drives Amata to her doom (12.595-603). The *Aeneid* contains many fires, of course; they become a leitmotif, as explored in Knox' "The Serpent and the Flame." Lavinia's, however, can be shown to be the referent here because of the smoke. In his

¹¹⁵ This phrase echoes both the omen in book seven and the context of the bee simile in book six, *uisu subito* (6.710).

¹¹⁶ "They compel them to enter by means of a light smoke encircling them."

comments on *Aen.* 7.77, Servius remarks on the differences between the epic's two fire portent episodes:

VVLCANVM SPARGERE incendium belli significant. his autem duobus hoc ab augurio distat Ascanii, fumo et aspersione flammaram.¹¹⁷

I have previously cited Conington's comment (note 77 above)¹¹⁸ to the effect that the fire on the princess and that scattered from her possess different prophetic meanings. But what meaning does the smoke possess?

Counting only the word *flamma*, and one past participial form from the verb *flammo*, I find 75 instances of fire in the *Aeneid*. Of *ignis* and the related adjective *igneus*, there are 95 occurrences.¹¹⁹ Smoke returns far fewer listings, 24, divided among *fumus*, *fumo*, *fumeus*, *fumidus*, and *fumiferus*.¹²⁰ Where there is fire, it seems, there need not be smoke. So it happens that in *Aeneid* 2, the account of the fall of Troy, famed for its fires, there are sixteen instances of *ignis* and thirteen of *flamma*, but only two mentions of *fumus* (2.609, where Venus has clarified Aeneas' perception so that he can see the gods destroying the city, and 2.698, which actually describes the sulphur fumes from the meteorite which follows upon Anchises' prayer). As Servius remarked, no smoke accompanies the flames that crown Ascanius. The smoke around Lavinia, then, is a much rarer phenomenon than the actual fire, but one which receives no attention in the prophetic interpretations of the seers or the critical exegeses of the scholars. In fact, it is yet another signal of the important connection between the predictions of war at 7.59-80

¹¹⁷ "uulcanum spargere: signifies the outbreak of war. In these two things this differs from the omen of Ascanius, namely in the smoke and the spread of the flames."

¹¹⁸ The scattered fires, which to Conington portend war, are clearly fulfilled here. The fire on the princess, portending "her own bright future," is not brought to fruition. Mafeo Vegio, perhaps sensing this lack, repeats the omen during the nuptials of Aeneas and Lavinia.

¹¹⁹ Data gathered using the Packard Humanities Institute's PHI 5 collection of Latin texts; the Vergil text searched is Mynors'.

¹²⁰ *Fumus* is not an exact equivalent of smoke, as it can also signify fumes or vapor. It is the word mentioned in the context of the prodigy I am analyzing, however, so any other words with similar meanings (e.g. *nebula* or *uapor*, of which there are few instances, and generally not related to fire) are not relevant.

and the climax of battle at 12.554-592, specifically the smoke that appears in the bee simile.

Meanwhile, the bee prophecy of book seven lacks fulfillment at the point when the bee simile appears. Only later in the *Aeneid* do the Trojans take the *apicem*, the citadel, of Latinus' city, and at that point they do so obliquely. First, Saces warns Turnus that Aeneas is fighting threateningly on the citadel, at 12.654-55.¹²¹ Then, Aeneas runs down from the walls and citadel to confront Turnus:

At pater Aeneas audito nomine Turni
deserit et muros et summas deserit arces.¹²²

This implies that Aeneas had been fighting on those Latin defenses. Despite these two oblique references, however, Vergil does not explicitly portray the Trojan leader battling at the heights of Latinus' city. Yet he has established the certainty that Aeneas will take the citadel in this battle by utilizing the bee simile as symbolic fulfillment of the bee omen. So while the predicted action (Trojan seizure of the citadel) is only hinted at within the text, the symbolic reappearance of the vehicle of the prophecy as the vehicle of a simile has already brought closure. This simile-narrative interaction, then, serves a structural purpose in the epic, responding to and fulfilling the omens of the seventh book.

Vergilian simile-narrative interaction may also make it possible to draw firmer conclusions regarding the referent of the bees in the seventh book. Readers have either followed the *uates* and interpreted the bees as representing the Trojans, or gone along with Henry in believing that Roman prophetic tradition links the swarm with the

¹²¹ Discussed above, note 114.

¹²² "But father Aeneas, upon hearing the name of Turnus, abandons the walls and abandons the lofty citadel." Thanks are due to Michael Putnam for drawing my attention to these lines (as well as those on the fall of Troy at 2.615) and their importance.

Latins.¹²³ Attention to the structural relationships of insect episodes throughout the epic as a whole would suggest that the bees of book seven represented the Trojans. In the first half of the epic, as I showed in the first part of this chapter, insects (bees) first appear as a comparandum for the Carthaginians (from a Trojan perspective) in book one, and at the conclusion of the African books, insects (ants) appear again, now representing the Trojans (from a Carthaginian perspective). This reuse of the motif reveals the common and disparate characteristics of the opponents, while contributing to the sense of closure for the episode. Likewise, the Italian prophet's reading of the bees in book seven representing the Trojan invaders would be neatly balanced by the bees in book twelve, who represent the Italian defenders (in a scene whose focus is Aeneas).¹²⁴

Over the course of the second half of the *Aeneid*, responsion between narrative and simile conveys a sense of divinely sanctioned inevitability upon the battle in book twelve. The omen anchors the motif, bringing the human-like, symbolic insects of simile into the realm of the Italians' own perception, and itself finds symbolic resolution through the simile of smoke and bees. The ominous connotations of bees in books seven and twelve undermine any remaining sense of serenity associated with the Georgic bee similes of the first half of the *Aeneid*. Vergil imbues all his bees with martial portent and forces the reader to compare the bee-like qualities of Carthaginians, Trojans and Latins. This process reveals the violent heritage of Rome, and depicts Aeneas as a confrontational *pastor*.

¹²³ See above, pages 97-98.

¹²⁴ Vergil's poetry is home to a great deal of ambiguity, and this question of the referent for the bee omen is a prime example. For instance, I could argue, in line with Henry's interpretation, that the bees are treated in book twelve with the smoke prescribed by Varro for the swarm in the omen, and thus both sets of bees should have the same referent (the Latins).

CHAPTER THREE: DEER IN THE *AENEID*

Introduction

When Vergil compares Dido to a wounded deer at *Aeneid* 4.68-73, the pathetic image of innocent suffering expands the reader's perspective on the queen's emotional state. Pöschl has shown how this perspective does not merely inform its tenor, but "reveals a destiny," foreshadowing the entire narrative of Dido in book four.¹ The poet gives this simile an even broader significance, however, when he recapitulates its contents in the narrative of Silvia's stag at 7.475-504.² This evocative pattern of self-reference underscores a theme of pathos and responsibility in the Trojans' tragic interactions with both Carthage and Latium.

The details of arrow wound, wandering, and lack of intentionality appear both in the doe simile (vehicle and tenor) and in the book seven narrative of Silvia's stag. Additional features of the latter story, with parallels in the broader account of Dido's tragedy, reinforce the connection, creating structural and motif-based ties between the Carthaginian and Latin episodes. Through an examination of these details, I will show the importance of the two connected episodes in Vergil's poetics and argue that these

¹ Pöschl (1962, 80). For foreshadowing as a structuring principle throughout book four, see Ingallina (1995).

² Boyle, Griffin, and Putnam, among others, have commented previously on the connection between these two scenes. I hope in this study to have added to their observations by treating the specific evidence for the connection more fully, and making my own arguments about its significance.

unusual hunts illuminate Aeneas' (and his clan's) penchant for unintended destructiveness.³

Deer in epic simile and narrative

Achilles put an indelible mark on what it means to be compared to a deer when, at the outset of the *Iliad*, he addressed his supreme commander, Agamemnon, as “οἰνοβάρης, κυνὸς ὄμματ' ἔχων, κραδίην δ' ἐλάφοιο” (*Il.* 1.225).⁴ Indeed, Homeric deer similes generally characterize the objects of comparison as victims, poor fighters, or cowards.⁵ Meanwhile, hunting similes (often involving trained dogs) generally take the victors' perspective and are used to illustrate pursuit and killing in battle; the victim can be characterized as a deer or, if he shows more courage, a lion, boar, or other game.⁶

Deer can also appear in the epic narrative outside similes, when on occasion heroes hunt. The hunts in Libya at *Aen.* 1.180-94 and 4.129-59 each provide examples of certain elements of the ancient hunt, for example the preparations described at 4.130-32:

It portis iubare exorto delecta iuuentus,
retia rara, plagae, lato uenabula ferro,
Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum uis.⁷

³ Boyle (1993) comments on the Dido episode in passing; he cites it as an example of Vergil's use of imagery as intratextual linkage to structure his poems. It will be apparent that my interpretation differs in its details from Boyle's, although I would agree about the structural importance of the deer imagery. While I do not think that Vergil in any way lacks sympathy for the victims, Boyle's assertion that the doe and stag are “instances of history's annihilation of the individual, whose vulnerability and value are suggested by the image itself” (1993, 93) seems to cast Aeneas and Ascanius in the role of impersonal historical juggernaut.

⁴ “Drunkard, you have the eyes of a dog but the heart of a deer.”

⁵ Scott (1974, 71-72). Fearfulness may be the most important symbolic meaning conveyed by deer motifs, and was considered a deer's chief defining characteristic. For example, when Ovid portrays Diana transforming Actaeon into a stag at *Met.* 3.193-98, the goddess endows the young man with the physical characteristics of a deer (antlers, spotted coat, etc.) and, in the final line of the transformation, with *pavor*.

⁶ Scott (1974, 72-73).

⁷ “At sunrise, the chosen youths go through the gates, there are wide-meshed nets and traps and hunting spears with broad points, the Massylian horsemen rush around and the well-scented force of dogs.”

A negative example occurs when, in the *Georgics*, Vergil describes Scythia as an alternate world of abnormal agricultural practices and deer buried in heaps of snow. He points out all the normal tools of the hunting trade which the Scythians do not use (*Geo.* 3.371-2):

Hos non immissis canibus, non cassibus ullis
puniceaeue agitant pavidos formidine pennae...⁸

In the fighting books at the end of the *Aeneid*, Vergil practices his most careful imitations of Iliadic similes, producing traditional hunt similes which evoke both Homeric similes and the normal process of a hunt. For instance, Aeneas in pursuit of Turnus (now *amens* in flight) is compared to a hunting dog chasing a stag (*Aen.* 12.749-57):⁹

Inclusum ueluti si quando flumine nactus
ceruum aut puniceae saeptum formidine pennae
uenator cursu canis et latratibus instat;
ille autem insidiis et ripa territus alta
mille fugit refugitque uias, at uiuidus Vmber
haeret hians, iam iamque tenet similisque tenenti
inreput malis morsuque elusus inani est;
tum uero exoritur clamor ripaeque lacusque
responsant circa et caelum tonat omne tumultu.¹⁰

A similar comparison of hero and victim to hound and deer in the woods can be found at *Il.* 10.360-362:

⁸ “They do not hunt the fearful deer by setting dogs on them, nor with any nets, nor do they drive them along in fear of purple feathers.” The *Georgics* will be mentioned only in passing in this chapter because (with Silvia as the signal exception) people do not generally raise deer and they therefore have little place in Vergil’s didactic poem.

⁹ The fact that Turnus, as well as Dido, is compared to a deer in a simile reinforces Pöschl’s observation of their similarities, on which see note 110 to chapter 2.

¹⁰ “Just as whenever a hunter dog in his running should happen upon a stag hemmed in by a river, and he pursues him barking; the stag however, terrified of traps and the high riverbanks, flies and flees a thousand ways, but the lively Umbrian hound sticks to him, mouth gaping. Now already the dog is catching him, as if catching him he snaps his jaws, but he is eluded, the bite is in vain; then indeed a baying arises and the banks and lagoons sound around and the whole sky resounds with the tumult.”

ὥς δ' ὅτε καρχαρόδοντε δύω κύνε, εἰδότε θήρης,
ἢ κεμάδ' ἢ λαγῶν ἐπείγετον ἔμμενές αἰεὶ
χῶρον ἀν' ὑλήενθ', ὁ δέ τε προθέσι μεμηκώς...¹¹

An even closer parallel may be found in the combat of Achilles and Hector (*Il.* 22.189-93):

ὥς δ' ὅτε νεβρὸν ὄρεσφι κύων ἐλάφοιο δίηται
ὄρσας ἐξ εὐνῆς διὰ τ' ἄγκεα καὶ διὰ βήσσας·
τὸν δ' εἴ περ τε λάθῃσι καταπτήξας ὑπὸ θάμνῳ,
ἀλλὰ τ' ἀνιχνεύων θέει ἔμπεδον ὄφρα κεν εὖρη·
ὥς Ἐκτωρ οὐ λῆθε ποδώκεα Πηλείωνα.¹²

Hector is compared to a deer, chased by a dog that is likened to Achilles, in simile that forms the most important model for Vergil's simile in book twelve, because of the similarity of the action in the tenors.¹³ The deer is characterized by its youth and hides in a thicket.

The deer in the book twelve simile, corresponding to Turnus, is *terrītus*; he *fugit refugitque*. *Inclusum* and *saeptum*, he is the grammatical object and lives out a frightened, passive role. Aeneas is a *uenator canis* of good Umbrian blood; *uiuidus*, he engages in bold action, clinging on (*haeret hians*) and snapping his jaws (*increpuit malis*). For now, the quarry escapes him (*morsuque elusus inani est*).

The simile comparing Turnus to a deer, therefore, is traditional in two ways: in its action it describes a normal ancient epic hunt, involving dogs and traps; and as a simile, it follows Homer in characterizing a doomed warrior as a deer. Vergil also follows this

¹¹ "And when two sharp-toothed dogs, upon seeing a beast, either a young deer or a hare, they drive it forward continuously through wooded spaces, and the creature, shrieking, runs out in front..."

¹² "And as when a dog chases the fawn of a deer in the mountains, through valleys and glades, after starting it from its bed; even if, crouched down in the thicket, it escapes notice, the dog constantly runs tracking back until he finds it. In this way Hector did not escape swift-footed Achilles."

¹³ Yet see di Benedetto (1996) on Vergil's manipulation of this Iliadic simile, its paired simile (of a dream chase, *Il.* 22.199-200), and general context, especially the displacement of the dream simile from the interaction of Aeneas and Turnus to Turnus and the Dira.

Homeric method in similes when he compares Mezentius to a lion and his victim, Acron, to a wild goat or stag (10.723-28):

Impastus stabula alta leo ceu saepe peragrans
(suadet enim uesana fames), si forte fugacem
conspexit capream aut surgentem in cornua ceruum,
gaudet hians immane comasque arrexit et haeret
uisceribus super incumbens; lauit improba taeter
ora cruor – ¹⁴

Within three lines of the end of the simile, poor, pathetic affianced Acron is

(unsurprisingly) dead – so often the fate of a warrior compared to fearful prey.¹⁵

Apollonius modifies the Homeric tradition by using a deer simile to depict

Medea's emotional state (*Arg.* 4.11-13):

τῇ δ' ἀλεγεινότατον κραδίη φόβον ἔμβαλεν Ἥρη,
τρέσσειν δ' ἥυτε τις κούφη κεμάς ἦν τε βαθείης
τάρφεσιν ἐν ξυλόχοιο κυνῶν ἐφόβησεν ὁμοκλή.¹⁶

Hera fills the young girl with fear, φόβον, continuing the association of deer in epic with timidity,¹⁷ but departing from the more usual military context.

¹⁴ “As a famished lion constantly circling the enclosures (in obedience to his mad hunger), if by chance he saw a swift wild goat or a stag budding his horns, he rejoices, gaping wide, his mane sticks up, and he seizes onto its vitals, hanging over it; hideous gore washes over his wicked face.”

¹⁵ Particularly relevant is the simile of *Il.* 11.113-19. The Trojans as a whole are depicted as fleeing deer (as they are also at *Il.* 13.101-04 and 22.1), but the specific focus lies on two sons of Priam, Isos and Antiphos. Their background is adumbrated briefly at 11.101-06: both had previously been captured by Achilles and ransomed. This story closely parallels that of Lycaon, on whom see Chapter 1, page 29. The pathos of the affianced young warrior killed before consummating his marriage is thus associated with deer/fawn similes as well as those describing tender young trees and plants. This pathos ties into the erotic undercurrent of stag motifs commented on by several scholars, e.g. Putnam (1998, 101), Thornton (1996, 393), Vance (1981, 128). Putnam (1998, 116-18) explores a different element of the intersection between marriage, virginity, domesticity and pathos in parallels between Silvia's stag and Camilla.

¹⁶ “Hera instilled very grievous fear into her heart, and she fled like some tender fawn whom the baying of dogs has frightened in the thickets of the deep woods.”

¹⁷ On the deer as a symbol of fearfulness see note 5 above.

Striking elements of the scenes at hand

The Dido Simile

Occasionally, Vergil's deer similes also operate outside the Homeric tradition.

The simile in which Dido is compared to a wounded deer (4.68-73) is a good example:¹⁸

Uritur infelix Dido totaque uagatur
urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerua sagitta,
quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit
pastor agens telis liquitque uolatile ferrum
nescius: illa fuga siluas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.¹⁹

Instead of a huntsman with his pack of dogs, it is a shepherd who strikes the deer.²⁰

Shepherds normally come into conflict with animals in similes when those are vicious, hungry beasts that attack their flocks – for instance, lions or wolves. They do not regularly take part in hunting for sport.²¹ Deer also generally flee – in similes and in epic narrative – prior to being injured, rather than after they are shot. Finally, the simile is used in an unusual context: Dido is no warrior, and no battle is happening. Instead, she is

¹⁸ Several scholars have noted the influence of the Apollonian simile translated above on this simile, including Nelis (1991, 251) and Briggs (1980, 43). While both these authors are correct that Medea is a lover, and there is generally an “erotic context” (Nelis) for the simile in Apollonius, the emotion at issue is clearly not love, but fear. Fear is traditionally expressed by the deer motif. Vergil's synthesis of the fear/hunted deer motif with the love/wound motif (on which see Newton 1957) is a new approach.

¹⁹ “Unfortunate Dido is afire and wanders the whole city raving, like a doe when an arrow has been shot, a careless doe whom a shepherd has pierced among Cretan groves while practicing his shot. He has left the flying projectile behind, unaware. She traverses the forests and Dictaeon groves in her flight, and the deadly reed sticks in her side.” I will not address the Cretan details in this chapter, because they are in no way connected to the episode of Silvia's stag. A number of articles have made useful contributions on the topic: Duclos shows how Cretan details in the Diana (1.498-502) and Apollo (4.143-49) similes create a “complex of similes which illustrate Dido's tragic passion for Aeneas” (1971, 193). Morgan (1994) shows that the association of Crete with dittany (*dictamnus*), an herb used by deer in folklore to expel arrows from their wounds, means the doe's, and by extension Dido's, wound should be remediable. Connors (1992, 16) believes that this simile is the source for Pliny *NH* 8.97 where deer, rather than the traditional goats, seek out dittany. She also considers the Cretan association with dittany an analogue and support for her argument that Crete's association with cypresses betrays a Vergilian allusion here to the myth of Cyparissus.

²⁰ Additional analysis of the *pastor* character may be found in the Excursus following this chapter.

²¹ Although *Ecl.* 2.29 mentions hunting deer as a pleasant occupation for bucolic shepherds. Paschalis (2005, 56-58) lists all occurrences of hunting in the bucolic poetry of Theocritus, and explores the expanded role of hunting in Vergil's *Eclogues*. It remains an uncharacteristic pastime for the shepherd, one engaged in, Paschalis concludes, as part of an endeavor “to attract an urban outsider into the country.”

wandering about her city in love, performing religious rites. In fact, no other character is physically present at the time to fulfill the role of *pastor*.

The unusual elements of this simile's content and context have a twofold result.²² First, they allow for the development of more complex points of comparison than in a conventional deer simile. The absence in the tenor of the simile of a physical wound and of a man, physically present, who could indicate the *pastor*, demands an emotional interpretation directed at the entire arc of Dido's story. Second, the unique aspects make the simile stand out memorably. Similes are one of the most famous characteristics of Homeric epic practice; a beautiful specimen that contradicts Homeric practice demands notice.

The Stag Story

The death of Silvia's stag in book seven (7.475-504) seems to have a number of basic similarities with a traditional epic hunt such as I discussed above from book four, or with the simile in book twelve involving Aeneas and Turnus. For instance, Ascanius employs a pack of hunting hounds, and the deer is frightened and flees. However, the story is embellished with a number of details which transform it into a tragic epyllion.

First, the deer is not a wild beast such as might normally fall victim to a hunt. Instead, he is tame, and his special treatment by the family of Tyrrhus, especially the daughter Silvia, is recounted in detail (7.487-89):²³

²² Johnson also analyses this simile, considering it particularly representative of Vergilian ambiguity and multiplicity of meanings (1976, 79-82).

²³ Silvia, whose name makes explicit her residence in a forest, is the epitome of the Italian native (as discussed in Chapter 1, the people Aeneas encounters upon his arrival are deeply attached to their ancestral woods). Like her pet, she inhabits the boundaries of civilization.

Adsuetum imperiis soror omni Siluia cura
 mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis,
 pectebatque ferum puroque in fonte lauabat.²⁴

Second, Silvia's mourning and calls for revenge make up the conclusion to the story (7.500-10). A more normal hunt scene could end with the victors enjoying a sacrificial banquet (as at 1.210-25), rather than with mourning.

Finally, divine intervention is altogether unusual in a hunting scene. Ascanius is ordained to succeed (7.498). Even more chillingly, it is by Allecto's influence that Ascanius' dogs were induced to chase the tame deer in the first place (7.475-81).²⁵ This intervention is given special significance by the poet (7.481-82): *quae prima laborum causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis*.²⁶ It is the third of Allecto's four interventions before she reports to Juno that she has accomplished her mission of igniting war (the other three actions include poisoning Amata, terrifying Turnus in a dream, and – in a less elaborated scene –sounding the call to battle).²⁷ The death of a deer in the hunt is an unusual candidate to be one of the main, divinely instituted causes of a battle between nations.²⁸

²⁴ "Sister Silvia used to adorn him, accustomed to her commands, with every care, weaving pliant garlands through his horns, and she would comb the wild animal and wash him in a pure stream."

²⁵ Cormier (1993, 282-83) reverses the order and causal relationship of events here: "In Virgil's text, Ascanius' act, motivated by the gods, will inspire the Fury Allecto (at Juno's behest) to sweep through the countryside, whipping the Latin women (particularly Amata, Lavinia's mother) into a Maenadic frenzy and exciting the men (especially Turnus) into a battle rage." Contrary to his reading, Allecto was not "inspired" by Ascanius' mistaken killing, but *first* infected Amata and Turnus with their respective frenzies, and then initiated Ascanius' error as well.

²⁶ "This was the first cause of their struggles and inflamed rustic spirits for war."

²⁷ Putnam (1998, 104) mentions the "tripartite maddening of Latium" and goes on to analyze Allecto's use of the hunting horn in the context of the horn bow just used by Ascanius.

²⁸ The stag's killing was considered an insufficient *casus belli* by ancient critics, among them Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.17.2). Griffin gives a fuller catalog of negative reactions by ancient and modern commentators (1986, 170-71). Connors (1992, 5-6) explores an interesting series of derivative scenes in Statius *Theb.* 7.564-624, Silius *Pun.* 13.115-37, and Valerius Flaccus *Arg.* 3.20-31. Cormier (1993) reveals the persistent power of this scene and its imitation, with Ovid's story of Cyparissus, in medieval renditions of the *Aeneid*, suggesting (1993, 290) that folkloric sexual symbolism contributed to the lasting appeal.

Connective elements in doe simile (tenor and vehicle) and stag narrative

I have shown that the doe simile and stag scene are, on first examination, unusual. Extraordinary similes and narratives of this sort provide a fertile context for Vergil's self-referential allusion, wherein he broadens the relevance of the simile to another scene and adds additional perspective to the comparison, through reference to events from elsewhere in his epic. The following pages will examine the close relationship of the tenor and vehicle of the Dido simile to the tragedy of Silvia's stag, beginning with the closest parallels.

Wandering

Erratic movement is the first of several elements which occur in the doe simile, in Dido's surrounding narrative, and in the story of Silvia's stag. The doe wanders off injured: *illa fuga siluas saltusque peragrat/ Dictaeos* (4.72-3).²⁹ Meanwhile, in the preceding narrative, Dido undertakes a somewhat irregular series of movements (*adeunt*, *spatiatur* 4.56, 62) and sacrifices. Lines 56-64 recount a broadly varied series of rituals, without clear motivation: she approaches altars, sacrifices sheep, pours libations on sacrificial cows, visits altars to give daily offerings, and consults haruspices. The present tense verbs throughout the passage³⁰ reveal the ongoing, repeated nature of her religious practices, while *aut* (4.62) suggests that she does not practice a set series of observances,

²⁹ "In her flight she [the doe] traverses forests and Dictaeon groves." Grant (1969, 388-90) points out that *siluas saltusque peragrat* here echoes a depiction of bees at *G.* 4.53, *saltus siluasque peragrant*. He goes on to suggest that the Cretan setting of the deer simile is also evocative of bees, and that both deer and bees were associated with the worship of Diana. The two motifs would therefore serve similar purposes in highlighting the dangers of *amor* for Dido. See note 19 above for additional Cretan associations.

³⁰ *Adeunt, mactant, fundit, spatiatur, instaurat, consulit*.

but selects from the list at random.³¹ She also wanders the city, burned by love, in the immediate context of the simile, *uritur infelix Dido totaque uagatur/ urbe furens* (4.68-9).³² The passage immediately following the simile continues to narrate Dido's erratic behavior, but no longer with simple motion verbs; instead, the focus switches to her actions and imagination.

On the broader stage of Dido's tragedy in the *Aeneid*, however, the notion of wandering recurs, and does so in a context prefigured by the deer scene. When Aeneas encounters Dido's shade in the underworld, he recognizes her in the grove reserved for women who had been ill-fated or ill-behaved in love (6.450-51):

Inter quas Phoenissa recens a uulnere Dido
errabat silua in magna.³³

Even after death, she continues her restless wandering in Aeneas' presence.³⁴ The elements of wound (*uulnere*) and wandering (*errabat*) both hark back to the doe simile.

Connecting the doe simile to the death of Silvia's stag will reinforce this broader reading of the simile in relation to the entire tragedy of Dido. We witness the stag wandering before, during and after its injury. Before the injury the stag's normal practice included wandering in the woods: *errabat siluis* (7.491). He is doing so when Ascanius' hounds scent him (*errantem*, 7.493). After the shot his motion turns to flight (*refugit*, 7.500). The flight recalls the doe's flight, *fuga*, in the simile. The rest of the wandering

³¹ O'Hara identifies another deficient element in Dido's religious practice in this scene, namely her role as "an interpreting character who in some way does not interpret correctly." She does not grasp the meaning of the omens (which Vergil leaves unnarrated), and the prophets she consults fail as well. He goes on to suggest a parallel between the reader's experience (being uninformed of the results of Dido's sacrifices) and the "*ignarae mentes*" of the prophets and Dido (1993a, 109-12).

³² "Ill-starred Dido is afire and wanders through the entire city raving."

³³ "Among these ladies, Phoenician Dido, recently stricken, was wandering in a great forest."

³⁴ Vance notes her continued wandering and comments that "Dido wanders with her still-fresh wound like a wild beast in the great forest, exactly like the deer wounded by the shepherd to which she had been compared earlier" (1981, 136).

aligns both with the doe and with Dido, and the specific *errabat siluis* echoes the queen's appearance in the underworld *errabat silua in magna*.

The Wound

I argue above that the main activity shared by Dido (in the simile tenor), the doe (in the vehicle), and Silvia's stag is erratic movement or wandering. Suffering is a second element connecting the scenes.³⁵ In the first two lines of book four, Dido's emotional distress is articulated in visceral terms (4.1-2):

At regina graui iamdudum saucia cura
uulnus alit uenis et caeco carpitur igni.³⁶

Aeneas' physical appearance (*uultus*, echoing *uulnus*)³⁷ and eloquence appear to be the causes of her wound (4.4-5):

haerent infixi pectore uultus
uerbaque nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.³⁸

After the queen's discussion with Anna and futile sacrifices, the focus returns to her wound (4.66-67):

est mollis flamma medullas
interea et tacitum uiuit sub pectore uulnus.³⁹

³⁵ Putnam (1998, 101) has noted some of these connective factors in his treatment of the stag scene as an ekphrasis. He connects the scenes through their elements of wounding (*saucius*), hunting instrument (*harundo*), groan (*questus*), eroticism (*ilia*), and wildness (*more ferae*).

³⁶ "Now the queen, some while wounded with a heavy passion, nourishes a wound in her veins and is seized by a hidden fire."

³⁷ Newton (1957, 37-38) notes the echo of *pectore uultus* (4.4) in *pectore uulnus* (4.67) in describing Aeneas' "expression and words" as "metaphorically the barbs of love which remained fixed in the wound." He then follows *fixit* and *haeret* as they appear in both these cited passages and as Dido prepares for (4.495-96) and suffers (4.689) her death. Khan (2002, 190) notes that the verb *figere* is also transferred to Dido, when she kisses Ascanius/Cupid (*oscula dulcia figet*, 1.687).

³⁸ "His appearance and speech cling fixed in her heart and the passion does not allow calm rest to her limbs." On the literary antecedents and significance of Aeneas' appearance here, see Konstan (2000a, 13-16).

³⁹ "The tender flame eats her marrow and meanwhile a silent wound lives deep in her heart."

It is at this point that Vergil makes use of his simile, connecting Dido in her suffering to a wounded deer.⁴⁰ Dido's state cannot fully be understood in the brief seven words of 4.68-9 that form the technical tenor to this simile. Rather, she is at the crisis point of an emotional arc that began with Aeneas' appearance in book one and will not end until she mounts the pyre at the end of book four. Her intangible wound, *uulnus*, which renders her *saucia*, is an essential component of Vergil's recasting of the steady and independent queen (*dux femina facti*, 1.364) as a tragic heroine.

Vergil employs the word *saucius* in several similes comparing victims to animals. Laocoon in his death throes is compared to a wounded bull at 2.223;⁴¹ at 11.753, Venulus, struggling in Tarchon's grip, is compared to a wounded snake struggling in the grasp of an eagle;⁴² in the opening lines of the final book, Turnus is compared to a wounded lion (12.5). Three of eight appearances of *saucius* in the Vergilian corpus, then, appear in the vehicles of similes and describe actual physical wounds. Four other uses of the word refer to physical wounds but appear in narrative: 2.529, Polites wounded by Pyrrhus; our stag at 7.500; 12.652, of the wounded Rutulian Saces; and 12.762, where Aeneas himself is wounded.

The eighth appearance of *saucius*, in the broad context illuminated by the deer simile of book four, is the only figurative wound, although the word has a long tradition

⁴⁰ O'Hara (1993b) connects Dido's uncured wound and suicide to Gallus', based on three allusions to medicine and topography in *Aen.* 4 that seem to be associated with Gallus in *Ecl.* 6 and 10 and Propertius. Interestingly, Putnam (1998, 106-16) identifies allusion to *Ecl.* 10 in Allecto's war-mongering scenes, and further allusions to the *Eclogues* and Propertius in the stag scene. Therefore, a literary ancestry in pastoral and elegy (and, if O'Hara is correct, in Gallus in particular) may be another element uniting the doe simile and stag episode.

⁴¹ See my analysis of this passage in chapter four.

⁴² An allusion to the omen at *Il.* 12.200-209, interpreted by Polydamas at 12. 210-229 but ignored by Hector. It is interesting that in this source text, the harassed eagle does eventually let the snake go; Venulus, on the contrary, never appears again.

of use describing the emotional pangs of lovers.⁴³ According to the *OLD*,⁴⁴ it is used in the sense of “Stricken with some deep emotion (esp. love)” by Vergil’s predecessors in certain highly relevant contexts: in a tragedy on Medea by Ennius;⁴⁵ by Catullus of Ariadne;⁴⁶ and by Lucretius in his diatribe against love.⁴⁷ Vergil’s immersion in Ennius and Lucretius, his constant reference to Catullus 64, and his allusions to Apollonius (whose psychological approach to epic informs each of the tragic heroines listed above) have been well documented. The poet skillfully employs the word *saucius* to describe Dido’s emotional pain in such a way that it bridges the tradition of figurative and literal uses while tying together the narrative with the world of the simile.

The Weapon

Dido and the stag also become *saucii* by means of the same weapon: bow and arrow. It may seem obvious to the point of banality that a deer should (in literature if not so frequently in real life) die by means of an arrow. Examples within the *Aeneid* which link deer-hunting with the bow include the scene immediately upon Aeneas’ arrival in Africa, in which he uses a bow and arrows to kill several deer to feed his storm-weary men (1.180-194). Later, Dido carries a bow to the hunt (4.138). Again, in the

⁴³ The word would fit with Vergil’s practice in the rest of the *Aeneid* more smoothly if it were applied to the doe instead of Dido. This unique figurative usage binds the tenor and vehicle together more closely, as well as drawing the attention of the reader and bringing to mind the other occurrences of *saucius*.

⁴⁴ S.v. *saucius* 5a.

⁴⁵ Ennius *scen.* 254 (Vahlen).

⁴⁶ Catullus *C.* 64.250.

⁴⁷ Lucr. *DRN* 4.1048. Interestingly, he goes on to draw an analogy to battle violence and real physical wounds.

underworld, Anchises describes Hercules armed with a bow (6.803); he presumably used it to kill the Cerynian hind, as the preceding line suggests.⁴⁸

Henry points out, however, that the hunt near the Libyan shore is the only time Aeneas uses a bow in the entire epic,⁴⁹ and in fact he does so incidentally, as Achates happened to bring that equipment along. Various other implements are also mentioned for taking deer, including the *formido* (feathered scare), hunting dogs to nip the heels, and beaters to start the prey. In fact, a deer need not fall in the hunt at all – lions are more than willing to devour them (as in the simile at 10.723-8), or guard dogs can drive them away (as they fail to do in the plague at *Geo.* 3.539-40).

Great emphasis, however, is laid on the missile of choice in both our passages here. Dido's simile begins with mention of the *coniecta sagitta* (4. 69). We see the shot again from the perspective of the herdsman who loosed it: *quam...fixit/ pastor agens telis liquitque uolatile ferrum/ nescius* (4. 70-72).⁵⁰ The arrow reappears at the end of the simile as it slowly dispenses death to the doe: *haeret lateri letalis harundo* (4. 73).⁵¹ This brings us back to the image in the narrative, and the figurative deer's real wound informs Dido's metaphorical wound: *tacitum uiuit sub pectore uulnus* (4.67).⁵² Four nouns indicate the projectile in the space of a five-line simile – *sagitta, telis, ferrum, harundo*: it is a central focus of the description.

The last word used to describe the arrow in Dido's simile, *harundo*, is also the last used for that purpose in the description of Silvia's stag. Allecto drives Ascanius' hounds

⁴⁸ However, Servius §6.802 contends that *fixerit* means that Hercules "placed" the stag – i.e. in captivity or in the custody of his employer – rather than "shooting" it, his original mission having been to capture it.

⁴⁹ Henry, *Aeneidea* on 1.184ff.

⁵⁰ Translated above, n. 19.

⁵¹ "The lethal shaft clings in her side."

⁵² "A silent wound lives in her breast."

upon the deer. The prince then *curuo derexit spicula cornu* (7.497).⁵³ Intervention in battle by divinities is somewhat less common in the *Aeneid* than in Homer, but an unspecified god is here to ensure that Ascanius' shot does not fail: *nec dextrae erranti deus afuit* (7.498),⁵⁴ giving the deer a doom as noble as Hector's. Lastly, we see the progress of the shot in all its violent anatomical precision: *actaque multo/perque uterum sonitu perque ilia uenit harundo* (7.498-9).⁵⁵ As in the book four simile, there is a great focus on the shot and trajectory of the arrow, overwhelming at first the painful impact on its victim.

The Pastor

Who shot the arrow that wounded the deer? Unwarlike Venus' warlike progeny cause much of the destruction in the *Aeneid*, and these two scenes are no exception. Ascanius kills Silvia's stag while hunting.⁵⁶ The boy's passion for the hunt had been charmingly illustrated immediately before the fatal storm that united his father and Dido. While goats and deer were chased down from the hills for easy sport (4.156-59),

at puer Ascanius mediis in uallibus acri
gaudet equo iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,
spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia uotis
optat aprum, aut fuluum descendere monte leonem.⁵⁷

⁵³ "Aimed his arrow with the curved bow of horn."

⁵⁴ "Nor did the deity, by his absence, allow the boy's hand to stray." Thornton 1996.392 believes this god is Allecto which, while possible and even likely, does not seem to be fully verifiable based on the evidence. Rather, the indeterminate nature of the god presents a less omniscient and more mortal narrative viewpoint.

⁵⁵ "And driven with a great sound through the belly and through the abdomen went the arrow."

⁵⁶ Moorton notes both Aeneas' complete absence from this action that initiates battle in Latium, and Ascanius' inability to know that the deer was not a proper target for the hunt (1989, 124).

⁵⁷ "But the boy Ascanius in the middle of the valleys rejoiced in his spirited horse and now follows these in the chase, now those; and he hoped in his prayers to be given a boar, foaming at the mouth, among the tamer game, or that a tawny lion would come down from the mountain."

The boy is *laetus* among his father's Phrygian company (4.140) and *gaudet*⁵⁸ in the spirit of his horse.⁵⁹ His hopes for a boar or lion are not realized when the storm comes. When next the boy hunts, his dogs too are spirited, but with a malign supernatural inspiration (7.479-81):

Hic subitam canibus rabiem Cocytia uirgo
obicit et noto naris contingit odore,
ut ceruum ardentem agerent.⁶⁰

By Allecto's influence the dogs become *ardentes* and frenzied (*rabidae*, 7.493)⁶¹ with the chase, and lead Ascanius to his fatal shot. He commands the dogs (as, unbeknownst to him, does Allecto), he fires the shot, and his two names are mentioned three times in the vignette lest we forget to accord him blame (*Iulus* 479, *Iuli* 493, *Ascanius* 497).⁶²

Ascanius seems to lack a corresponding role in the simile comparing Dido to a wounded deer. An unnamed shepherd (*pastor*), described merely as ignorant (*nescius*), is

⁵⁸ The Trojan boys and girls *gaudent* as they bring the Trojan Horse into the city at 2.239. Perhaps Trojan joy in horses – or joy in the *Aeneid* in general – is often misplaced.

⁵⁹ Austin *ad A.* 4.156 (1982, 66) interprets *acri* as specifying that Ascanius' is not a child's palfrey, but a real war-horse.

⁶⁰ "Now the Hell-girl cast into his hounds a sudden frenzy and pricked their nostrils with a familiar scent, so that, inflamed, they would start the stag."

⁶¹ Fordyce *ad A.* 7.493 (1977, 150) claims that this is a normal term to use of baying hounds. This does not seem to be supported, however; Pliny *NH* speaks of *canes rabidi* with some frequency, but always of dogs that have bitten men; Vergil elsewhere, along with Horace, Manilius, Ovid, Quintilian, Seneca, Juvenal, and Martial, generally uses *rabidus* of lions, tigers, and other wild beasts; and it describes Scylla's dogs in Ovid and Seneca. Statius, *Thebaid* 1.625 (in a clear allusion to Vergilian periphrasis) lists *rabida canum vis* with wolves and carrion birds.

⁶² On the matter of blame, Starr (1992, 439) observes that Donatus writes "an imaginary trial of Ascanius for killing the deer." He has destroyed someone's property but, because the deer behaves like a wild animal, he cannot be aware of the fact. In addition, I would remark something which is probably entirely a coincidence (although Vergil's use of geographical epithets is frequently purposeful): the sole appearance of Ascanius' name in Vergil's other works indicates a Bithynian river at *G.* 3.270, in the context of the episode on love's destructive power in the animal kingdom – an episode that involves *imbelles cerui* fighting.

to blame. But who is the point of comparison for this *pastor*? On one level, of course, he represents Aeneas, as Servius observed.⁶³ Servius claims that

Satis congrua comparatio: singula enim singulis, cervam Didoni, sagittam amoris,
pastorem Aeneae, nemora urbi, ictum letalem amoris mortifero comparavit.⁶⁴

For Servius, Aeneas is the only injurious party. He takes the *sagittam* and the *ictum letalem* as strictly and solely metaphorical for Dido's poisonous love. However, this passage is shot through with allusions to Apollonius; in particular, to a scene in which an actual arrow induces a painful love. This actual arrow disappears in Dido's affair, being divided between the arrow in the simile and an allusion which ties Ascanius to an arrow-wielding Eros.

Nelis has demonstrated how Cupid's involvement in Dido's doom is one of Vergil's vivid borrowings from Apollonius Rhodius.⁶⁵ As Nelis points out, hunt imagery in the tragedy of Dido begins when Venus sends her son Cupid to Dido to capture her with trickery, *capere dolis* (1.673), reminiscent of the traps and *formidines* used at the start of a deer hunt.⁶⁶ Venus has plans for the love god (1.659-60):

donisque furem
incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.⁶⁷

The gift of Trojan textiles and other beautiful things which Aeneas has ordered his son to bring is here the means of delivery of Dido's poisoned wound. Venus also orders Cupid, *occultum inspire ignem fallasque ueneno*, "breathe the hidden fire [into the queen] and

⁶³ Servius *ad A.* 4.69; he begins an interesting debate on the meaning of *nescius* for Aeneas that is taken up among the modern commentators; on this see the excursus following this chapter.

⁶⁴ "The comparison is a sufficient match: for he has compared individual things to individual things, as the deer to Dido, the arrow to her love, the shepherd to Aeneas, the wood to the city, the deadly shot to her fatal love."

⁶⁵ Nelis (2001, 130-34).

⁶⁶ Nelis (2001, 130 and n.24).

⁶⁷ "He is to inflame the raving queen with gifts and entwine fire in her bones." This plan is described as *nouas artis* (1.657 Mynors; Servius has *artes*) as Allecto's inspiration of Ascanius' dogs is *arte nova* (7.477), and shares structural similarities with Allecto's attack on Amata. See Putnam (1998, 105 n. 19) and Lyne (1987, 18-20), who examines Venus and Allecto undertaking parallel "erotic sieges."

deceive her with poison.”⁶⁸ Neither of these is the love god’s normal method of creating infatuation. In Apollonius’ version, Aphrodite commands her son to bewitch Medea by shooting the girl (*Arg.* 3.142-44):

σὺ δὲ παρθένον Αἰήταο
θέλξον ὀϊστεύσας ἐπ’ Ἰήσωνι· μηδέ τις ἔστω
ἄμβολιη.⁶⁹

This is his normal *modus operandi*, and he fulfills his mother’s wishes skillfully. Nelis concludes that “the image of the wound and the flame at the start of book 4 inevitably recall [sic] the flaming arrow of Eros fired into Medea, itself a figure for the physical effect of Jason on the young girl.”⁷⁰

While Cupid’s failure to shoot an arrow is uncharacteristic of him, Vergil describes the love god’s behavior as departing from his normal practices for a purpose (1.689-90):⁷¹

Paret Amor dictis carae genetricis, et alas
exuit et gressu gaudens incedit Iuli.⁷²

Love lays aside his wings in the service of his disguise as his young relative Ascanius. *Gressu gaudens* – as Ascanius delights in his spirited horse (4.157, above), Cupid enjoys the unaccustomed mortal gait. He puts aside the wings in order that he may credibly pass for his mortal relative, and likewise substitutes the mortal gifts for his immortal weapons. The whole assembly is charmed, and even Ascanius’ own father is deceived. So while

⁶⁸ Bowie (1998) and Konstan (2000a) address the question of the love that Ascanius/Cupid inspires in Dido. Konstan (2000a, 12-18) suggests that the scene is a manifestation of the classical Greek theme of the love of an adult woman for a [pre-]pubescent youth, an assimilation of women’s desires to those of Athenian adult males. A young man, then, is an even better vehicle for the inspiration of passion than a mature man (like Aeneas) or, for that matter, golden arrows or textiles. Khan (2002, 193-94) expands on this line of reasoning by suggesting that Cupid’s physique is described with language often used of the penis, and that this quality increases Dido’s desire.

⁶⁹ “And you, having shot her with arrows, bewitch the virgin daughter of Aeetes about Jason. Nor let there be any delay.”

⁷⁰ Nelis (2001, 130).

⁷¹ Pura Nieto Hernández remarks to me that this absence of an expected element is very frequent in the Hellenistic poets.

⁷² “Love obeys his dear mother’s commands, and takes off his wings, and enters rejoicing in Iulus’ gait.”

the queen is not literally shot with an arrow by Ascanius as Silvia's deer is, she is inflamed by a divine bowman acting in Ascanius' guise. Ascanius is implicated by association, even if his appearance in the scene is illusory.

Pöschl describes this scene and simile as representing the power of Eros, and notes that Dido's love is described with the terminology of an arrow wound at 4.4-5: *haeret infixi pectore uultus/ uerba*.⁷³ Readers of Apollonius, on reading here of Cupid's involvement, would certainly envision the queen as transfixed by his arrows. Nelis recognizes this fact when he remarks, of our Dido-doe simile, that "the arrow which was so strikingly absent earlier, both at the end of book one when Cupid was sent to Dido and at 4.1-5, finally makes its appearance, transposed from narrative to simile, as the arrow stuck in the flank of the wounded deer."⁷⁴ Nelis' focus is on Vergilian allusions to Apollonius, and not to Vergil himself; as such, he does not go further and point out that this allusion aligns the story of Dido more closely not only with the simile at 4.69 but also with the tragedy of Silvia's stag. These two scenes, with their implication of Ascanius, indicate that the *pastor nescius*, rather than simply indicating Aeneas, may have a wider frame of reference including Aeneas' whole people.⁷⁵

Connective elements in stag scene and wider narrative of Dido

The grieving sister

In the doe simile, the stricken animal suffers in silence. Loud lamentations are however a traditional aspect of human expression in tragic epic scenes, and these occur in

⁷³ Pöschl (1962, 78-79). "His appearance and words stick fast in her heart."

⁷⁴ Nelis (2001, 131).

⁷⁵ Khan (2002, 203) makes a similar observation: the *uiuus amor* instilled in Dido in place of Sychaeus "is at once Ascanius-Amor and Aeneas."

the stag scene as well as at Dido's eventual death. When the queen's suicide is discovered, *lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu / tecta fremunt* (4.667-8),⁷⁶ and on the stag's wounded return (7.501-2),

successitque gemens stabulis, questuque cruentus
atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat.⁷⁷

The main participant in this mourning is Silvia, daughter of Tyrrhus. Named twice in the epic (7.487, 7.503), the girl each time receives the epithet *soror*. Servius comments on the propriety of focalizing the emotional loss of the tame deer through this young girl, the *soror* of the family, rather than her father or brothers. It is not required by the context, however, that her role as *soror* should be emphasized rather than as *filia*, *puella* or *uirgo*. Her relationship with siblings is certainly not highlighted in the text; the only indication in this scene that she does have brothers is the *Tyrrhidae pueri* (7.484) who raised the stag with their father. Almo, eldest son of Tyrrhus, is the first man to die in Latin-Trojan fighting (7.531-34). He dies by an arrow wound, but his sister's grief is not mentioned.

Instead, the pathos of Silvia's mourning is reserved to the stag. She first appears alone, caring for the animal (7.487-89):

Adsuetum imperiis soror omni Siluia cura
mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis,
pectebatque ferum puroque in fonte lauabat.⁷⁸

Here "Sister" Silvia's relationship with the stag is lovingly detailed, without any mention of her interactions with human family members. When again she is named (7.503-4),

Siluia prima soror palmis percussa lacertos
auxilium uocat et duros conclamat agrestis.⁷⁹

⁷⁶ "The house resounds with laments and a groan and womanly yelling."

⁷⁷ "And he returned groaning to his enclosure, and bloodied and like a suppliant he filled the whole building with his groan."

⁷⁸ Translated above, note 24.

“Sister” Silvia calls help for her dear *quadripes* from the *duros agrestis* – hardy countrymen – not, for instance, her hardy brothers.⁸⁰ The only close relationship here is between girl and stag. Because of the placement of this epithet in its two uses, then, it seems that Silvia is being characterized as sister not to her actual brothers, the sons of Tyrrhus, but to the stag.

Reading Silvia as the stag’s sister connects her role with that of the other prominent *sorores* of the *Aeneid*: Anna and Juturna.⁸¹ Each, despite her best efforts to coddle, protect and aid a stronger, wilder sibling, in the end loses her loved one to Trojan violence. Of 39 occurrences of the seemingly generic word *soror* in the epic, in fact, 20 relate to either Anna or Juturna, and four more to Dido in her mutual sisterly relationship to Anna.⁸² It is used in apposition to a proper name – in the “epithet” manner as it is used of Silvia – only seven times: twice of Silvia, twice of Anna, twice of Juturna (once separated from her name by a distance of two lines), and in the sole mention of Hesione.

The sisterly relationship of Dido and Anna is the most prominent such connection in the epic, with Dido being referred to four times as Anna’s sister, and Anna 11 times as Dido’s sister. Therefore, when Silvia, a minor character mentioned just twice in the epic, is both times titled *soror*, it is natural to connect her with Anna, the *Aeneid*’s chief sister-figure. Anna is sister to Dido, the doomed deer of book four’s simile; Silvia acts as

⁷⁹ “Sister Silvia first, after beating her arms with open palms, calls for help and shouts to the hardy countrymen.”

⁸⁰ Her father is named at 508, but only after a number of unnamed men have armed themselves does he appear, and Silvia has by this time disappeared from the action.

⁸¹ Putnam (1998, 101-02) reads the humanization of the stag as essentially erotic, and while I privilege a familial relationship, the relationship of Juturna and Turnus at least might also be interpreted to contain erotic undertones, and Anna is certainly an enabler to Dido’s eroticism (4.54-5, e.g.).

⁸² Some specifics breaking down Vergil’s use of *soror*: ten usages refer to a deity, mythological or fictive figure; one reference is to a generic group of Latin women; one reference to a companion in Camilla’s band; one reference to Hesione, Priam’s sister; four to Dido; two to Silvia; nine to Juturna; 11 to Anna.

nourishing sister to the doomed stag of book seven.⁸³ While no sister-figure appears in the few lines of the simile, Anna is central to Vergil's version of the Dido-narrative.

Anna will mourn at her sister's eventual real death, the death by fire and blade prefigured in the sad simile.⁸⁴ In the immediate context, Dido's frenzied wandering from altar to altar was set in motion by her sister's words (4.54-55; *his dictis* indicating Anna's speech at 4.31-53):

His dictis impenso animum flammauit amore
spemque dedit dubiae menti soluitque pudorem.⁸⁵

That is, Anna's speech has dissolved some of Dido's barriers of modesty that prevent her from entering upon the affair. Silvia could also be said to have destroyed the natural *pudor* of the stag that might have kept it farther in the wilds, more wary of Ascanius' pack of dogs.⁸⁶

The wilderness

The intersection between wildness and domesticity is perhaps the most nuanced uniting factor between our scenes, of interest especially because of its place in Dido's understanding of her own situation. The doe simile adds a note of pathetic futility to Dido's wish to be free of her human character and mistakes. As the stag's tragedy shows,

⁸³ There is no suggestion, however, that Silvia is like Ariadne or Medea in causing the death of her "brother."

⁸⁴ Pöschl (1962, 81) gives an insightful analysis of this simile as the symbolic introduction to the tragedy of Dido. Williams *ad A.* 4.56 f. (1972, 339) also considers it as such, in combination with the narrator's comment at 4.65-67.

⁸⁵ "With these words she ignited her mind with a strong love and gave hope to her divided mind and dissolved her sense of shame." There is some debate about the text of line 54; however, it does not impinge on the fact that Dido is inflamed by love and Anna's speech has made the situation worse. Michael Putnam suggests possible allusion to Catullus 72.5 (*impensius uror*) as support for *impenso*.

⁸⁶ Compare the results of the plague at Noricum taming deer, *G.* 3.539. Putnam (1998, 100) however notes that the domestication "in no way diminishes the animal's natural tendency to roam."

being free of human norms (and thus guilt) does not guarantee immunity from the storms of human destructiveness.

Silvia's stag is called *ferus* even as she pampers him with garlands and bathing (7.487-9).⁸⁷ Much of the pathos of his situation depends on the fact that even while domesticated he is mistaken for an acceptable, wild victim. If he were fully domesticated and stayed in his home, he would not have been there for Ascanius to shoot. On the other hand, if he were fully wild, his death would not have initiated a full-blown tragedy.⁸⁸

Dido's conflict may not objectively be between domesticity and the call of the wild, but she seems to visualize it that way, and the text reinforces her view when it compares her to Diana and to a doe. The hunt imagery that I examined above, weaving together the doe simile, Dido's actions and the story of the stag, adds a great deal of pathos to Dido's complaint on the brink of death (4.550-52):

Non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine uitam
degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas;
non seruata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.⁸⁹

Comparing her own complicated situation to the simple, ritual-free life of beasts, she seems to suggest that their mode (*more ferae*) is better, even as she mourns her inattention to a private sacrament, her *fides cineri promissa Sychaeo*. Free of humanity, she thinks she would be free of duty. However, her rhetoric elsewhere betrays a full awareness of the negative, as well as positive aspects of the wild life. Animals are capable of brutality, like Aeneas (4.365-67):

⁸⁷ Servius *ad A.* 7.489 argues that *ferum* merely indicates the stag is a four-legged "beast," not necessarily a *wild* one.

⁸⁸ Vance (1981) thoroughly explores the wild-domestic binary of this scene in an analysis that owes much to the myth-criticism of Lévi-Strauss, D  tienne and Vernant.

⁸⁹ "It was not allowed me to spend my life ignorant of the marriage bed, without fault, in the manner of a beast, and not to encounter such grief. The vow I promised to Sychaeus' ashes has not been kept." Newton (1957, 38) suggests that the "words *more ferae* (551) are perhaps a dim reflection of the image of the deer" in the simile of book four. Since, however, the word *ferus* does not appear in the doe simile, a connection dependent on that word relies on mutual allusion with the deer cared for by Silvia.

Nec tibi diua parens generis nec Dardanus auctor,
 perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens
 Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.⁹⁰

Dido cites animals that are as harsh and unfeeling as the mountains. Free of contractual obligations, they can savage each other. Aeneas is brutal; coincidentally, he is also like a tiger in his freedom from moral obligations to her as a spouse.⁹¹

Conclusions

After analyzing the various elements which tie together the doe simile in book four with Dido's narrative both directly and through the episode of Silvia's stag, three central elements appear in all three episodes: a wound, erratic movement, and the unintentional nature of the crime. Nelis has shown that allusion to Apollonius makes an arrow the unmentioned weapon in Dido's love injury, which adds a fourth element connecting the stories. In addition, the scenes inform each other emotionally through the tragic details of the sorrowing sister and the victim's liminal state between domesticity and animal freedom.

One element deserves further emphasis: the role of the *pastor nescius* who inflicts the doe's wound, traditionally read as referring to Aeneas. This analysis has shown how Cupid's implication in Dido's wounding, as well as Ascanius' implication in the stag's death, expand the net of responsibility in the doe's demise. Venus' entire clan could be argued to have a cavalier attitude to the destruction of innocents, a charge repeatedly aired by Turnus and Amata with reference to Trojan criminals.

⁹⁰ "Neither goddess mother nor Dardan man was responsible for your creation, liar, but the bristling Caucasus gave birth to you in its harsh crags and Hyrcanian tigresses gave you their udders."

⁹¹ Vance (1981) who writes on "Wildness and Domesticity in Virgil's Aeneid," oddly does not make any mention of Dido's wish at Aen. 4.550-52 to have lived as an animal. Rather, he concludes that she has in fact done so (1981, 135): "Dido and Aeneas copulate as wild beasts rather than as domestic lovers wedded by law."

On the other hand, read together, the scenes suggest the inexorability of disaster and a lack of full human culpability. The bow and arrow allow a hunter to strike from afar, unlike the thrusting spear or sword. The shepherd of the book four simile is *nescius* and does not know the fatal implication of his random shot. Ascanius, impelled to kill by a dual divine intervention (Allecto's inspiration of the dogs, and the god directing his shot), is certainly not present at Tyrrhus' house when the deer collapses, groaning. Neither Ascanius nor the *pastor* (whether he represents Aeneas, Ascanius, *eros* or all three) knows the final result of his shot.

Only the gods involved in the shooting know the overall direction of events: Allecto in book seven, and in the Dido narrative, Juno, Venus, and Cupid. This pattern of divine intervention and human ignorance to some degree excuses the *pastor* (again, be he Aeneas, Cupid/Ascanius, or the personified emotion of love) from responsibility for Dido's demise, and Ascanius from responsibility for the stag's death. This is rather an important exoneration, since that hunt is, according to the narrator, the 'shot heard round the world' inflaming battle between Latins and Trojans: *prima laborum causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis* (7.481-2).⁹² From the beginning the epic has been obsessed with the causes of Aeneas' toil, and the end that the gods or fate will give to it.⁹³ The importance of these scenes, therefore, cannot be overestimated, nor Ascanius' involvement (with or without guilt) in the start of a conflict that is one of the most serious challenges to Aeneas' establishing his patrimony.

In addition to emotionally informing one another, I would argue that the placement of these two deer scenes is meant to link Trojan interactions with

⁹² Translated above in note 26.

⁹³ E.g. 1.8-11.

Carthaginians and Latins structurally, through self-referential allusion. Pöschl has demonstrated the doe simile's role as leitmotif for Dido's downfall in book four. However, more broadly, the deer motif ties in also to Dido's appearance in the underworld, and Nelis already noted the hunt motif beginning as early as book one (not only with Cupid's attack, but even in the simile of Diana when Dido first appears). The simile comparing Dido to a doe then occurs essentially at the center balance point of Dido's narrative; after the preparations to disaster in book one (and, to some extent, the brief Carthaginian scenes of book two), but before the downfall.

Likewise, the stag's death is Allecto's final intervention to create war between Trojans and Latins; the breakdown of peace among peoples begins directly after the deer's death. In a book that claims its role is to explicate the causes of war between Latins and Trojans, the deer connection also shows how Carthage foreshadows Italy. Aeneas is expected to make a better end to the Latin than the Carthaginian episode, even with Allecto driving the hounds of war.

EXCURSUS: THE SHEPHERD

Introduction

Instances of herdsmen and herding in the similes and narrative of the *Aeneid* do not, strictly speaking, constitute a motif of relevance for this dissertation. There is no memorable or marked scene of shepherding in the narrative to anchor a motif through interaction with the herdsman of one of the similes. However, the appearance of shepherds in similes that have featured prominently in the chapters on deer and bees, and the unusually aggressive role of Vergilian shepherds in both simile and narrative, warrant a brief investigation of the topic.

The points that I wish to address are as follows. First, I would like to contest Hornsby's assertion that the role of shepherd similes in the *Aeneid* is to characterize Aeneas as a "shepherd of the people."¹ This reading, accepted as a matter of course by scholars as perceptive as Johnson, is nonetheless insufficiently supported in the text.² Second, I will explore how Vergil portrays his herdsmen in reference to, or distinction from, Homeric herdsmen and those in his own earlier works; specifically, I will analyze the active or passive nature of the herdsmen's engagement with violence. Finally, I will

¹ Hornsby (1968).

² Johnson (1976, 81) comments: "This shepherd, of course, outside the simile, is shepherd of his nation, but that does not explain his being nescius inside the simile any more than the imprudence of Dido outside the simile explains the imprudence of the hind inside the narrative (and we are bound to ask, Was Dido truly imprudent, is that the right word for it, outside the simile, in the poem that the simile comments on?)." While there is room for debate on Dido's incaution and Aeneas' unawareness, there is no reason to assume that Dido is in some metaphorical way a deer – a representative of fear, for instance – outside the simile; likewise, to assume that Aeneas is "shepherd of his nation," when he is never called by such an epithet, is overreaching.

deal with the description of two of the shepherds in similes as *nescius* or *inscius*, and the possibility that this characteristic of ignorance in fact signposts an allusion to one treatment of the story of the sacrifice of Iphigenia.

Shepherds in Homer

Hornsby claimed that the word *pastor* routinely connotes the concept “shepherd of the people” in the similes of the *Aeneid*.³ For Hornsby, the question of when a shepherd is and is not a “shepherd of the people” seems to hinge on the presence of the flock in the simile vehicle, and the exercise of leadership in the simile tenor. As a result, he sees a progression in Aeneas’ behavior from the “failed” passive herdsman of the simile at *Aen.* 2.304-08 to a successful “shepherd of the people.” Anderson responded,⁴ contending that the “shepherd of the people” connotation is lacking not only from the *Aeneid*, but from the Latin language as a whole, and that Hornsby misreads several of the similes as a result; while Vergil does use some shepherd similes to describe leaders, there is no equivalent of the Greek metaphorical epithet extant in Vergil or earlier Latin poetry.

In order to assess these arguments about the *Aeneid*, an examination of the Homeric background of both the “shepherd of the people” epithet and herding similes is in order. While I cannot address all of the problems surrounding Homeric formulaic epithets,⁵ Vergil clearly manipulates the tradition in certain definable ways. The next few pages will examine the Greek epic background.

³ Hornsby (1968).

⁴ Anderson (1968).

⁵ For two very different views, see e.g. Parry (1933) and Austin (1975, 11-80).

First, it should be noted that herdsmen appear in the *Iliad* only in simile, epithet, and digression, and do not play a role in events within the timeline of the *Iliad*.⁶

Herdsmen have a more prominent role in the *Odyssey*: some of the most important characters in the narrative keep flocks, while there are fewer herding similes and epithets. Three herdsmen play a crucial role in the denouement: Eumaeus the swineherd and Philoetius the oxherd in support of Odysseus, and Melanthius the goatherd in support of the suitors. These men's behavior is not normal for herdsmen: rather than attempting to guide their flocks and protect them from the predations of lions and wolves, they must deliver their charges to be eaten by interlopers. All three become involved in violent guerilla action at the end of the book, but Eumaeus is the most notable character, playing a large role in Odysseus' successful navigation of the treacherous situation in his homeland. The noble and active nature of this swineherd may be explained by the fact that he was born a prince (*Od.* 15.403ff.).

While herdsmen do not appear in the action of the *Iliad*, the word ποιμήν, shepherd, does however occur frequently, in the context of the epithet *ποιμήν λαῶν.⁷ This phrase is a very powerful metaphor to the mind of an English-speaking reader, conveying as it does not only translations of the Homeric epithet, but also echoes of the Bible.⁸ The Biblical "Good Shepherd" fits into a widespread pattern of use of this

⁶ By digression I mean the mentions of shepherds that are extraneous to the main narrative: forms of the verb ποιμαίνω provide pathos in the brief background narratives of dying men who had themselves herded (Isos and Antiphos, captured in the process by Achilles, *Il.* 11.106; on these sons of Priam see also Chapter 3, note 15), owned herds that were managed by subordinate herdsmen (Iphidamas, 11.245), or descended from a herder (Laomedon's grandsons, 6.25); the lump of iron which serves both as the shot and the prize in the shot put is described as serving the needs of the winner and the herdsmen in his employ for years (23.835).

⁷ The epithet is assigned an asterisk as it actually does not appear in the nominative as I have rendered it here, but only in the dative and accusative.

⁸ For example, the concluding lines of Psalms 77 and 78, Gen. 49:24, Acts 20:28, and the Parable of the Good Shepherd.

metaphor in Egypt and throughout the Middle East, in which it is a positive “metaphor of mastery” indicating a responsible approach to kingship.⁹

References to herdsmen in Homer, however, differ markedly from the Middle Eastern pattern. Occurrences of the epithet *ποιμὴν λαῶν, first of all, have little correlation with narrative instances of leadership, effective or not, much less with the concept of good stewardship implied in Middle Eastern versions of the epithet. In fact, the pattern of usage of this epithet suggests that it is a classic example of the fixed epithet, as defined by Milman Parry.¹⁰ That is, it formed part of a familiar poetic language and may not have struck Homer’s audience as particularly metaphorical.

Parry concluded of the Homeric epithet in general that its apparently metaphorical language was, in fact, not metaphorical at all. For example, the famous phrase “winged words” (ἔπεα πτερόεντα), far from indicating speech of a particular “winged” quality (such as emotional character or effectiveness), was merely the appropriate way to indicate speech when it would be grammatically unwieldy to repeat the name of the speaker.¹¹ The epithet *ποιμὴν λαῶν, which always fills the final two feet of the hexameter, seems to be interchangeable with three other, metrically equivalent epithets: κοίρανε λαῶν (always vocative and at line-end), ὄρχαμε λαῶν (always vocative and at

⁹ Collins (1996, 21-23).

¹⁰ Parry (1933). That the phrase can be read metaphorically is certain; as Pura Nieto Hernández points out in an article on “Metaphor” forthcoming in the *Homeric Encyclopedia*, the meaning of ποιμήν is changed by the addition of λαῶν, in a way that does not occur in the similar epithet, ἀναξ ἀνδρῶν. The living or “dead” nature of this metaphor as used in Homer remains debatable, I believe, but at least some instances suggest that it was dead and may not even have indicated leadership or stewardship (see below, page 144).

¹¹ Parry (1937). Collins seems at times unaware of or unwilling to engage with Parry’s conclusions. For instance, regarding the ἔπεα πτερόεντα epithet, he comments: “Speech, as this passage illustrates, extends the speaker into the common space of those who share his or her language. “Winged words” was Homer’s vivid way of conveying the centrifugal character of this phenomenon” (1996, 33).

line-end), and ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν (nominative or accusative and at line-end).¹² The variants beginning with ὄρχαμος, a word for “leader” which appears only in this epithet,¹³ always follow an unelidable syllable (consonant or diphthong). Those using ποιμήν always follow a short vowel and thus prevent elision; the κοίρανε variant occurs only four times, and always after Τελαμώνιε.¹⁴

The epithet’s place in a formulaic system has been overlooked, however, by various recent scholars of Homer. Collins, for instance, in exploring the “pastoral analogy,” believes the “shepherd of the people” epithet is “strong evidence of a cultural nostalgia for some pastoral past.”¹⁵ Likewise, Haubold’s analysis of the role of the shepherd of the people in his study of the term λαός is insufficiently careful in its use of evidence from formulas. For instance, he suggests:

Life among *laoi*, as epitomized by the formula ‘shepherd of the people’ (*ποιμήν λαῶν) is built, above all, on social interaction. It divides the world into groups and leaders who are correlated through an unambiguously stable grammatical hierarchy. There are ‘shepherds of the people’ (*ποιμένες λαῶν) in the formulaic language of early Greek epic, but no ‘people of the shepherds’ (*λαοὶ ποιμένων).¹⁶

There is a much simpler reason, having nothing to do with the organization of society in Homeric epic, explaining the non-appearance of the formula λαοὶ ποιμένων: it is

¹² Additional metrical equivalents of slightly different form or meaning identified by Parry (1971, 91, Table III, “Fixed Epithets Used in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* with the Names of Two or More Heroes”) include ἰσόθεος φῶς for the nominative and κυδαλίμοιο in the genitive.

¹³ The word’s etymology is unknown, leaving it possible that ὄρχαμος too had an origin in some field of life which would cause it to seem metaphorical to us today, if we only knew what that origin was.

Attempts have been made to connect it to a Mycenaean term for “commander” (for bibliography see Chantraine 1999, 830 s.v. ὄρχαμος) or to the formula ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν (Bechtel 1964, 255 s.v. ὄρχαμος).

¹⁴ Austin, who makes a forceful argument for attributing poetic intent to many aspects of Homeric verse that Parry deemed traditionally fixed and, therefore, devoid of significance, admits that the restriction of a formula to certain grammatical contexts suggests a choice dependent on economy rather than meaning: “Odysseus may be πολύμητις when his name appears in the nominative case, but when his name is in the oblique cases he is given other epithets, a fact which strongly suggests that the choice of epithet is dictated by the metrical quantity of the name rather than by immediate context” (1975, 16).

¹⁵ Collins (1996, 20) compares the American Western film genre.

¹⁶ Haubold (2000, 10).

impossible to fit the word ποιμένων into hexameter verse.¹⁷ Regardless of the heroic societal principles suggested by a formulaic epithet, poets could not choose to employ it if it did not fit metrical requirements, and an argument from that formula's absence is worth precisely nothing.

Perhaps the strongest argument in favor of a Parryist approach to the “shepherd of the people” epithet is its application, at times, to individuals who are not leaders of any sort. For instance, two sons of Nestor are called by these epithets.¹⁸ Most absurdly, Philoetius the oxherd and Eumaeus the swineherd (referred to not by name, but merely as συβώτης) are each called ὄρχαμος ἀνδρῶν. These two figures are demonstrably not ever leaders of men, but herdsmen of swine and cattle.¹⁹ While the *ποιμὴν λαῶν epithet may have possessed, originally, a connotation of benevolent leadership or stewardship, in extant Homeric poetry it is arguable that it has a fixed or ornamental character rather than denoting any serious, “shepherdly” role.²⁰

What matters to this study, however, is not the metaphorical quality of the Homeric epithet *per se*, but its influence on the portrayal of shepherds in Vergil's epic. Since Vergil was not privy to Parryist theory, one may wonder what he may have noticed about shepherds in Homeric poetry, considered as literature.²¹ If the epithet were applied

¹⁷ For a scholar who accuses Ulf and Raaflaub of “negligent glossing” (Haubold 2000, 14 n. 2.), his neglect of such a simple point suggests a correspondingly careless or naïve treatment of the principles of formulaic language. Admittedly the phrase should be admissible as “people of the shepherd (singular)” (*λαοὶ ποιμένος) though I am not sure this achieves the upended “grammatical hierarchy” Haubold imagines *λαοὶ ποιμένων representing.

¹⁸ Thrasymedes in the *Iliad* and Peisistratus in the *Odyssey*.

¹⁹ If we are to believe that the poet selected the epithet intentionally, with a view to its meaning, rather than to fill out the hexameter with an ornamental epithet, he could have employed ποιμὴν λαῶν – with λαῶν being understood as a possessive, rather than an objective genitive!

²⁰ The incongruity of calling these herdsmen “leaders of men” is reminiscent of the application of the epithet ἀμύμων (supposedly, “blameless”) to Aegisthus. Unsurprisingly in the world of the traditional epithet, even Aegisthus is called a *ποιμὴν λαῶν (at *Od.* 4.528)!

²¹ In Xenophon's *Memorabilia* 3.2.1 (cited at Haubold 2000, 21), for example, “shepherd of the people” is perceived as a living metaphor and one associated with Agamemnon.

intentionally, then Homer used it quite frequently to characterize the sons of Atreus. Of 44 uses of *ποιμὴν λαῶν in the *Iliad*, 12 describe Agamemnon, e.g. *Il.* 19.35:

μῆνιν ἄποειπὼν Ἄγαμέμνονι ποιμένι λαῶν.²²

One instance refers to Atreus (*Il.* 2.105) and two to Menelaus (5.566, 5.570), and Menelaus is also the most frequent recipient of the metrically equivalent, non-metaphorical epithet ὄρχαμε λαῶν.²³ In addition, the “shepherd of the people” traditional epithet is employed most frequently in book 11, Agamemnon’s *aristeia* (nine instances of the phrase, as against five in book 2, the second highest number). On two occasions the epithet is applied to an individual other than Agamemnon within one line of a mention of “Atrides” (*Il.* 11.92 and 14.516).²⁴ These characteristics might suggest an association of the epithet “shepherd of the people” with Agamemnon.

Far more important in shaping Vergil’s practice than the distribution of an epithet he never actually imitates are Homer’s herding similes, which he adapts on several occasions in the *Aeneid*. The norms and emotional connotations of Homer’s herding similes are quite interesting, even when considered in isolation from the “shepherd of the people” concept. Collins, for instance, identifies an important quality of the herdsmen in Homeric similes and digressions:²⁵ namely, that their role in the community is something more complex than simply “leader of flock animals.”²⁶ A Homeric shepherd generally

²² “...renouncing his wrath toward Agamemnon, shepherd of the people...”

²³ Benveniste, focusing primarily on the *laos* element of the epithet, suggests that the term was dialectal, originally associated with leaders from Thessaly and Phrygia, and after it “had become a cliché, was later extended to all the kings of the Achaeans, among whom was Agamemnon” (1973, 373-74). Yet a Thessalian origin is highly unlikely because of the epithet’s presence in Egyptian and Biblical texts; see above, pages 141-42.

²⁴ Perhaps mention of the patronymic for Agamemnon brought that epithet to mind for the singer.

²⁵ On which see above, note 6.

²⁶ Collins (1996, 25).

cares not for his own animals, but for the animals of his employer.²⁷ The role of a shepherd, then, is not unadulterated “leadership” or a one-dimensional contract between shepherd and sheep, leader and men.

Haubold also makes some incisive observations about the societal role and effectiveness (or lack thereof) of Homeric herdsmen. Since these epic shepherds are not generally the owners of their flocks, Haubold emphasizes their roles as guardians of a central social measure of wealth, and the astounding frequency with which they do not in fact guard successfully.²⁸ He correctly observes that modern readers may gloss over these negative elements because “the shepherd of biblical narrative is a far more positive figure than the one we find in Homer,” who is “hapless” and “cannot be successful.”²⁹ In these similes, shepherds frequently are depicted either without their flocks, in an observatory role that is disengaged from their specific professional duties, or failing to guard their flocks.

Overall, the shepherds of Homeric similes are passive and react to outside stimuli, often ineffectively. They engage in violence only when under threat from attackers.

Iliad 11.548-555 is an example of a positive herding simile involving a lion:

ὥς δ' αἶθωνα λέοντα βοῶν ἀπὸ μεσσαύλοιο
 ἐσσεύαντο κύνες τε καὶ ἄνδρες ἄγροϊῶται,
 οἳ τέ μιν οὐκ εἰῶσι βοῶν ἐκ πίᾱρ ἐλέσθαι
 πάννυχτοι ἐγρήσσοντες· ὃ δὲ κρειῶν ἐρατίζων
 ἰθύει, ἀλλ' οὐ τι πρήσσει· θαμέες γὰρ ἄκοντες
 ἀντίον αἴσσουσι θρασειάων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
 καϊόμεναί τε δεταί, τὰς τε τρεῖ ἐσσύμενός περ·
 ἠῶθεν δ' ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἔβη τετιηότι θυμῷ.³⁰

²⁷ This arrangement is alluded to at *Il.* 11.245, 23.835 (among other places); *Od.* 4.87; and through the characters of Odysseus' three herdsmen.

²⁸ Haubold (2000, 18-19).

²⁹ Haubold (2000, 20).

³⁰ “In this way dogs and rustic men chase a tawny lion away from the cattle enclosure, and keeping watch all night they do not allow him to take any of the cows for himself. And he, craving meat, attacks, but

In this case, the shepherds and dogs make a successful defense against the lion. Many times, though, the lion gets the better of the situation (as at *Il.* 5.136-142). In other similes, the herdsman may shirk his duty, resulting in the destruction of his flocks (*Il.* 10.485-6). Another group of similes involve a herdsman as a witness, of weather or warfare for instance (e.g. *Il.* 4.452-55 or 8.553-59).³¹

Herdsmen in Vergilian Similes

The first notable fact regarding herdsmen in Vergil is the complete absence of any equivalent, or translation, of the Greek epithet *ποιμὴν λαῶν. Anderson first noted this absence in Vergil and earlier Latin.³² Extensive exploration of the resources available in PHI 5 would support Anderson's view. While he mentions that objections could be raised on the grounds that *pastor Aeneas* or *pastor populi* do not easily fit in Latin dactylic meter, he suggests two metrically viable alternatives: *Aeneas pastor*, and *tum pastor populi*. In addition, I would point out that *opilio/upilio*, a synonym for *pastor* employed by Vergil at *Ecl.* 10.19, is attested quite frequently in Republican Latin (e.g., Terence, Plautus, Varro, Cato) and fits into dactylic hexameter.³³ If Vergil or others had wished to employ the metaphor "shepherd of the people," *upilio populi* would have been

accomplishes nothing, for they brandish javelins thickly at him from their courageous hands, and burning brands, which he flees very rapidly; and at dawn he goes away, troubled in his heart."

³¹ It is also interesting that there is no close correlation between instances of similes involving herdsmen or herd animals and occurrences of the phrase *ποιμὴν λαῶν. On only five occasions in the *Iliad* does the epithet appear within twenty-five lines of a simile on the topic. The closest juxtaposition, at *Il.* 5.144 (ποιμένα λαῶν) and 5.136-43, actually compares the hero identified as ποιμένα λαῶν – Diomedes – with a lion who has been struck by a shepherd. The role of the shepherd in the simile is in fact closest to that filled by the Trojan Pandarus in the narrative. As Homeric practice shows no reluctance to repeat language between simile and vehicle, it is notable that *ποιμὴν λαῶν and shepherd similes have so little connection. Herding similes also use a variety of other terms for herdsmen, including αἰπόλος and νομέυς. The word ποιμήν appears in only eight of the nearly thirty pastoral similes in the *Iliad*.

³² Anderson (1968, 5-6 and n. 11).

³³ Servius *ad E.* 10.19 maintains that *opilio* is the normal usage and Vergil has lengthened the vowel in the interest of meter; it does appear to be the first instance of this spelling.

available.³⁴ Regardless, Vergil chose not to employ this epithet, and mentions of herding in the *Aeneid* must therefore be examined with a focus on the simile tradition.

Vergil features herdsmen in all three of his poems, and embraces the model of earlier Greek genres. The herdsmen of the *Eclogues* evoke Theocritus' bucolic protagonists while conforming to the passive role of Homeric shepherds. The characters in the first *Eclogue* have suffered from the land confiscations, and have no agency over their situation. Other poems show herdsmen claiming a passive role in love. Only in the tenth *Eclogue* do we encounter a more active figure: Gallus, who as warrior and elegist breaks the paradigms of bucolic poetry.³⁵

Most of the shepherds in the *Georgics*, meanwhile, are presented as men who simply protect sheep and other herd animals from predators and sickness. Hornsby observes, "it need occasion no surprise that in a book of poems which has as its subject matter the life of the farmer and herdsman shepherds are always shepherds."³⁶ Yet, Chew finds a pervasive theme connecting *pastor* and *miles* in Vergil's poetry which is emblemized in the simile of *Geo.* 3.339-48 comparing a nomadic herdsman to a Roman soldier.³⁷ While the farmer's fight to domesticate nature is certainly one of the most profound themes of the *Georgics*, I am not sure that it is so for the shepherd. At *Geo.* 3.284-94, the beginning of the discourse on sheep and goats, it seems that there is as much martial glory to be had by the poet who successfully versifies the challenges of raising flocks as by the successful shepherd. The small animals are decimated by plague, a force they cannot fight against, while the large animals participated in their own

³⁴ Perhaps, however, *opilio* was a prosaic or technical term, or the near-anagrammatic qualities of *upilio populi* was less than euphonous.

³⁵ See Conte (1986, 100-129, especially 103 and 106-112).

³⁶ Hornsby (1968, 146-47).

³⁷ Chew (2002, 616).

amorous downfall. Meanwhile, shepherds are described as *incauti* and initiate destruction in their most obvious attempt to modify nature, by clearing pasture with fire (*Geo.* 2.303-14).³⁸

In the *Aeneid*, two of the five shepherd similes maintain a passive, Homeric role for the shepherd. The first, at *Aen.* 2.304-08, features Aeneas as the shepherd:

Excutor somno et summi fastigia tecti
ascensu supero atque arrectis auribus asto:
in segetem ueluti cum flamma furentibus Austris
incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores
praecipitisque trahit siluas; stupet inscius alto
accipiens sonitum saxi de uertice pastor.³⁹

This simile reformulates the simile of *Il.* 4.452-55, where a shepherd hears the clash of flooding rivers. As Austin notes, Homer does not provide a witness in the tenor to correspond with the shepherd, while “Virgil has made a personal disaster out of a general comparison, and his shepherd is no casual passer-by but himself the man most affected.”⁴⁰ Aeneas himself is this secondary narrator-focalizer; he, not our primary narrator or author, engages us, and his internal audience (especially Dido) in sympathy – for his own sufferings. He also characterizes himself as a failed or impotent observer, describing the shepherd as *inscius*.⁴¹

In the second passive simile, the shepherd is attacked and killed by a wolf (11.809-15):

³⁸ On this passage see Nappa (2003, 44-54) and below, pages 152-54.

³⁹ “I am shaken out of my sleep, and I climb over the ridge of the top of the roof in my ascent and stand there with ears pricked up: just as when fire rushes upon the crop when the south winds are raging, or the torrent, swift with mountain rainwater, flattens the fields, flattens the rich crops and the labors of oxen and drags forests headlong; uncomprehendingly, the shepherd stands paralyzed, listening to the sound from the high top of a rock.”

⁴⁰ Austin *ad A.* 2.304ff. (1980, 139)

⁴¹ Chew observes that this is Aeneas’ “evaluation of his own role from hindsight” (2002, 619). She also connects Aeneas’ lack of understanding of what he sees in the underworld at 6.711 to this scene (2002.621); on that passage see chapter two of this dissertation.

Ac uelut ille, prius quam tela inimica sequantur,
 continuo in montis sese auisus abdidit altis
 occiso pastore lupus magnouae iuuenae,
 conscius audacis facti, caudamque remulcens
 subiecit pauitanti utero siluasque petiuit:
 haud secus ex oculis se turbidus abstulit Arruns
 contentusque fuga mediis se immiscuit armis.⁴²

The consequences for killing the *pastor* or a *magnus iuuenae* appear to be the same, highlighting the fact that herdsman and livestock are equally impotent in the face of the wild attacker. In fact, the most active entities, in both vehicle and tenor, are the weapons. The wolf slinks away from his “crime” *prius quam tela inimica sequantur*, before the hateful weapons can follow him. Arruns’ divinely-guided kill seems motivated not by the warrior, but by the spear itself (11.803-4):

Hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam
 haesit uirgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem.⁴³

The *pastor* in the vehicle corresponds to Camilla in the tenor. Camilla is a full-fledged epic warrior, with traditional attributes like those of her male allies and enemies, including the honor of a simile. The material of the comparison is particularly apt because of her pastoral upbringing (11.569).⁴⁴ It is possible, however, that the passivity and weakness of this *pastor* is meant to portray her femininity, or the incongruity of a woman at war.

The other herdsman similes of the *Aeneid* portray more active shepherds. The first such simile, comparing Dido to a doe shot by a *pastor* who is for some reason

⁴² “And just as a wolf, when a shepherd or a large bullock has been slain, hides himself away wandering in the high mountains immediately, before hateful weapons can follow; he is aware of his bold deed, and tucks his fearful tail under his belly and heads for the woods: not at all otherwise did Arruns betake himself, disturbed, out of sight, and bent on flight he mingled with the fighting.”

⁴³ “The spear, piercing far in beneath her exposed breast, clings stuck there and drinks deeply of virgin gore.”

⁴⁴ Hornsby (1968, 150) sees her as a failed “shepherd of the people” in comparison to Pallas in the preceding book; but both are equally dead at this point, and there is little need to read “shepherd of the people” into the pastoral description of a girl who was raised, literally, in the lonely existence of a shepherd. Anderson (1968) does not analyze this simile, being presumably insufficiently relevant to his topic of “Pastor Aeneas.”

participating in the un-shepherdly activity of hunting, has been discussed in the third chapter. *Nescius*, the shepherd does not know the result of his shot and abandons his arrow, unaware of the destruction he has unleashed upon the doe.

A shepherd also appears in a simile describing Pallas (10.405-411):

Ac uelut optato uentis aestate coortis
dispersa immittit siluis incendia pastor,
correptis subito mediis extenditur una
horrida per latos acies Volcania campos,
ille sedens uictor flammis despectat ouantis:
non aliter socium uirtus coit omnis in unum
teque iuuat, Palla.⁴⁵

As Williams notes, fire is a traditional comparandum for fighting men, specifically referring to the shine of their armor, their violence, or even the sound of the destruction.⁴⁶ This simile, however, adds a human cause to the forest fire: a shepherd, whose Homeric paradigm is likely the shepherd of the simile describing Aeneas at *Il.* 13.492-93. There, the shepherd of the vehicle delights in the orderly progress of his sheep, and Aeneas in the tenor delights in the orderly progress of his allies.⁴⁷

However, the shepherd's actions here in the *Aeneid* are unusual. No flock is present, and rather than observing a natural phenomenon like a flood, the shepherd has set a fire. He considers himself in control of the situation (*ille sedens uictor flammis despectat ouantis*). Hornsby subscribes to the view that Pallas, like Aeneas in the future, is a *uictor* and fulfills the duties of a "shepherd of the people." But as so many other

⁴⁵ "And just as when a shepherd sets scattered flames in the forest, when the winds have arisen as desired in the summer, suddenly when they reach the middle a bristling battle-line of Vulcan is stretched out as one through the broad plains, and that conquerer sits and watches the exulting flames; not otherwise does manliness cement all of your comrades into one and aid you, Pallas."

⁴⁶ Williams *ad A.* 10.405f. (1973, 347). Iliadic examples include (among others) 2.455-56, 11.155-57, 15.605-6, 18.154, 20.490-92, and brief, formulaic comparisons at 13.673, 17.366, and 18.1. Hector and Achilles are each compared individually to fire in double similes that also compare them to gods, a nexus which may suggest a Homeric appreciation of the untamable power of fire (*Il.* 15.605-6, 20.490-92).

⁴⁷ As noted by Harrison *ad A.* 10.411 (1991, 178), *iuuat* "could mean either 'aids' or 'gives pleasure to': Pallas is aided by his men, but also pleased by their renewed valour." This second meaning of *iuuat* enhances the allusion to the simile describing Aeneas at *Il.* 13.492-93, where the shepherd is delighted.

similes have shown, and as is hinted at by the Vulcanic metonymy at line 408, fire is a force to be reckoned with. Homer's shepherd takes pride in the orderly behavior of his sheep, but any shepherd who considers fire to be utterly within his control is probably naïve about the destructive nature of the world around him, as Pallas will be shown to be.

Allusion to a passage in the *Georgics* enhances the sense of foreboding (*Geo.*

2.303-11):

nam saepe incautis pastoribus excidit ignis,
qui furtim pingui primum sub cortice tectus
robora comprehendit, frondesque elapsus in altas
ingentem caelo sonitum dedit; inde secutus
per ramos uictor perque alta cacumina regnat,
et totum inuoluit flammis nemus et ruit atram
ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem,
praesertim si tempestas a uertice siluis
incubuit, glomeratque ferens incendia uentus.⁴⁸

In this passage, describing a misfortune which can occur in an orchard of olives grafted upon oleaster, the fire (rather than the shepherds) is described as *uictor*. The final two lines, describing how winds can add uncontrollable force to the fire by gathering it together (*tempestas... incubuit, glomeratque... uentus*), suggest that the windy conditions considered favorable in the simile of *Aen.* 10 (*optato uentis aestate coortis*), which gather multiple small fires together just as Pallas' troops come together, can actually be the prerequisite for unmanageable destruction.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ "For often fire escapes from unwary shepherds, fire which first secretly seizes the covered wood beneath the rich bark, and after it slipped out into the lofty foliage gave a huge sound in the sky; from there, having followed through the branches it rules as a champion through the lofty treetops, and envelops the entire grove in flames and casts a dark cloud up to the sky, thick with pitchy darkness, especially if a storm swoops down on the forest from above, and a carrying wind gathers the flames together."

⁴⁹ Interestingly, the oleasters whose stock founded this olive orchard (*G.* 2.302, 312-14) appear in the *Aeneid* solely in the form of the oleaster that had been sacred to Faunus before it was destroyed by Aeneas (*A.* 12.766-771), possibly furthering the connection between Aeneas' and Pallas' martial activities and the unintentional devastation perpetrated by these shepherds in the olive grove. On Faunus' oleaster see chapter one.

Meanwhile, Vergil characterizes the shepherds as *incautis*, a word that is used of Dido in the simile of book four in which she is compared to a deer, the victim of a *pastor nescius*. Thornton, addressing that passage, suggests that Dido is *incauta* because

she has not considered the consequences of what she is doing and is, therefore, unaware of the dangers to which her actions are leading her.⁵⁰

Also, in something of a tautology,

she should have been more aware of what can happen to someone unaware even in supposedly safe circumstances,

giving as evidence the fact that Sychaeus is described as *incautum* at his death (1.350).⁵¹

Nappa examines the story of the fire in the second *Georgic* as evidence for human “carelessness and heedlessness” causing destruction which other scholars have attributed to a malign or difficult natural world.⁵² Likewise, while he notes⁵³ that the shepherd of the simile in *Aen.* 10 may well have a reason for starting the fire he sees as so successful – the clearing of brush for new pastureland – this does not guarantee that his efforts will have a purely positive result. The fires in the olive grove, he suggests, were caused by “carelessness in carrying out *labor*,” specifically the same type of task undertaken by the shepherd to whom Pallas is compared.⁵⁴ The negligent shepherds’ efforts are “reckless,” he suggests, and destroy the poorly maintained orchard of another agricultural laborer as a result. In the end, he claims that

The poet does not judge the intentions or ethics of human failure, and, in fact, the poem insists that the negative results of human error are automatic and inevitable. Thus the culpability involved is not necessarily a matter of unethical or corrupt actions but rather a failure to behave in a way that acknowledges those dangers intrinsic to the world.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Thornton (1996, 390).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Nappa (2003, 45 and n. 14).

⁵³ Following Harrison *ad A.* 405-11 (1991, 176-77).

⁵⁴ Nappa (2003, 49).

⁵⁵ Nappa (2003, 52).

This interpretation of the fire in the olive grove which illuminates the context of the shepherd simile in *Aen.* 10 recalls Thornton's conclusions about culpability and disaster regarding the deer simile of *Aen.* 4. In both cases a shepherd engages in a potentially destructive action without considering the consequences. In book four, the shepherd is *nescius*, his victim *incautam*; in book ten, he appears a *uictor*, but disturbingly parallels the *incauti* herdsmen of the *Georgics*. Words that depict a failure of knowledge (such as *nescius*, *inscius*, *ignarus*, and *incautus*) seem to be intimately connected with shepherd imagery, especially in regards to unintentional destructiveness.

The final herdsman simile of the *Aeneid*, in which Aeneas appears in the warfare of book twelve as a shepherd smoking a hive, was analyzed previously in the second chapter. Like the shepherd hunting in the simile of book four, this shepherd has dubious motivation for taking violent action against the bees, and like the shepherd in the simile of book ten, he applies the potentially destructive force of fire.⁵⁶ The result, once again, is confusion and destruction.

Taken together, then, the two passive herdsman similes, which conform to the Iliadic model, may do so because the first is a close Homeric imitation, and the second is applied to a woman. The remaining three contravene that paradigm. The explanation for Aeneas' and Pallas' roles as unusual, violent shepherds in these similes is rooted in the perverse tragedy of civil war.⁵⁷ The incendiary burning used in the similes of books ten and twelve is intended to impose order on the land and bees, but seems likely to become

⁵⁶ Anderson (1968, 15) points out an interesting juxtaposition: while Aeneas compared himself to a shepherd observing a fire in the simile at 2.304-308, he ends up (in a simile of 12.521-26) being compared to a fire. Finally, in the bee simile of 12.587-92, Aeneas is compared to a shepherd making use of fire and smoke for destructive purposes.

⁵⁷ In a sense, the herdsmen of the *Odyssey* are the literary forebears here; affairs in Ithaca are so unsettled that Eumaeus and Philoetius end by taking up arms against Melanthius, although all three were once stewards of the same household.

uncontrollable. Dido's metaphorical, *pastor*-caused wound, is also described in terms of a burning. Fire, like war, can have a beneficial place, but when it is carelessly applied it leads to destruction. Likewise, war has its uses in the heroic world of epic, but applying it to future kinsmen is a tragedy for both the shepherds of the *Aeneid*'s narrative and the pastoral characters of Vergil's earlier poems.

Herdsmen in the Narrative of the *Aeneid*

Of the eight non-simile uses of the word *pastor* and its adjectival derivative *pastoralis* in the epic, only one involves a shepherd behaving like a normal shepherd (11.569, in Camilla's background narrative).⁵⁸ Instead, unnatural violence characterizes the herdsmen of the *Aeneid*, in their occasional narrative appearances as well as in the similes.

In book two, it is shepherds who apprehend and bind Sinon (2.57-59). While this may appear to be a successful military action, it will in fact bring their doom.⁵⁹ Only one other mention of a *pastor* occurs in the first half of the *Aeneid*: a description of Polyphemus at 3.657, a violent shepherd and flock owner who routinely devours his guests.

Amata is the first to mention a shepherd in the second half of the epic, in her derogatory description of Paris' abduction of Helen (7.363-64). Hornsby claims that *pastor* is used literally of Paris here, who kept herds, and figuratively ("shepherd of the

⁵⁸ Moorton, however, shows that the existence of figures like *bellatrix* Camilla already undermines any putative "innocence" of pastoral, pre-Trojan Italy. Her father lives like a shepherd because his personality is too rough for civilization (1989, 116-18).

⁵⁹ The implications are therefore similar to those of the simile which compares Pallas to an arsonist shepherd (10.405-411; see pages 13-14 above). Chew (2002, 619) points out the first appearance of the theme of ignorance here, in *ignotum* (A. 2.59).

people”) elsewhere of Aeneas, who did not keep herds.⁶⁰ It is indeed used figuratively of

Aeneas, if only in the sense that the word *pastor* is only applied to him through similes.

As the son of an oxherd,⁶¹ however, it is easy to imagine Aeneas practicing the same

occupation in his youth. Meanwhile, Moorton points out that

Paris, an inhabitant of a pastoral world, the pastures of Phrygia before the Trojan War, invades and corrupts not one urban order but two, an exact inversion of the stereotype of the vulnerability of the pastoral world to corruption from contact with urban influences.⁶²

Amata’s comparison, then, brings home the point that there are good and bad shepherds, and Aeneas appears to come from a family of the more devastating sort.

Two uses of the adjective *pastoralis*, also in the seventh book, show how far the bucolic environment has been subverted to the cause of violence. Camilla’s accoutrements, described as the culmination of the catalogue of Italian forces, include a shepherd’s staff, pointed like a spear (7.812-17):

Illam omnis tectis agrisque effusa iuuentus
turbaque miratur matrum et prospectat euntem,
attonitis inhians animis ut regius ostro
uelet honos leuis umeros, ut fibula crinem
auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram
et pastorem praefixa cuspidem myrtum.⁶³

The “pastoral myrtle” of her spear is associated not only with the peaceful profession of protecting and guiding sheep, but also through its myrtle-wood with Venus, goddess of love (an emotion that affects Camilla’s admiring audience). While DServiceus claims that

⁶⁰ Hornsby (1968, 149). Hornsby’s analysis of this instance of the word *pastor* is seriously flawed. He also denies that Amata’s perception of Aeneas as a second Paris and the impending war as a second Trojan War could partake of any truth, despite the fact that prophets had referred to the impending conflict as just that: a second Trojan war. For Paris as *pastor perfidus* see also Horace, *Odes* 1.15.

⁶¹ Anchises is so described in the *Iliad*, at 5.313.

⁶² Moorton (1989, 107).

⁶³ “All the young men poured out of houses and fields and a crowd of mothers marveled at her and watched her as she went, gasping with overwhelmed minds at how the regal honor draped her slender shoulders with purple, how a brooch interwove her hair with gold, and how she herself carried a Lycian quiver and a shepherd’s myrtle staff tipped with a spearpoint.” Putnam reads this as “the final emblem of the perversion of pastoral into violent, of love misguided into war, of Venus’ myrtle into a weapon of Mars” (1970, 419).

shepherds normally fight with these staves – and they may well have in real life – weapons, and battle between men, are generally absent from the picture of shepherds presented elsewhere in the world of epic similes.⁶⁴

The other appearance of the word *pastoralis* in *Aeneid* 7 is even more upsetting.

Allecto uses a shepherd's signal to initiate battle and terrify the populace (7.511-15):

At saeua e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi
ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
pastorale canit signum cornuque recuruo
Tartaream intendit uocem, qua protinus omne
contremuit nemus et siluae insonuere profundae.⁶⁵

The horn signal stirs up murderous warfare and moves the depths of hell, disturbing the Italians with tragic results for the agrarian community.⁶⁶ The ensuing events evoke

Jason's or Cadmus' battle against the Sown Men (7.523-27):

Non iam certamine agresti
stipitibus duris agitur sudibus praeustis,
sed ferro ancipiti decernunt atraque late

⁶⁴ Servius also makes the interesting observation on this scene that Camilla's presence among the fore-fighters, like the presence of Penthesilea (to whom Camilla is compared at 11.659-63) in the Trojan contingent in the Cycle, bodes ill for her allies' chances of success, so overwhelmed must they be to allow women to fight.

⁶⁵ "Then the savage goddess, having found the time for harming, from her lookout sought the towering roofs of the enclosure, and from the roof-ridge she sounds the pastoral signal and projects a hellish sound with the curved horn. Immediately the entire grove shudders at it and the deep woods resounded."

⁶⁶ Williams *ad A.* 7.513 (1973, 205) suggests that the pastoral signum is a "shepherd's alarm" or "call-to-arms on the bugle," and Moorton suggests that "*canere signum* is a standard military phrase, and the use of *pastorale* to modify *signum* is proof that the pastoral world of the Latins is not ignorant of conflict" (1989, 124). Yet it seems more likely that the *cornu recuruum* is normally used by the herdsmen to call the flocks together and its use in battle is a perversion. Polybius *Hist.* 12.8 records that the use of a horn in herding was a popular practice in Italy, especially for swine. Columella *RR* 6.23.2 offers a clear description of the practice, although his martial metaphorical language seems to be a deliberate allusion to this Vergilian line: the cattle return *cum pastorali signo quasi receptui canitur* ("when there is a call with the pastoral signal of retreat, as it were"). In Velleius Paterculus *Hist.* 1.8.5, *pastoralis* is practically a synonym of *imbellis*: *firmare urbem novam... cum imbelli et pastorali manu vix potuerit* ("he was scarcely able to strengthen his new city with his unwarlike and pastoral band"). The fact that the subject is Romulus, whose rustic band was known for the rape of the Sabines, may perhaps lessen the "unwarlike" force of this evidence. Finally, the collocation of *pastoralis* and the verb *canere* evokes associations of bucolic poetry, the kind of sound associated with the woods. Interestingly, Pliny *NH* 8.50.114 for instance reports that deer love the sound of a shepherd's pipe, and Varro *RR* 1.2.15-16 has an extended simile comparing the arts of agriculture and shepherding to two pipes of a panpipe.

horrescit strictis seges ensibus, aeraque fulgent
sole lacessita et lucem sub nubila iactant.⁶⁷

Allecto's misuse of the shepherd's horn changes the tools wielded in this georgic landscape from farming implements to weaponry.

The remaining two occurrences of *pastor* in the later books of the *Aeneid* involve shepherds acting as warriors. In the fighting of book twelve, a Rutulian shepherd overcomes the Trojan who intended to kill him (12.304-308):

Podalirius Alsum
pastorem primaque acie per tela ruentem
ense sequens nudo superimminet; ille securi
aduersi frontem mediam mentumque reducta
dissicit et sparso late rigat arma cruore.⁶⁸

Earlier, Latin shepherds had suffered the aftermath of battle (7.572-578):

Nec minus interea extremam Saturnia bello
imponit regina manum. ruit omnis in urbem
pastorum ex acie numerus, caesosque reportant
Almonem puerum foedatique ora Galaesi,
implorantque deos obtestanturque Latinum.
Turnus adest medioque in crimine caedis et igni
terrorem ingeminat.⁶⁹

The shepherds' action is sandwiched between the doings of the divine in lines 572-3 (Juno, completing her *magnum opus*) and the heroes (Turnus, a larger than life figure in line 577-8). But their mundane actions of battle are the most awful, for the shepherds bring back two notable casualties from among their own number. Galaesus is described as an upstanding man who practiced husbandry appropriately (7.535-9):

⁶⁷ "No longer is the going in the rustic contest with tough branches or fire-hardened pointy sticks, but they fight it out with double-edged iron and a black crop bristles far and wide with drawn swords, and bronze shines, struck by the sun, and they flash light beneath the clouds."

⁶⁸ "Podalirius, following with naked blade, menaces over Alsum the shepherd running through the weapons in the front line; Alsum splits the middle of his enemy's face and jaw with drawn-back axe and soaks his weapons with widely spattered gore."

⁶⁹ "No less meanwhile is the Saturnian queen putting the finishing touches on the battle. The whole group of shepherds rush into the city from the battle-line, and they carry back the casualties, the boy Almo and the defiled visage of Galaesus, and they beseech the gods and call upon Latinus. Turnus is present in the middle of the violence and doubles the terror with slaughter and fire."

Corpora multa uirum circa seniorque Galaesus,
 dum paci medium se offert, iustissimus unus
 qui fuit Ausoniisque olim ditissimus aruis:
 quinque greges illi balantum, quina redibant
 armenta, et terram centum uertebat aratris.⁷⁰

The other named casualty evokes pathos through his youth and background, Almo (7.531-4). Eldest son of Tyrrhus, he is therefore that brother of Silvia who helped to raise the deer slain by Ascanius at the start of battle. The bloody and violent loss of Tyrrhus's son and the just Galaesus is a horror which the shepherds are burdened with literally and figuratively as they carry home the corpses.

The similes of the *Aeneid*, therefore, are not alone in depicting some shepherds acting in a variety of new, aggressive ways. The herdsmen of the narrative also break out of their paradigm of peaceful custodians of the agrarian basis of society to take on new roles in warfare, from Troy to the shores of the Tiber. The similes function to link our hero Aeneas and his entourage (e.g. Pallas) to these violent, mostly Latin and Rutulian herdsmen. As became clear in the *Odyssey* and in Vergil's own *Eclogues*, a society in which a shepherd must take up arms is one deeply perverted by civil strife and destructive emotions.

Ignorance and the Shepherds of the *Aeneid*

The ignorance or oblivion of the shepherd figure in the similes of books two and four highlights the significance of the words *nescius* and *inscius* in the *Aeneid*. These two words and *ignarus* are the three main adjectives expressing ignorance in Latin.

⁷⁰ "There are many men's bodies around, including elderly Galaesus, killed while offering himself in mid-fray on behalf of peace; he was previously the justest and wealthiest one in the Ausonian fields: five flocks of sheep and five herds of cattle belonged to him, and he turned the earth with a hundred plows."

Ignarus, first, seems to be the most popular and general term for ignorance in Latin.⁷¹ Authors who use all three words for ignorance generally favor *ignarus*.⁷² *Nescius*,⁷³ meanwhile, is derived from the verbal compound *nescio*, which is extremely common in Latin; the adjectival form, while rarer, exhibits some verbal tendencies, such as the option to take an accusative and infinitive subordinate construction. Certain patterns of language are particularly favored with *nescius*: all ten Ciceronian examples and the one occasion in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, for example, are of the form *non esse nescius*. This double negative construction uses litotes to emphasize the subject's knowledge; it is generally followed by an indirect statement or other subordinate clause. *Inscius* has perhaps the simplest and most colorless definition.⁷⁴ Frequently used by grammarians and commentators as a synonym or definition for *nescius* or *ignarus*, *inscius* seems to convey a more general state of ignorance. All three words, however, do share the three main definitions of (A) not knowing, (B) inexperience, and (C) (largely irrelevant in Vergilian usage) being unknown.

Ignorance or lack of knowledge is generally mentioned or emphasized in situations in which the ignorant person makes a bad decision or sets into motion a detrimental string of events as a result of their knowledge deficiency. In the historians

⁷¹ Defined in the *OLD* as follows: 1.) Having no knowledge, ignorant, unaware (of); 2.) Having no experience (of), unacquainted (with). b) ignorant (of a skill, etc.), unpractised; 3.) Unknown, unfamiliar. *Ignarus* appears memorably in the *Aeneid* at 4.65 (the *uatum ignarae mentes* of Dido's frenzied consultation of haruspicy) and in the final lines of the eighth book as Aeneas marvels at the artworks on his divinely crafted shield without understanding them (8.730).

⁷² For instance, Cicero uses *ignarus* 66 times, *nescius* eleven times, and *inscius* eight times; for Livy the figures are *ignarus* 83, *nescius* ten, and *inscius* two. Among poets the words appear far less frequently, but Lucretius uses *ignarus* five times, *nescius* never, and *inscius* once, while Vergil himself uses *ignarus* 29 times, *nescius* eight times, and *inscius* ten times. These data are derived from PHI 5.

⁷³ Defined in the *OLD* as follows: 1.) Not knowing, ignorant, unaware (of a fact). b) (w. gen.). c) (w. indir. question). d) (w. acc. and inf.); 2.) (w. gen.) Knowing nothing (about), not learned or experienced (in); 3.) (w. inf.) Not knowing how, unable or reluctant (to); 4.) (w. pass. force) Unknown; ~um habere aliquid, to be unaware of something. b) not experienced, unfamiliar.

⁷⁴ Defined in the *OLD* as follows: 1.) Not knowing, in ignorance, unaware, unwitting; 2.) Ignorant, unskilled, inexperienced; 3.) Unknown, unfamiliar.

(e.g. Livy, Caesar, or Sallust), this ignorance is often related to unawareness of enemy movements or crucial events in another place. For example, Caesar (*de Bello Gallico* 7.77.1):

At ii qui Alesiae obsidebantur praeterita die qua auxilia suorum exspectaverant, consumpto omni frumento, **inscii** quid in Haeduis gereretur, concilio coacto de exitu suarum fortunarum consultabant...⁷⁵

The besieged individuals are ignorant of important facts influencing the likelihood that they will receive aid. Likewise Lucan, whose influence from historiography is palpable (*BC* 2.526):

nescius interea capti ducis arma parabat
Magnus, ut inmixto firmaret robore partis.⁷⁶

Pompey might have acted differently had he known of the capture of his officer.

In mythological writings, the same pattern of ignorance leading to bad decisions and horrific outcomes is reinforced by the weight of destiny. *Nescius* and *ignarus* appear with extraordinary frequency in Ovid, and all three words occur regularly in Ovid and Hyginus, among others. *Inscius* at least can also carry the force of astonishment at things individuals do not understand; often, however, what they do not understand has divine origin. The sailors who attempt to abduct Dionysus, for example, are *inscii* (Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.17.1.12):

cupiditate saltandi se in mare **inscii** proiecerunt et ibi delphini sunt facti.⁷⁷

Another character does not understand his mother's transformation into a bear (Hyginus, *Astronomica* 2.4.1.11):

⁷⁵ "But those who were besieged at Alesia, when the day had passed on which they had expected help from their allies, with all the grain devoured, and **ignorant of what had happened among the Haedui**, upon calling together a council were deliberating about the ruin of their fortunes."

⁷⁶ "Meanwhile Magnus, **ignorant of his officer being captured**, was preparing weapons in order to strengthen his partisans by an infusion of strength."

⁷⁷ "In their desire for leaping, they hurled themselves **uncomprehendingly** forth into the sea and were then turned into dolphins."

inscius uidit matrem in ursae speciem conuersam.⁷⁸

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Meleager is unable to comprehend what he is suffering (*Met.* 8.515):

Inscius atque absens flamma Meleagros ab illa
uritur...⁷⁹

Actaeon spying Diana bathing is *inscius* – probably both in the sense of being ignorant of an important piece of data which could keep him from *hamartia*, and in not comprehending what he sees (*Tristia* 2.1.105):

inscius Actaeon uidit sine veste Dianam⁸⁰

Servius addresses the nuances in the type of ignorance attributed to the shepherd in the simile in book two of the *Aeneid*, at 2.307.2:

INSCIUS non ignarus; nam videt: sed qui non valde sit causarum peritus, id est simplex, ἄπειρος.⁸¹

The shepherd sees, but he does not understand, much like Actaeon or Meleager, who perceive something but are unapprised of its causes or implications.⁸²

Mythographers resorted to a similar type of ignorance to explain why Artemis demanded the sacrifice of Iphigenia from Agamemnon at Aulis. Hyginus and Servius both report the tale, in almost identical words. Hyginus (*Fabulae* 261.1):

AGAMEMNON QVI **IGNARVS** DIANAE CERVAM OCCIDIT.
Cum de Graecia ad Aulidem Danai uenissent, Agamemnon Dianae ceruam occidit **ignarus**: unde dea irata, flatus uentorum remouit.⁸³

⁷⁸ “**Uncomprehendingly** he saw his mother changed into the appearance of a bear.”

⁷⁹ “Meleager, **uncomprehending** and far away, is burned by that fire.”

⁸⁰ “Actaeon **unknowingly** saw Diana without her clothes.”

⁸¹ “**Uncomprehending** not ignorant; for he sees: but since he is not very experienced in the causes of things, i.e. he is naïve, inexperienced.

⁸² Hornsby (1968) faults Aeneas for his failure to understand Troy's fate that emerges in the tenor of this simile, on the grounds that Hector has explained the situation to him sufficiently already. But Aeneas' inability to comprehend his surroundings arises at numerous times in the *Aeneid*, often involving supernatural events (among which the apparition of Hector must be included). To list only those involving the word *inscius*: his need for explanation from Anchises in the underworld (*inscius*, 6.711; on this see Chapter 2, page 90); and his wonderment at Cymodocea's speech (*stupet inscius*, 10.249). For a more extensive list of ignorance words in the *Aeneid* see Chew (2002, 620 n. 11).

In the *Aeneid*, Sinon alludes to the sacrifice at Aulis when he recounts the fictive oracle he claims Eurypylus was sent to get from Delphi; he paints a picture in which his own death would be a matching sacrifice to Iphigenia's, playing on tropes of the cruelty of Greek religion. Servius comments on this by filling in the background events at Aulis (Servius on *Aen.* 2.116):

cum Graeci ad Aulidem venissent, Agamemnon Dianae cervam cum venatur
occidit **ignarus**.⁸⁴

In the case of *inscius* Meleager or Actaeon, the former was clearly aware of the fact that he was being injured, and the latter was fully aware that he was seeing a maiden without her clothes on. The knowledge they lacked, then, was rather different from the knowledge deficiency of the *inscius* or *nescius* generals in Caesar or Lucan. *Ignarus* Agamemnon falls into a different category, and one of some ambiguity.⁸⁵ It may be that he knows he has slain the deer, but does not understand the consequences. This interpretation would accord well with the account in Sophocles' *Electra*, 563-76, where Agamemnon is aware that he has killed the deer and boasts of it (ἐκκομπόσας, 569).⁸⁶ Perhaps Agamemnon does not know that he is in the sanctuary when he shoots the deer.⁸⁷

⁸³ "Agamemnon Who Killed Diana's Deer **Unawares**. When the Danaans had come from Greece to Aulis, Agamemnon killed Diana's deer **unawares**: whence the goddess, angered, took away the breath of the winds."

⁸⁴ "When the Greeks had come to Aulis, Agamemnon killed Diana's deer **unawares** while hunting."

⁸⁵ O'Hara notes the metatextual implications of Vergilian ambiguity about a word that describes a failure of knowledge: "The reader's difficulty in handling the syntax of the genitive *vatum* [at *Aen.* 4.65] is parallel or analogous to the difficulty both Dido and the reader have in interpreting the language of the entrails" (1993a, 110-12). For O'Hara, interpretive failures are of thematic importance to the entire epic.

⁸⁶ Proclus' *Chrestomathy* 136 also gives this version of the tale. Sophocles' aetiology for the sacrifice of Iphigenia does not function particularly well in its context. Electra is arguing that Agamemnon behaved correctly in sacrificing his daughter to the goddess. Her argument is framed to answer Clytemnestra, who argued that Agamemnon should have refused; why, for example, should an expedition to retrieve Menelaus' wife not have sacrificed Menelaus' daughter instead? Electra's story does successfully address one of Clytemnestra's points: if Artemis demands the sacrifice as retribution for Agamemnon's slaughter of her deer, it is clear why Agamemnon's daughter must die rather than some other girl. But this begs a number of other questions. For example, Agamemnon's commission of a hubristic offense against a divinity may not be a particularly compelling reason to absolve him of culpability for his daughter's death.

⁸⁷ Though Artemis' association with Aulis is well established; see for example Pausanias 9.19.6-8.

Or he gleefully hunts in Artemis' sanctuary because he is an ignorant fool, blinded by ἄτη or the like. Perhaps it is his ignorance of the consequences that is important – that the hunting or boasting could cause the death of his own first-born child.⁸⁸

A final possibility is that Servius and Hyginus are describing a slightly different variant of the story of Agamemnon killing Artemis' deer. If Sophocles' Agamemnon is aware of his hunting activities and boasts when he kills, perhaps there was another ancient version of the story in which he killed by accident, or was not even aware of the result of his shot and the fact that he had killed. There are certainly a number of versions in which Agamemnon does not hunt or become at fault, including Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*.

This interpretation of the *ignarus* Agamemnon described by Servius and Hyginus would derive some support from the distinction Servius draws between *ignarus* and *inscius* in his commentary to the book two simile. He seems to understand *ignarus* to refer to a lack of knowledge of events, whereas *inscius* is a lack of comprehension. In this case, Agamemnon has killed Artemis' deer but does not realize it – a version that must have influenced the deer simile in book four. Connors also noted possible allusions to this myth of Agamemnon in the unfortunate demise of Silvia's stag, which is secretly special and runs off before perishing.⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Aeneas' characterization as *nescius* or *inscius* could be a similar type of ignorance of circumstances or consequences; for instance, he occasionally does probably-*impious* things like "marrying" a queen without a public ceremony, and often does things that are well-intentioned but carry decidedly negative repercussions for those around him, like settling in Crete.

⁸⁹ Connors (1992, 5-6) sees the Agamemnon incident as providing a possible precedent, alongside the myth of Cyparissus, for the death of Sylvia's stag and Silius' imitation of it at *Pun.* 13.115-37. Grant (1969, 389) notes Artemis' presence in the background of the bee and deer similes, as well as the simile comparing Dido to that goddess; her exaction of vengeance upon Agamemnon *ignarus* and *inscius* Actaeon in Ovid (cited above, page 162, from the *Tristia*) could connect these further episodes to the thematic structure.

In the end, Vergil's coloring of Aeneas as a *nescius* or *inscius pastor* is much more nuanced than the interpretations offered by Hornsby or Anderson, who ends by suggesting that Aeneas works for a restoration of a "pastoral world" in Italy.⁹⁰ Moorton suggests that Aeneas "can be thought of as a man of pastoral values" because he "acts usually if not invariably for others, rather than himself."⁹¹ This may be a valid interpretation of Aeneas' character, but it is not the interpretation supported by the text of the shepherd similes of the *Aeneid*. In these similes, the shepherd representing Aeneas (or his ally, in the case of Pallas' simile in book ten) does not care for sheep. Instead, he embodies that other element of Homeric shepherd similes, haplessness, and combines it with a tendency to destructiveness and a pervasive failure of knowledge.⁹²

At times, Aeneas misunderstands his situation, while at other times he is unaware even of what he has done. Behind it all may lurk an allusion to the story of Agamemnon, the "shepherd of the people," killing Artemis' deer. Aeneas is on several occasions compared to a *pastor* in the context of an epic where the herdsmen have gone to war, in civil strife and societal upheaval for which he himself is – although unknowingly – a major catalyst.⁹³

⁹⁰ Anderson (1968, 17).

⁹¹ Moorton (1989, 113). He supports this argument by noting that Turnus is not compared to a shepherd, only to wild beasts, while Aeneas is likened to a wild beast only once. However, there are very many people in the epic – some of them very conscientious leaders, such as Evander – who are also never compared to shepherds, so Turnus' failure to have such a simile is not a particularly strong argument.

⁹² While Hornsby (1968, 151) believes that shepherds are usually depicted as *inscius*, Chew (2002, 620) counters that ignorance is in fact "a defining trait of Aeneas," since it is used of him 13 times in non-simile text. Chew (2002, 625) also points out that the violence in the vehicles of the herding similes grows in tandem with Aeneas' violence in the tenors.

⁹³ Starr makes a similar observation in the context of the death of Sylvia's stag: "Ascanius, *eximiae laudis succensus amore* (*Aen.* 7.496), unintentionally causes great pain, as do Aeneas and the Trojans" (1992, 439). Moorton also focuses on Ascanius' ignorance in and Aeneas' distance from that episode (1989, 124).

CHAPTER FOUR: LIVESTOCK IN THE *AENEID*

Introduction

Similes that compare men to farm animals appear richly varied when considered as a class. This diversity leads Scott to argue that livestock similes are less traditional than other types of simile:

“similar to Parry’s conclusion that the more fixed, unchanging epithets were old and firmly entrenched in the tradition, while newer epithets were being shifted and developed... In the flexibility of this group of similes there may be an indication of the continual adaptation and renewal of the oral diction.”¹

The underlying logical flaw in the argument that livestock similes, because more diverse, are less traditional, comes from taking all livestock similes together. No one studies the wild animal similes of Homer by considering lion, wolf and boar similes together. Likewise, it would be worthwhile to analyze bull, horse and flock similes, for example, separately.

While there are some variations even in Homeric practice, each of these categories has a traditional core.² This chapter will focus on bull similes and horse similes, and explore Vergil’s manipulation of the tradition. While Vergil employs many fewer livestock similes than does Homer, he imbues them with the ethos of the *Georgics*. He also features bulls in non-victim roles. Especially in the twelfth book of the *Aeneid*,

¹ Scott (1974, 80). He references Parry (1971, 221ff.).

² Perhaps the diversity in these simile categories would be better attributed to the enhanced opportunities for observation of farm animals that were available to oral poets, compared to the rarity of observing lions and their ilk. Yet Shipp argues that lion similes are properly considered a subset of farming similes, rather than a manifestation of a lion-hunting theme to be observed also in Mycenaean art (1972, 213).

this new emphasis on bulls as active agents enhances the symbolic force of the final battle between Aeneas and Turnus, underscoring the similarities between the heroes.

Horses in epic simile and narrative

Horses play a major role in epic narrative. Heroes ride to battle and fight from chariots, and some of their horses are personified to such an extent that they are given names and even, in the case of one of Achilles' horses, voice (*Il.* 19.404-17). Horse racing also occurs, as in *Iliad* 23, and plays a large role in the imagery of horses, more so even than their usefulness in agriculture.

In epic similes, however, horses appear much more rarely than cattle. In the *Iliad*, for instance, there are only four similes which compare men to horses, two of which are identical.³ The repeated simile emphasizes the animal's noble appearance and swiftness (*Il.* 6.506-14):

ὥς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ
δεσμὸν ἀπορρήξας θείῃ πεδίῳ κροαίνων
εἰωθὼς λούεσθαι εὐρρείῳ ποταμοῖο
κυδιόων· ὕψου δὲ κάρη ἔχει, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται
ὥμοις αἰσσοῦνται· ὃ δ' ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθὼς
ρίμφᾳ ἔγουνά φέρει μετὰ τ' ἡθεα καὶ νομὸν ἵππων·
ὥς υἱὸς Πριάμοιο Πάρις κατὰ Περγᾶμου ἄκρης
τευχέσι παμφαίνων ὥς τ' ἡλέκτωρ ἐβεβήκει
καγχαλῶν, ταχέες δὲ πόδες φέρον.⁴

³ At *Il.* 23.517-21, the distance between Menelaus and Antilochus is described as the length of a horse's tail, or the distance between the horse's rump and the chariot. Scott considers this a measurement simile and lists it in his table accordingly. However, since they are in the course of a chariot race, the description could refer specifically to the distance between Menelaus' horse and his chariot, being a literal comparison rather than a simile. The presence of an indefinite, such as *τις*, would make the simile identification more likely.

⁴ "And as when a stalled horse, after feeding abundantly at the manger, has broken his bonds and runs galloping on the plain, accustomed to bathe in the lovely-flowing river, triumphant; and he holds his head high, and shakes his mane about his shoulders. Trusting in his splendor he bears his legs swiftly into the accustomed pasture of the horses. Thus went the son of Priam, Paris, down from the heights of Pergamum, shining in his armor like the sun and exulting, and his swift feet carried him."

As is appropriate to the context, in which we observe Paris arming (6.504) and running swiftly down from the city, this simile uses a number of details to illustrate the warrior's proud appearance. He is well-fed, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ. Horses are spirited and intelligent, and this one escapes his captivity. He is accustomed to good grooming (line 508) and has good posture, ὑψοῦ δὲ κόρη ἔχει, emphasizing his proud bearing. His mane too is noble and he moves in such a way as to draw attention to it, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται ὤμοις αἴσσονται.⁵ Finally, the horse is notably proud of his own appearance, ἀγλαΐῃφι πεποιθώς.⁶

The other two horse similes of the *Iliad* also describe a running warrior. At 22.22-23, Achilles is compared to a prize-winning racehorse:

ὣς εἰπὼν προτὶ ἄστῳ μέγα φρονέων ἐβεβήκει,
σευάμενος ὥς θ' ἵππος ἀεθλοφόρος σὺν ὄχεσφιν,
ὅς ῥά τε ρεῖα θέσσι τιταινόμενος πεδίοιο·
ὥς Ἀχιλεὺς λαιψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ' ἐνώμα.⁷

A slightly more elaborated simile compares both Achilles and Hector to such animals at 22.162-66:

ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἀεθλοφόροι περὶ τέρματα μώνυχες ἵπποι
ρίμφα μάλα τρωχῶσι· τὸ δὲ μέγα κείται ἄθλον
ἢ τρίπος ἢ γυνὴ ἀνδρὸς κατατεθνηῶτος·

⁵ The word χαῖται is, memorably, also used of Zeus' impressive coiffure, as e.g. *Il.* 1.529-30:

ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.

"Behold, the ambrosial hair flows down around the powerful immortal lord; and he shook great Olympus."

⁶ The scenario is different when the simile is applied the second time, to Hector (*Il.* 15.263-70). Hector has not just armed; rather, Apollo has inspired him. The resumption of the narrative emphasizes this renewed energy (15.269-70):

ὥς Ἐκτωρ λαιψηρὰ πόδας καὶ γούνατ' ἐνώμα
ὀτρύνων ἱππῆας, ἐπεὶ θεοῦ ἔκλυεν αὐδήν.

"Thus Hector employed his feet and knees swiftly, encouraging the charioteers, after he heard the god's voice." Swift movement and a martial appearance remain the major focus of the simile.

⁷ "After speaking he went towards the city in high spirits, hurrying like a prize-winning horse with its chariot, who runs easily, stretched out, across the plain: so Achilles directed his swift feet and knees." Note the similarity of the tenor to that in the simile describing Hector, cited above, note 6.

ὥς τὰ τρὶς Πριάμοιο πόλιν περὶ δινηθήτην
καρπαλίμοισι πόδεσσι· θεοὶ δ' ἔς πάντες ὀρώντο.⁸

In both of these instance as well, speed is the most important quality. Achilles' and Hector's prowess is reflected in the description of the horses as ἀεθλοφόροι. While two horse similes describe each champion (these two in book 22 for Achilles, Hector in book 15 and in the second simile of book 22), the fact that Achilles is the warrior best known for his speed may suggest that he is the more apt tenor for horse similes, and the man likely to carry off the prize.⁹ The latter simile, in fact, follows and further elaborates another comparison, which approximated their chase to a foot-race (22.157-61):

τῇ ῥα παραδραμέτην φεύγων ὃ δ' ὀπισθε διώκων·
πρόσθε μὲν ἐσθλὸς ἔφευγε, δῖωκε δέ μιν μέγ' ἀμείνων
καρπαλίμως, ἐπεὶ οὐχ ἱερήιον οὐδὲ βοεῖην
ἀρνύσθην, ἃ τε ποσσὶν ἀέθλια γίγνεται ἀνδρῶν,
ἀλλὰ περὶ ψυχῆς θεὸν Ἑκτορὸς ἵπποδάμοιο.¹⁰

The repeated images of racing also foreshadow the races that will take place in book 23, after Hector's death.

An equal number of similes take horses as a tenor, and ennoble them through comparison to meteorological phenomena. In the first, at *Il.* 10.437, Rhesus' horses are whiter than snow, while in the second, at 10.547, they are like the sun. There is a moonlike marking on the forehead of Diomedes' horse (23.455). These three comparisons serve to specify and enhance the horses' beauty – the very quality for which horses are themselves used in simile vehicles. The fourth simile with horses in the tenor

⁸ “And as when prize-winning single-hoofed horses very swiftly run past the turning points, and the great prize lies there, either a tripod or a woman, after a man has died: this the two of them whirled three times around the city of Priam with swift feet, and all the gods watched.”

⁹ Hector is frequently associated with horses through the epithet ἵπποδάμος (generally in the genitive case at line end). In its essence, however, such an epithet (used also extremely commonly of the Trojan people as a whole) suggests not a horse-like quality, but a different existence from horses. A horse-tamer is, certainly, not a horse. By taming horses, one may make use of their swiftness, but this is different from possessing that swiftness oneself.

¹⁰ “They ran around it, one fleeing, and the other behind him, chasing; a noble man fled in front, but a much better man chased him swiftly, since they were not trying to win a sacrificial animal or a shield, which was a prize for the feet of men, but instead they were running for the life of horse-taming Hector.”

compares the sound of horses' hooves in battle to a storm sent as punishment by Zeus (16.384-93). This simile, rather than focusing on the horses' outstanding visual appearance, emphasizes their imposing aural effect. In their ability to create warlike and frightening noise and destruction, they are similar to human warriors, who are also compared to meteorological phenomena or natural disasters.¹¹

Horses in the *Georgics*

In the *Georgics*, Vergil expands the variety of material written about large livestock in hexameter verse. Because of the didactic poem's focus on farming, the first half of the third book purports to cover the basics of large animal husbandry. Within this category, however, Vergil's ornamental approach to the didactic results in a viewpoint that is more heroic than practical. In comparison to Varro's treatment of the topic, for instance, Vergil has omitted any coverage of mules,¹² which are among the most effective animals for farm labor.

In this non-practical vein, the treatment of horses in the third *Georgic* centers on the raising of horses for martial rather than agricultural purposes. The horses of the *Georgics* are much more suited to the action of Homeric epic than Hesiodic drudgery. Combat is mentioned as the colts are trained for warfare. Vergil also covers the breeding of racehorses, which we have seen is a traditional component of the life of an epic horse. He emphasizes the animals' nobility with digressions on famed horses of mythology,

¹¹ As for example at *Il.* 2.781-83, 4.275-79, 11.297-98, 11.305-08, 11.747, 12.40, 12.375, 13.39, 13.334-36, 17.53-58. This list is not exhaustive.

¹² Varro's account is at *RR* 2.6. Mules and donkeys have little place in poetry, admittedly, which contributes to the memorable quality of the simile of *Il.* 11.558-62. Other Homeric similes referring to mules and donkeys occur at *Il.* 10.351-53 and 17.742-45. The earlier of the two comparisons emphasizes mules' superiority over oxen in certain types of agricultural labor.

including Mars' horses and the horse into which Saturn transformed himself.¹³ The passage features an interesting simile (*Geo.* 3.196-201):

qualis Hyperboreis Aquilo cum densus ab oris
incubuit, Scythiaequae hiemes atque arida differt
nubila; tum segetes altae campique natantes
lenibus horrescunt flabris, summaequae sonorem
dant siluae, longique urgent ad litora fluctus;
ille uolat simul arua fuga simul aequora uerrens.¹⁴

This type of simile, involving natural forces like the sea and wind, is generally used to describe the clash of armies, or to evoke movement or sound.¹⁵ It alludes to the Iliadic simile (16.384-93) which compared the clattering sounds of horses in the battle of Patroclus against Hector to a storm sent by Zeus to punish wicked conduct. Employing a wind or sea simile for a horse, then, both emphasizes its traditional quality of speed and casts it in the role of a fighter.¹⁶

Horses in simile and narrative in the *Aeneid*

As is usual in ancient epic, horses appear frequently in those parts of the *Aeneid* which describe battle or athletics. In the first two books, most mentions of horses look back to the Trojan war. Book five replaces the traditional chariot race with a boating competition, yet preserves a role for horses in the *Lusus Troiae*, and the animal has a prominent role in the fighting of the final six books. Some characters, such as Turnus, are particularly identified with horses,¹⁷ and the "horse-tamer" epithet that was used so

¹³ Mythological horses: *G.* 3.89-94. Turnus is compared to Mars driving his horses at *A.* 12.331-40.

¹⁴ "As when dense Aquilo impends from the Hyperborean shores, and Scythian storms scatter the dry clouds; then the lofty crops and swimming plains shiver with the light blasts, and the tree-tops make a noise, and the long waves drive to the shore; he flies, cutting the fields and the seas together in his flight."

¹⁵ Scott (1974, 62-66).

¹⁶ Thomas *ad G.* 3.197 (1988a, 2:77) connects the metaphorical storm of the horse simile to the storms in the narrative at *G.* 1.311-50 and 2.303-14.

¹⁷ Johnston (2006) also associates Turnus and horses, through their association with the words *liber* and *libertas*.

frequently of Trojans in the *Iliad* has now been transferred to the Italian contingent. One abnormal figure, however, looms large in any discussion of horses in this epic: the Trojan Horse. Vergil's use of simile-narrative interaction employs the symbol of the Trojan Horse to bind together the disparate elements of the epic plot and foreshadow the reversal of fortune that awaits the Trojans in their new land.

The *Aeneid*, like the *Iliad*, contains few horse similes. Vergil's epic, again like Homer's, features the horse in the tenor and vehicle of similes with equal frequency. The very first mention of a horse in the epic, in fact, is in the tenor of the *Aeneid*'s first extended simile, famously describing a statesmanlike Neptune (in his chariot) calming the waves. These are the only actual horses to feature in the narrative in the first book.

The narrative of book three, however, contains an appearance of horses chronologically prior to, and symbolically associated with, Aeneas' arrival in Africa. After leaving Helenus and Andromache, Aeneas sails for Italy, but the first landing is marked by uncertain portents and the temple of a goddess hitherto entirely unfriendly to the Trojan cause. Aeneas makes his landing by a temple *in arce Mineruae* (531), a geographical designation associated earlier in the epic with the refuge of the snakes who attacked Laocoon (*Tritonidis arcem*, 2.226). Aeneas reports that he then observed an omen of four white horses (3.537-43):

quattuor hic, primum omen, equos in gramine uidi
tendentis campum late, candore niuali.
et pater Anchises 'bellum, o terra hospita, portas:
bello armantur equi, bellum haec armenta minantur.
sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti
quadripedes et frena iugo concordia ferre:
spes et pacis' ait.¹⁸

¹⁸ "Here I saw four horses, a first omen, scattered in the grass grazing on the plain, snowy in their whiteness. And father Anchises says "War do you bring, oh foreign land: the horses are equipped for war,

The horses are interpreted by Anchises as portending war (emphatically; he repeats *bellum* thrice in the space of two lines, 539-40),¹⁹ but also potentially peace. Anchises' augury of peace is unpersuasive: while horses will work together to pull a chariot (541-2), chariots are emblematic of warfare, and concord between horses is not particularly surprising. In fact, while stallions do compete and fight in the wild, their doing so is never mentioned in epic. Rather, their connection to warfare is solely through service to man, a state which is referenced in Anchises' "peaceful" reading of the omen.

The Trojans' reaction to the omen reveals its function more clearly. Remembering Helenus' prophecies (3.437-9), they sacrifice not only to the local deity, Minerva, but also to Juno, their enemy (543-7). Minerva and Juno are not to be propitiated, and their association, in combination with the horse symbol, foreshadows coming events for Aeneas. As the reader knows, but Aeneas does not, he will soon suffer from an immense storm of Juno's instigation, a storm which she justifies through reference to a competitive precedent set by Minerva in shipwrecking Ajax Oileus (1.39-41). Upon reaching dry land, the next temple he visits will be Juno's, in Carthage, built upon the location of the portentous discovery of a horse's head (1.441-5).²⁰ Two of the scenes in relief on the temple of Juno depict horses: Diomedes driving off Rhesus' horses (1.469-73) and Troilus being dragged behind his horses (1.474-8). Horses

these herds menace war. But nevertheless likewise at some point horses are accustomed to go under the chariot yoke and to bear the reins harmoniously: also a hope of peace."

¹⁹ Here it might be useful to raise questions about Vergilian omens which I mentioned in the bee chapter with regard to the portent of 7.59-67, and will raise in this chapter regarding the snakes who attack Laocoon (see pages 191-92). Are the four horses really a portent? If so, why is the prediction never again referred to, in contrast to the oracular prophecies of Celaeno and Helenus? Finally, even though Anchises attributes to the omen an ambiguous meaning, his abilities as a prophet are of dubious quality (cf. the Cretan episode, 3.102-46).

²⁰ Egan (1998) offers an interesting interpretation of this portent. Cautioning against taking Vergilian omens at face value, he shows how the portent might foretell defeat for the Carthaginians, rule for the Romans, or even more nuanced messages.

therefore bookend the most Odyssean segment of Aeneas' voyage in books three and one, and highlight two sites sacred to hostile divinities.

Diomedes' horses are one of the topics which pique Dido's interest, as she expresses at the end of the book (1.752); Servius records debate on whether she is inquiring about the man-eating qualities of Thracian horses, or about the horses Diomedes took from Aeneas (*Il.* 5.257-327) or from Rhesus (*Il.* 10.471-550). Servius prefers the latter option, which would fit with Dido's other queries to Aeneas, centered on the most renowned participants in the Trojan war (1.749-52):

infelix Dido longumque bibebat amorem,
multa super Priamo rogicans, super Hectore multa;
nunc quibus Aurorae uenisset filius armis,
nunc quales Diomedis equi, nunc quantus Achilles.²¹

Priam, Hector, and Achilles may legitimately be considered three of the most important people to ask about when conversing with someone who was present at the great conflict. Memnon, as semi-divine and a major hero of the *Aethiopsis*, is a reasonable addition. The "horses of Diomedes" fit into this matrix if they refer to the events of the *Doloneia*. Dido inquires about the very events which she had commissioned to be depicted on the walls of Juno's temple.

Diomedes is twice associated with horses in the first book of the *Aeneid*. This connection makes sense when Iliadic epithets are taken into consideration. Diomedes is named "horse-tamer" (ἵππόδαμος) more frequently than any other individual in the *Iliad*, including Hector.²² The only noun modified with this epithet even more regularly than Diomedes is the collective, Trojans, who are called "horse-taming" nineteen times.

²¹ "Ill-starred Dido was drinking deep of love and asking many things about Priam, many things about Hector; now she asks what weapons the son of Dawn had come with, now what sort the horses of Diomedes were, now how great Achilles was."

²² Diomedes: eight times; Hector: five times. Castor, Antenor, Atreus and Tydeus receive the epithet twice, and four other men once each.

When Greeks and Trojans are fit into a single line of hexameter verse together, the Trojans are uniformly horse-tamers; their opponents are the “well-greaved” (εὐκνήμιδες) or “bronze-chitoned” (χαλκοκίτῳνες) Achaeans.

In reading the *Iliad*, then, Vergil might consider that Diomedes and the Trojans possessed special relationships with horses. In the *Aeneid*, Diomedes reprises his affiliation with horses in Dido’s recollection, but the connection of horses and Trojans is not emphasized except in the underworld. In the Elysian fields, the Trojan ancestors commune with horses (6.648-55):

hic genus antiquum Teuceri, pulcherrima proles,
magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis,
Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor.
arma procul currusque uirum miratur inanis;
stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti
per campum pascuntur equi. quae gratia currum
armorumque fuit uiuis, quae cura nitentis
pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.²³

To the ancients of Aeneas’ race, horsemanship was the defining characteristic, and it persists in their blessed afterlife.

The *Lusus Troiae*²⁴ of book five demonstrates in deeds, if not words, that the Trojans continue to be an equestrian people. However, the youth of Latium take equal

²³ “Here was the ancient race of Teucer, his most handsome offspring, great-hearted heroes born in better years, Ilus and Assaracus and Dardanus, founder of Troy. He wonders at their weapons and empty chariots a ways off; their spears stand fixed in the ground and their horses pasture freely here and there across the plain. The same delight they had in chariots and weapons when they were living, and the same care for pasturing shining horses, follows them when they have been laid in the earth.”

²⁴ Theodorakopoulos (2004) addresses the underlying themes of Augustan history and spectacle embodied in the *Lusus Troiae*. Her focus on the labyrinth is particularly interesting as it adumbrates a simile-narrative interaction between the *Lusus Troiae* and the Daedalan doors of the oracle at Cumae (2004, 66 and 69-70). Putnam (1965, 86-87) points out the predictive force of these two similes, which interact with two later ecphrases: the Daedalan doors at Cumae and the dolphin rim to the shield of Aeneas (*A.* 8.671-74). I would add that the dolphin simile will also be called to mind when the ships, in danger of destruction, are transformed into nymphs who swim like dolphins at *A.* 9.117-22; Iulus, incidentally, had played an important role protecting the ships in the earlier episode of their attempted destruction, at *A.* 5.654-79.

pride in horsemanship. They are practicing horse riding when Aeneas' embassy first approaches Latinus' city (7.162-63):

ante urbem pueri et primaevae flore iuventus
exercentur equis domitantque in pulvere currus.²⁵

Later, Remulus boasts of this discipline (9.602-06):

non hic Atridae nec fandi fictor Vlixes:
durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum
deferimus saevioque gelu duramus et undis;
uenatu inuigilant pueri silvasque fatigant,
flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu.²⁶

Remulus contrasts the Latins, *durum a stirpe genus*, favorably with the Greeks, and with the word *ludus* seems even to appropriate the *Lusus Troiae* to his people. Meanwhile, Vergil has translated the epithet ἵππόδαμος into Latin as *equum domitor*, but the epithet is used only of the Italians Picus, Lausus and Messapus, never of a Trojan.

In keeping with this transference of equestrian pastimes from Homer's Trojans to Vergil's Italians, the poet translates Homer's famous horse simile (cited and translated above on page 167) and applies it to Turnus (11.492-97):

qualis ubi abruptis fugit praeseptis uinclis
tandem liber equus, campoque potitus aperto
aut ille in pastus armentaque tendit equarum
aut adsuetus aquae perfundi flumine noto
emicat, arrectisque fremitu ceruicibus alte
luxurians luduntque iubae per colla, per artus.²⁷

Three elements of Vergil's word choice in this translation from Homer are interesting.

The first, that in the word *equarum* (494) he has added a specificity about gender that is

²⁵ "In front of the city, boys and youths in their first flower exercise themselves on horses and master chariots in the dust."

²⁶ "Here there are no sons of Atreus, nor Ulysses, inventor of tales; a harsh race in origin we bring our newborns down to the river and harden them in harsh ice and waves. The boys spend all night in the hunt and weary the woods, their game is maneuvering horses and aiming darts with the bow."

²⁷ "As when, bonds burst, a horse, finally free, has fled the stables, and having gained the open plain he either aims for the pasture and the herd of mares or splashes in a familiar river, accustomed to bathing in water, and he whinnies with head high and, reveling in his mane, lets it play over his neck and shoulders."

absent in the ἵππων of the original and which perhaps indicates something about the power of sexuality in Turnus' characterization, has been much remarked upon.²⁸

It is also possible that Vergil has manipulated this detail and emphasized the feminine gender of the horses in order to highlight gender roles as Turnus goes out and meets Camilla. Immediately after the simile comparing Turnus to a horse, Camilla rides up and dismounts from her horse.²⁹ While Paris, when compared to a horse in *Iliad* 6, was going from feminine society within the city walls to manly battle outside,³⁰ Turnus encounters women among his allies on the battlefield (a possible referent for the *equae*). The simile creates an expectation that the upcoming focus will be on Turnus' glory in battle or swiftness of foot, but the cavalrywoman Camilla usurps his central role.

Turnus has been engaged in strategic debate while inside the city, the result of which is his determination to engage Aeneas in single combat (*solum*, at *Aen.* 11.221, 434, and 442).³¹ Yet Camilla approaches him with the proposal that she alone (*sola*, 11.504) face the Trojans. While Turnus, as commander, settles on a different plan, the result is that Turnus lurks in ambush for the remainder of the book while Camilla is at the

²⁸ See for example Horsfall *ad A.* 11.492-7 (2003, 293). Since Paris is a noted womanizer, even applying a simile to Turnus that was once used of Paris, regardless of any sexual content in the simile, would hint at the passionate character of the Rutulian leader. That both Turnus and Aeneas (whom Amata likens to Paris at 7.363-64) are in some way similar to the dubious figure of Paris speaks to a recurring assimilation of Lavinia's two suitors. Michael Putnam suggests to me that this simile may indicate that the warrior is treating battle like a sexual encounter. As noted by Liebeschütz (1965, 66), spirited warhorses are equally eager for love and for battle, two activities revealed to have potentially destructive consequences in the third *Georgic*.

²⁹ This appearance of the word *equus* twice in the narrative so immediately following on a simile (at 11.499 and 501) is what Newton would term a "hidden simile," extending the comparative mindset into the narrative without employing the analogy explicitly (1953, 21 and *passim*). The noun is, however, not particularly striking (except insofar as the feminine form has attracted scholarly attention). Viparelli addresses the gender and power relationships in this scene (2008, 12-13).

³⁰ Specifically, Paris has been lounging with his wife instead of facing Menelaus in single combat as he had agreed (*Il.* 6.312-41).

³¹ To some extent, this parallels Hector's activities in Troy in *Il.* 6; Hector's conversations, however, are with women. While Andromache attempts to give him strategic advice (*Il.* 6.431-39), he rejects her defensive strategy.

center of the action.³² The word *solus* appears four more times in book 11: three times in the tale of Camilla's youth (11.545, 569, 582) and once at her death (11.821). This association of *solus* with Camilla underlines the fact that she has fully realized her desire for single combat against the Trojans, while Turnus has not accomplished his duty to undertake single combat.³³

The second interesting reference point of the simile is the stallion's bathing, which recalls the deer, lovingly washed by Silvia, whose death ignited an earlier chapter of this conflict (7.487-9, translated in the third chapter, note 24). In particular the word *adsuetus* (11.495) recalls *adsuetum* at 7.487. As I have explored in detail in the deer chapter, the vignette of Silvia's stag is conclusively linked with Dido; this connection to a simile describing Turnus, then, reinforces Pöschl's observation of a parallel between Dido and Turnus as tragic figures.³⁴

The third element deserving of notice is the word *iubae* (497), which is an unsurprising choice in this context. It is the standard word for a horse's mane and, in fact, the choice of Ennius when he too endeavored to translate Homer's simile (Skutsch *Sed. inc.* lxxxii (lines 535-39)):

Et tum, sicut equos qui de praesepebus fartus
uincla suis magnis animis abrumpit et inde
fert sese campi per caerula laetaque prata

³² Turnus sets up in ambush at 11.522-31, and then disappears from the narrative until 11.896. Turnus, like Hector, rejects a defensive role for himself, but the defensive role he assigns Camilla is, in the end, more warlike and active than his own ambush. Cf. Viparelli (2008, 13).

³³ Further undermining Turnus' centrality, at her death Camilla commands (*mandata*, 11.825) that Turnus take up the fighting role she vacates. I am grateful to Pura Nieto Hernández for drawing to my attention the way in which the horse simile, transferred to Hector from Paris at *Il.* 15.263-70, emblemizes the transfer of the central rivalry from Paris-Menelaus to Hector-Achilles. Camilla's assumption of Turnus' central role, on the other hand, is a deviation from destiny.

³⁴ Pöschl (1962, 97-138 *passim*).

celso pectore; saepe iubam quassat simul altam,
spiritus ex anima calida spumas agit albas.³⁵

Vergil also describes a horse's mane (*iuba*) twice in the passage in the *Georgics* about breeding warhorses (at 3.86 and 92).

The other five occurrences of the word *iuba*, however, describe crested helmets and the snakes which attacked Laocoon.³⁶ In these cases, *crista* might have been a more obvious choice.³⁷ The crested helmets belong either to Turnus or to Aeneas. When Aeneas appears in a helmet with a "mane," it is characterized as subterfuge. At 2.412, Aeneas causes confusion among the Greek invaders of Troy while wearing a disguise of Greek armor and helmets. The final appearance of a crested helmet, at 10.638, also involves Aeneas and deception, but this is Juno's fiction, not Aeneas', as she crafts an *eidolon* of the Trojan leader from a cloud to lead Turnus away from the main battle.

Turnus' appearances in a "maned" helmet, on the other hand, are not colored with falsehood. The crested helmet is the first element of the initial description of the Rutulian warrior's armor (7.785-92):

cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram
sustinet Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis;
tam magis illa fremens et tristibus effera flammis
quam magis effuso crudescunt sanguine pugnae.
at leuem clipeum sublatis cornibus Io

³⁵ "And then, just as a horse who, fattened at the mangers, breaks his bonds with his mighty strength and thence betakes himself through the blue and fertile fields on the plain with lofty breast, and at the same time he often shakes his high mane, and his breath drives white foam from his hot soul."

³⁶ Knox addresses verbal parallels between snakes and the Horse in book two in detail (1966, 124-40). Particularly useful are his observation that the Horse's entrance into the city is described with language proper to serpents (128-29); that Sinon, Helen and the Horse all partake in this snaky language as part of a motif of concealment in the book (140); and on the connection of *iubae* with snakes and horses (136). One might add to his observations the herpetization of horses through the verb *sinuet* at *G.* 3.192, the image of a wind-horse skimming the sea at *G.* 3.202 or Neptune's chariot doing the same at *A.* 1.145-7, and Penelope's metaphorical association of ships and horses at *Od.* 4.708-09. Rose (1982) explores the ship-snake connection in the scene of the boat race, which replaces the more traditional chariot race. Putnam also notes linguistic connections between horses and snakes (1965, 23 n. 19). Gangutia (2003, 217-21) examines the similarities and differences between horses and ships as articulated in the *Odyssey*.

³⁷ Petter (1994, 330 and n.12) analyzes some of the more and less plausible interpretations which have been suggested for *iuba* of snakes.

auro insignibat, iam saetis obsita, iam bos,
 argumentum ingens, et custos uirginis Argus,
 caelataque amnem fundens pater Inachus urna.³⁸

Although the engraving of Io on Turnus' shield is perhaps more famous, the first thing to draw the attention is the mighty horsehair plume with its incredible Chimaera decoration. Turnus' crest is mentioned again at the end of book nine, when the hero leaps into the river fully armed (9.810). Vergil's general practice in the epic, then, connects Turnus with the signature horse-hair crest and repudiates any connection of Aeneas with the same.

The description of Turnus' Chimaera crest echoes the snake portent of book two. The snakes' crests were there termed *iubae* (2.206) *sanguineae* (bloody or ruddy, 2.207, echoed here in *sanguine*, 7.788). Aeneas, as narrator, seems fascinated by their faces, which are *suffecti sanguine et igni* (2.210, echoed in *ignis*, 7.786, *flammis*, 7.787, and *sanguine*, 7.788) and leave the Trojan observers correspondingly *uisu exsanguis* (2.212). Their mouths, like the Chimaera's, are also notable: *sibila lambebant linguis uibrantibus ora* (2.211), reflected in the fire-belching jaws of 7.786.

Turnus' iconic helmet, then, both corresponds to a detail in Homer's horse simile which had famously described the brothers Hector and Paris arming to defend Troy, and sinisterly evokes snakes which provided an early portent of that city's doom. The association between Turnus and horses therefore simultaneously continues the process of reattribution of the epithet *equum domitor* to Italians, helping to cast the Italian defenders

³⁸ "His high helmet with triple hairy mane holds up a Chimaera breathing forth Aetnaean fire from its jaws; as much as she is raging and savage with gloomy flames, so much do the battles become gory with spilled blood. But Io, horns lifted, decorated the light shield in gold, already covered in bristles, already a cow, an enormous composition, and Argus guard of the maiden, and father Inachus pouring a stream from an embossed urn."

in the role of the Trojans in this new Trojan War, and suggests a snake-like or Trojan Horse-like character appropriate to the Trojans' enemies.³⁹

There is, moreover, an elephant in the room or, to be more precise, a Trojan Horse. The Horse resonates thematically with Vergil's other horses, both in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, possessing a proud association with battle, like the ideal warhorse of the *Georgics*. It strikes the first blow against the Scaean Gates and the walls of Troy, which Aeneas later perceives Neptune, god of horses, dismantling. Its history is closely entwined in the text with Laocoon and the maned snakes who dispatch him, and follows their sinuous path into the heart of the city.⁴⁰

The prominence of the Trojan Horse in the symbolism of the *Aeneid* raises questions about the way in which Vergil has chosen to echo and refashion the events of the *Odyssey* and *Iliad*. His language, plot structure and use of similes are all intricately modeled on the practice of those two epics. And yet, the events that actually feature in the account of the *Aeneid* are those of the lesser Cyclic poem, the *Iliou Persis*.⁴¹ Telling this part of the story allows Aeneas to engage Dido's sympathy, certainly. The fall of Troy also foreshadows the fall of Carthage and the fall of Latinus' city, although neither of those collapses is narrated in the *Aeneid*.⁴² Out of the story of the fall of Troy, it is the ruse of the Horse and the duplicity (Sinon) and fierceness (Pyrrhus) of the Greeks that emerge as the most memorable aspects of book two; the Horse in particular, since it is the point from which Aeneas chooses to begin his narrative (2.14-20).

³⁹ In addition to the snakes which attack Laocoon, the snake simile describing Pyrrhus at 2.471-75 also connects the snake with Troy's enemies. The snake in that simile has a triple tongue, *linguis micat ore trisulcis* (2.475), which may influence the *triplici crinita iuba* of Turnus' helmet.

⁴⁰ See above, note 36, on the connection between horses and snakes.

⁴¹ On the Trojan Horse in the *Odyssey*, see Gangutia (2003, 215-16).

⁴² This absence of resolution or balance was clearly thought to be a flaw in later centuries; see e.g. the thirteenth book of the *Aeneid* by Maffeo Vegio.

It is with this great Horse in the background, then, that we see Turnus emerge from the city that will suffer the new siege of Troy and go out to battle against the Trojans, being compared to a horse using a simile previously used of Hector and Paris. The horseman Diomedes meanwhile refuses his assistance to the new *equum domitores*. The resultant web of allegiances revealed in Vergil's use of horse imagery is intricate and labyrinthine – are Turnus, Latinus and the Italians cast as the new Trojan defenders? or are they the new Greeks? Vergil's reluctance to assign an unambiguous role to either side of the new conflict emphasizes the interconnected fates of the opponents and the tragedy of civil bloodshed initiating a united future.

Cattle in epic simile and narrative

As the attention turns to cattle, a number of parallels in language and style will arise with the horses of epic simile and narrative, particularly in Vergilian scenes of or influenced by the *Georgics*. While there are similarities, the animals play quite separate roles and will thus be analyzed as individual motifs.

Thirteen similes in the *Iliad* involve cattle, including portrayals of bulls, cows, calves and oxen.⁴³ Of these, only five do not depict or portend the death of a bull. The other eight include one in which a bull is being bound and dragged by herdsmen, presumably prior to being killed (13.571-72), one in which a man kills a bull in non-specific circumstances (17.520-22), and one in which the bull is sacrificed (20.403-05).

⁴³ One crafting simile (17.389-93) involves men stretching a bull's hide; this would be akin to a simile that is set in a forest but does not center on trees (see e.g. the boar simile describing Mezentius, discussed in Chapter 1, pages 40-41).

One simile describes a lion who has failed to kill and eat a bull (17.657-64), and the remaining four involve lions killing bulls or cattle.⁴⁴

By far the most prevalent type of simile that involves bulls, then, is the lion simile. These are quite traditional lion similes. The lion represents the noble and victorious warrior, while his opponent is portrayed by some other animal. However, cattle are not the only animals that appear as victims in Homeric lion similes. Deer and small domesticated animals also appear frequently; occasionally, the lion kills a herdsman or his dog. Lions can fight one another, and in one unusual instance a lion overcomes a boar (16.823-26), but these similes do not have the same level of inequality as between, say, a lion and a deer.

Each type of victim lends a different tone to the lion simile. Deer, for instance, generate an aura of cowardice or pathos around the victim.⁴⁵ Sheep and goats normally represent a larger number of victims, and depending on the competence of the shepherd to whom their leader is compared, they may or may not fall victim to the lion.⁴⁶ If they do die, their death agonies are not considered. Similes involving the death of bulls at the hands of lions or men, however, frequently go into some detail about the bull's suffering or his might before the attack. As such, these similes more fully personify the victim.

Unlike sheep or deer, a bull may himself be a powerful leader before he is felled.

The traditional qualities of bulls in Homeric epic similes seem to occur with particular frequency in association with Agamemnon. Agamemnon is compared to a lion (generally considered to be the most traditional heroic simile type) only three times, all of

⁴⁴ 5.161-62; 12.293; 16.487-89; 17.542. Two of these similes involve Sarpedon, first as the aggressor (12.293) and then as the victim (16.487-89).

⁴⁵ On cowardice as the defining traditional characteristic of deer, see chapter 3.

⁴⁶ On shepherdly incompetence see the excursus and Haubold (2000, 18-19).

them in book eleven, his *aristeia*; in one of those similes, he routs the Trojans like a lion stampeding and killing cattle (11.172-76):

οἱ δ' ἔτι καὶ μέσσον πεδῖον φοβέοντο βόες ὥς,
 ἃς τε λέων ἐφόβησε μολῶν ἐν νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ
 πᾶσας· τῇ δέ τ' ἰὴ ἀναφαίνεται αἰπὺς ὀλεθρὸς·
 τῆς δ' ἐξ αὐχέν' ἔαξε λαβῶν κρατεροῖσιν ὁδοῦσι
 πρῶτον, ἔπειτα δέ θ' αἶμα καὶ ἔγκατα πάντα λαφύσσει·
 ὥς τοὺς Ἀτρεΐδης ἔφεπε κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων
 αἶεν ἀποκτείνων τὸν ὀπίστατον· οἱ δ' ἐφέβοντο.⁴⁷

The gore of this image is well suited to the tone of Agamemnon's *aristeia*. Here, the cattle are no better or nobler than sheep or other helpless animals.

However, when the leader of all the Greeks is depicted as a bull – which occurs just as frequently as lion similes do for Agamemnon – the more powerful aspects of bovine nature receive emphasis. In the *Iliad*, a bull is the first animal to appear in the vehicle of a simile describing Agamemnon (2.480-81):

ἥν τε βούς ἀγέληφι μέγ' ἑξοχος ἔπλετο πάντων
 ταῦρος· ὃ γάρ τε βόεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀγρομένῃσι·
 τοῖον ἄρ' Ἀτρεΐδην θῆκε Ζεὺς ἥματι κείνῳ
 ἐκπρεπέ' ἐν πολλοῖσι καὶ ἑξοχὸν ἡρώεσσιν.⁴⁸

The bull is said to overtop the herd in the same way that Agamemnon exceeds the other Greeks, and this may be the defining distinction between bull similes and those involving cattle of other sorts (the herd, cows, working oxen, etc.). It is interesting that this simile is paired with one in which Agamemnon is compared to three powerful deities, Zeus, Ares and Poseidon. A comparison of his physique to gods seemed to the poet to mesh neatly with a comparison of his excellence to that of a bull. Zeus, of course, is said to

⁴⁷ “They [some of the Trojans] still fled together down the middle of the plain like cattle, which a lion has frightened, coming in the darkness of the night to eat them; and sudden death materializes for one of them. Taking it first in his strong teeth he breaks its neck, and then gulps down the blood and all the entrails. Thus did lord Agamemnon, son of Atreus, follow them, always killing the laggards; and they fled.”

⁴⁸ “As a bull is very distinguished among all the cattle in the herd, for he is outstanding among the gathered cattle; of that sort did Zeus make the son of Atreus on that day, and he was prominent and distinguished among the many heroes.”

have taken the form of a bull to seduce Europa. These divine connections would suggest that the powerful qualities of a bull are excellent indeed.

The other two similes that compare Agamemnon to a bovine occur in the *Odyssey*, in the context of the narrative of Agamemnon's death. First, Menelaus recounts to Telemachus how Proteus had revealed the tragedy to him (*Od.* 4.534-5):

τὸν δ' οὐκ εἰδότες ὄλεθρον ἀνήγαγε καὶ κατέπεφνε
δειπνίσσας, ὥς τις τε κατέκτανε βούν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.⁴⁹

Note the same four-syllable line-ending as was used in the repeated Iliadic horse similes of Paris and Hector, ἐπὶ φάτνῃ. There the horse escaped a reasonably pleasant captivity, but here Agamemnon is newly entrapped. Cattle similes do not elsewhere speak of killing an ox or bull while he is feeding, but the line may be formulaic, for Agamemnon's shade repeats the line word for word to Odysseus (*Od.* 11.409-11):

ἀλλὰ μοι Αἴγισθος τεύξας θανάτον τε μόρον τε
ἔκτα σὺν οὐλομένη ἀλόχῳ οἶκόνδε καλέσσας,
δειπνίσσας, ὥς τις τε κατέκτανε βούν ἐπὶ φάτνῃ.⁵⁰

This image of the king being murdered is less noble than the simile which compares him to an outstanding bull, but it is infused with a powerful and pathetic irony, that the feasted should become the feast.⁵¹

Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* continues the association with bull similes. After Clytemnestra leads the king into the house, Cassandra prophesies (*Agam.* 1125-28):

ἄ ἄ ἰδοὺ ἰδοὺ, ἄπεχε τῆς βοῦς
τὸν ταῦρον· ἐν πέπλοισιν

⁴⁹ "And he led him to destruction unawares, and upon feasting him, murdered him, as someone kills an ox at the manger." Agamemnon is an ox rather than a bull in this passive scenario; interestingly, Dyson examines situations in which Aeneas and others incorrectly sacrifice bulls and other uncastrated animals in rituals that called for neutered victims (2001, 29-49).

⁵⁰ "But Aegisthus, having plotted death and doom for me, killed me with my disastrous wife after calling me to his home and feasting me, as someone kills an ox at the manger."

⁵¹ While Aegisthus does not eat Agamemnon as the ox is destined to be eaten, the parallel may hint at the horrible traditions of the house of Pelops. Homer does not explicitly mention these stories.

μελαγκέρωι λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι
τύπτει· πίτνει δ' ἐν ἐνύδρῳι τεύχει.⁵²

In her lyrical image, it is initially unclear whether the βοός, cow, is Cassandra herself, from whom Agamemnon has just been separated, or Clytemnestra, the malign figure who will murder him. As the prophecy proceeds, the following lines imagine the murderous plot with further bovine language (the queen's "blackhorned plot") and reveal that the cow is Clytemnestra. The image of a cow murdering a bull is highly unnatural, and as such reveals Clytemnestra's terrible nature. Agamemnon's role as sacrificial bull recalls both the similes from the *Odyssey* and one from the *Iliad* (13.571-72) in which the Trojan Adamas writhes, speared by Meriones. With her prophecy, which uses images familiar from simile, Cassandra reveals not only how Agamemnon will die (trapped with a net and stabbed), but the dangerous matrix of personalities involved.

One final Greek author, Apollonius, deserves attention on the subject of bulls. In a double simile, he employs both a familiar vehicle and an original one, both involving bulls. More frequently, paired similes will introduce quite diverse images.⁵³ Here, the second, more traditional simile depicts a bull sacrifice, while the first introduces the image of bulls fighting over a cow (*Arg.* 2.88-92):

ἄψ δ' αὖτις συνόρουσαν ἐναντίῳ, ἥτε τάρῳ
φορβάδος ἀμφὶ βοὸς κεκοτηότε δηριάσθον.
ἐνθα δ' ἔπειτ' Ἀμυκος μὲν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθεῖς
βουτύπος οἷα πόδεσσι τανύσσατο, καὶ δὲ βαρεῖαν
χεῖρ' ἐπὶ οἱ πελέμιξεν.⁵⁴

⁵² "Ah, ah, look, look: keep the bull away from the cow! After capturing him in woven cloths by means of black-horned contrivance, she strikes, and he falls in his watery tub."

⁵³ As, for example, Agamemnon is compared to a bull and to gods at *Il.* 2.478-81, or the *Lusus Troiae* is compared to a labyrinth and dolphins at *A.* 5.588-95.

⁵⁴ "And back again they rushed together face to face, as a pair of angry bulls contend regarding a grazing heifer. And then Amykos, raised up on high just as an ox-slaughterer stretches up on tip-toe, brought his heavy hand down upon him." Hunter (1989) explores the literary antecedents of this simile and Vergil's use of it in *G.* 3.

In the second simile, Polydeuces is cast in the role of a sacrificial animal who will be felled by a blow of a mallet to the head; in the narrative, however, he proceeds to escape the blow and wins the fight. The first simile is interesting in that instead of pitting a bull against a lion, it matches two bulls against each other in a mating contest. This simile is somewhat uncharacteristic of Apollonius, for he normally demands a strict correspondence between tenor and vehicle,⁵⁵ but the heifer, object of these bulls' contest, cannot be construed to represent anything in the surrounding context.

Bulls also play a more prominent role in the narrative of the *Argonautica* than is usual for epic. Whereas Homer only depicts bulls when they are being sacrificed, Apollonius provides the memorable scene in which Jason yokes the fire-breathing bulls and plows with them (*Arg.* 3.1278-1345). The scene in which he wrestles the bulls is a unique narrative in the epic tradition. On the other hand, the plowing episode ends with another cattle simile: Jason finishes plowing at the time of day when laborers finish plowing with oxen. This image helps to moderate the prodigious qualities of his taming of the fire-breathing monsters, grounding it in the traditional realities of the Greek poetic world.

Cattle in the *Georgics*

When describing the raising of cattle, Vergil details the basics of breeding and feeding, devoting a brief passage to the rearing of oxen that are destined for the plow (*Geo.* 3.163-73). Most of the passage on cattle, however, is dedicated to a digression on the violent effects of *amor* on bulls, resulting in actual inter-bovine combat. Vergil

⁵⁵ On heightened parallelism between tenor and vehicle in Apollonius, see Carspecken (1952, 84-88) and Hunter (1993, 129-31); on this tendency and its relation to Hellenistic and Aristotelian theories of comparison, see Nimis (1987, 105-08) and, on Aristarchus, Clausen (1913, 21-27).

explores in greater detail the theme which was adumbrated in Apollonius' simile during the boxing match in the second book of the *Argonautica*. Ostensibly this episode serves to explain the prescription that bulls should be kept apart from the herd. But the combat and training of the bull is elaborated over more than thirty lines (*Geo.* 3.209-41).

Notably, Vergil describes a vanquished younger bull training for a future bout, much like a human boxer.⁵⁶ Along with dietary privations,⁵⁷ he practices his skills (*Geo.* 3.232-4):

et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit
arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit
ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.⁵⁸

The passage concludes with a simile, in which Vergil compares the bull, raging as he enters battle, to a wave (*Geo.* 3.237-41):

fluctus uti medio coepit cum albescere ponto,
longius ex altoque sinum trahit, utque uolutus
ad terras immane sonat per saxa neque ipso
monte minor procumbit, at ima exaestuat unda
uerticibus nigramque alte subiectat harenam.⁵⁹

This simile vehicle, which, in the manner of West's "unilateral" similes, contains information about the battle which is not narrated in the tenor,⁶⁰ has some clear verbal parallels to the scene of fighting preparation which preceded it. We see the force, be it bull or surf, first gather strength (*irasci in cornua discit, medio coepit ...albescere ponto*).

⁵⁶ Plutarch uses a simile of athletic training in his *Life of Caesar* 28.3. Thomas *ad Geo.* 3.234 also sees human sporting activity here, observing that "the world of man is again suggested, since the image suggests the sanding of the oiled body in wrestling" (1988a, 2:85). Hunter gives additional possibilities for the athletic subtext, in particular boxing and fencing (1989, 558).

⁵⁷ And ascetic living arrangements, on which see Thomas *ad Geo.* 3.229-30 (1988a, 2:84); he identifies Lucr. *DRN* 5.987 "of early man's bedding" as source for *instrata cubilia*.

⁵⁸ "And he tests himself and, by striving against the trunk of a tree, learns to channel his anger into his horns, and he attacks the winds with blows, and prepares for the fight with scattered sand." Thomas *ad loc.* provides a useful catalog of literary sources for the bull's behavior, including Euripides, Callimachus and Catullus (1988a, 2:84-85). Hunter also cites the fight for Deianira at Sophocles, *Trachiniae* 507-30, noting that Achelous is transformed into a bull's shape (1989, 558-59).

⁵⁹ "As when a wave begins to whiten in mid-sea, it draws its curve farther from the deep, and when it has rolled to the shore it sounds loudly among the rocks and hangs over itself no less than a mountain, but the root of the wave boils and casts the black sand deep under its tops." On this simile's Greek background see Hunter (1989, 560).

⁶⁰ West (1969, 41-42).

The force of the bull's empty blows against the winds, *ictibus*, has a verbal echo in *verticibus*, a word which could also indicate the bull's head. Finally, both combats end with a mention of sand, which evokes arena combat. From the simile, we learn of the bull's crashing impact against his opponent. Vergil does not specify the result of the combat.⁶¹

Meanwhile, the simile has a number of striking parallels in setting, theme and language to the wind simile that describes the horse's training only forty lines earlier. Both are set on a battered shore. The verbs *incubuit* (197) and *procumbit* (240) also echo between the two similes. *Sinum* (238) describing the curl of a wave in the bull's simile also evokes the tenor of the horse simile, where the horse is said to *sinuetque alterna uolumina crurum* (192), describing the interlacing arcs of the colt's footsteps. Again the language recalls Knox' connections of horses and serpents.

Vergil has ennobled both types of large livestock to a degree not previously attained even in epic similes by describing them using these traditional battle metaphors taken from meteorology and athletics. However, the resulting emphasis on the animals' capacity for violence is unsettling to his narrative. He follows the bulls' rematch with a discourse on the ill effects of love which is heavily influenced by Lucretius (*Geo.* 3.242-83). The list of animals driven to fighting or other dangerous behavior by love includes even men, whom Lucretius already treated, and whose conflicts will also dominate the latter half of the *Aeneid*.

⁶¹ Comparison of other wave similes in the *Aeneid* is not particularly revealing, either. The wave simile at 7.528-30 compares the weapons of both opposing armies, taken together, to surf, but the opposition of the surf to a shore or rock is not involved. Shortly thereafter Latinus is compared to a rock battered by waves (7.586-9) as he listens to the importuning of Turnus and the others. The simile purports to illustrate his standing firm, as is usual for such a comparison; yet only four lines later (7.594-600) he abdicates power, seemingly overwhelmed by the "waves." Cf. the simile comparing Mezentius to a sea-cliff at 10.693-96, analyzed in Chapter 1, pages 39-40.

Cattle in *Aeneid* simile and narrative

Vergil's use of horse similes in the *Aeneid* generally parallels Homeric usage, in that both authors employ few such similes, use them to focus on beauty and swiftness, and have a similar number of figures which feature horses in the tenor. Vergil's cattle similes, however, are much rarer than Homer's, and they occur only at moments of extreme tension and importance to the plot. Meanwhile the traditional formulaic sacrifice of cattle acquires dramatic power and narrative import in the scenes of Laocoon's death and the boxing match.

Only one of the bull similes in the *Aeneid* conforms to the most traditional model of the cattle simile, in which a bull is attacked by a lion. This image of powerful and steadfast, yet ultimately doomed heroism appears in the context of Turnus' slaying of Pallas (10.453-56):

utque leo, specula cum uidit ab alta
stare procul campis meditantem in proelia taurum,
aduolat, haud alia est Turni uenientis imago.⁶²

Contextually related to the lion-boar simile at the death of Patroclus,⁶³ this simile emphasizes the activity and force of Turnus and focuses little on the victim, Pallas. Yet one detail describing the bull is unusual: the fact that he is in the act of "preparing for battle" (*meditantem in proelia*). The mention of "battles" humanizes the bull more than is normal in lion-bull similes, and recalls the passage at *Georgics* 3.232-4 wherein the young, defeated bull initiated a regimen of athletic training prior to seeking a rematch with his opponent. Allusion to that passage here may enhance the pathos of Pallas'

⁶² "As a lion, when he has seen from his high watch-point a bull standing far off in the fields exercising for battle, he rushes at it; no different is the appearance of Turnus as he comes."

⁶³ *Il.* 16.823-6. See Conington-Nettleship *ad A.* 10.454 and Williams *ad A.* 10.454 f. (1973, 351).

impending demise, as the reader familiar with the *Georgics* comes to realize what sort of obstacles (e.g. lions) may stand in the way of the bull achieving his promised potential.

The bull episode in the third *Georgic* serves as a major source for two of the remaining bull similes in the *Aeneid*, but a parallel tradition – that of the sacrificial bull simile – comes into play as well. The death of Laocoon employs this type of simile vehicle in a compressed but powerful instance of simile-narrative interaction. At one moment, Laocoon is sacrificing a bull (2.201-2):

Laocoon, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos,
sollemnis taurum ingentem mactabat ad aras.⁶⁴

The next moment, he himself is being attacked at the altars by two enormous sea snakes (2.220-24):

ille simul manibus tendit diuellere nodos
perfusus sanie uittas atroque ueneno,
clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit:
qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram
taurus et incertam excussit ceruice securim.⁶⁵

The doomed sacrificer's shouts are compared to the bellows of the very sort of animal he had been sacrificing. On the basic level of simile function, we gain additional perspective on Laocoon's cries. They sounded like the noises of a wounded bull in a sacrifice gone awry. This is certainly a compelling sonic picture which adds to our understanding of the gruesome encounter. Bellowing bulls had been the focus of two Iliadic similes: one describing Xanthus' roar as he fights Achilles at *Il.* 21.237, and the

⁶⁴ "Laocoon, a priest of Neptune selected by lot, was sacrificing a huge bull at the solemn altars." On Neptune's role, see Putnam: "He who shortly before had offered a bull in due sacrifice to Neptune, the god about to partake in the destruction of his own city, is now himself the first symbolic sacrificial victim" (1965, 24). Servius' comments here (*ad A.* 2. 201) on possible reasons for Neptune to be angered at Laocoon are interesting; Laocoon is accused of having relations with his wife at the altar. Dyson suggests that Laocoon's punishment seems to be caused by a symbolic "tree violation," as he wounds the "holy" wooden Horse (2001, 169).

⁶⁵ "He (Laocoon) at the same time stretched with his hands to tear apart the [snakes'] knots, his holy headband all soaked with gore and black poison, and raised gruesome shouts to the heavens: like the mooing, when a wounded bull has fled the altar and shaken off from his neck an ill-aimed axe."

other comparing Hippodamas' death at the hands of Achilles to a bull being dragged to sacrifice to Poseidon at *Il.* 20.403-6.

However, in the *Aeneid*, the sacrifice in the vehicle and the sacrifice in the context inform one another and add depth to both the comparison and the narrative. The fact that Laocoon had been sacrificing when his doom struck colors his death wail with tragic irony when he is compared to a sacrificial beast.⁶⁶ Conversely, and perhaps more importantly, the ill-omened tone of the simile (animals were supposed to submit, not flee the altar, and an uncertain axe stroke is certainly no good sign)⁶⁷ suggests that Laocoon's real sacrifice in the narrative may also have gone awry, because of the snaky interruption. Vergil never explicitly informs the reader what happened to the bull at Neptune's altar.⁶⁸ The simile suggests Laocoon standing at the altar, axe raised, and letting it fall crookedly in his astonishment at being attacked by the monstrous reptiles. The injured bull rushes around, adding its crashing and bellowing to the piteous wails of the priest and his two sons. The priest's demise at the altar only adds to a sacrifice that was already ill-omened from the start, further dooming the city and the citizens of Troy.

A different simile involving a bull sacrifice, this time from Apollonius, provides the background to the denouement of the boxing episode in book five of the *Aeneid*. The Apollonian simile in question, discussed above on pages 186-87, is part of a pair: in the first simile two boxers are compared to bulls fighting over a heifer, and in the second part

⁶⁶ On the ironic tones of the comparison, see Williams *ad A.* 2.223 (1972, 230), and Conington-Nettleship *ad A.* 2.221.

⁶⁷ On the prodigious event of the sacrificial victim escaping, see bibliography of Conington-Nettleship (*ibid.*) and Austin *ad A.* 2.223-24 (1980, 107).

⁶⁸ Nor does he explicitly inform us of the death of Laocoon, as observed by Austin *ad A.* 2.223-24 (1980, 107). Petter (1994) argues that Laocoon does not in fact die. I believe that the result is, in the text, ambiguous; however, Laocoon's utter absence from the remainder of book two, when he had been a motivating figure in the plot up to this point, implies that the stronger evidence is on the side of the traditional reading, namely, that he dies.

the eventual loser is compared to a man sacrificing a bull by a vigorous downward blow to the head (*Arg.* 2.90-92). Here we are again in a boxing scene, one which is derived both from the combat sports of Patroclus' funeral games in *Iliad* 23 and from this episode in Apollonius.⁶⁹ Vergil adorns the boxing with three similes, none involving bulls.⁷⁰ However, a further athletic subtext can be identified in the scene of the bull training at *Geo.* 3.233-4; the bull *uentosque lacessit ictibus*, and Entellus here *uiris in uentum effudit* (5.446), similarly vain actions of violence. In the original Apollonian boxing match, Amycus' blow misses Polydeuces' head and strikes his shoulder. Entellus' aim is much worse; it is therefore surprising that he goes on to win.

A second allusion to the *Argonautica* comes when the winner of the combat, Entellus, suddenly kills the prize he has been awarded, in a manner deeply reminiscent of the Apollonian simile (5.473-84):

hic uictor superans animis tauroque superbus
 'nate dea, uosque haec' inquit 'cognoscite, Teucri,
 et mihi quae fuerint iuuenali in corpore uires
 et qua seruetis reuocatum a morte Dareta.'
 dixit, et aduersi contra stetit ora iuueni
 qui donum astabat pugnae, duosque reducta
 librauit dextra media inter cornua caestus
 arduus, effractoque inlitis ossa cerebro:
 sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos.
 ille super talis effundit pectore uoces:
 'hanc tibi, Eryx, meliorem animam pro morte Daretis
 persoluo; hic uictor caestus artemque repono.'⁷¹

⁶⁹ The Apollonian antecedent is referenced explicitly, as Hunter notes (1989, 559 n. 14), when Dares is said to have defeated a descendant of Amycus in boxing at Troy (*A.* 5.373).

⁷⁰ 5.439-40 compares Dares' approach to the siege of a city; 5.458-9 compares Entellus' punches to hail; 5.448-9 compares Entellus, falling after he misses Dares, to a pine tree (on which see pages 33-34 in the tree chapter). The simile comparing Entellus to a pine tree may be influenced by *Cat.* 64.105-11, which compares the falling Minotaur to a pine tree on Mt. Taurus; this connection could hint at bulls in the background here.

⁷¹ "Here the proud victor, exulting in his spirit and in his bull, says "Son of the goddess, and you too, Trojans, behold this, both what strength there was in my young body, and the sort of death from which you have protected Dares by calling him off." He spoke, and stood opposite the head of the bullock facing him, which was standing by as prize for the fight. With right hand drawn back he poised the heavy studded boxing gloves in the middle of the horns, lifted up on tiptoe, and after the skull is broken he crushed the bones; the cow was knocked down and, trembling, lay lifeless on the ground. He poured forth these words

Entellus explicitly casts the killing of the bull as a sacrifice in his prayer in lines 483-4, but his first words, at 474-5, also implicitly set it up as a comparison or living simile. He informs Aeneas that the bull will die in the manner that Dares would have, had the Trojan leader not stopped the fight. Therefore, since Aeneas has halted combat before there could be a repetition of Apollonius' simile (but one in which the blow landed and a Trojan fighter died), Entellus chooses to play out the action of the simile literally, by sacrificing a bull.

Cattle in *Aeneid* 12

Aeneas and Turnus are both compared to bulls in the similes of the final book of the *Aeneid*. In these comparisons, Vergil draws on the pathetic and sacrificial elements discussed in the preceding section, as well as on the third *Georgic*.⁷² The result is a haunting image of the effects of civil conflict on the agrarian society at the heart of Roman ideology.

The first bull simile in *Aeneid* 12 cites the *Georgics* to describe Turnus setting out for battle:

et temptat sese atque irasci in cornua discit
arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit
ictibus, et sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.⁷³ (Geo. 3.232-4)

mugitus ueluti cum prima in proelia taurus
terrificos ciet aut irasci in cornua temptat
arboris obnixus trunco, uentosque lacessit
ictibus aut sparsa ad pugnam proludit harena.⁷⁴ (Aen. 12.103-6)

above it from his heart: "Eryx, to you I make this sacrifice, a better soul, in place of the death of Dares; as victor I retire my gloves and my skill."

⁷² For sacrifice as a motivating element of the plot of the *Aeneid* and central to Aeneas' fate, see Dyson (2001).

⁷³ Translated on page 188 above.

⁷⁴ "Just as when a bull raises frightening bellows at the beginning of battle or striving against the trunk of a tree tries to channel his anger into his horns, and he attacks the winds with blows or prepares for the fight

Lines 12.105-6 are repeated word-for-word, except for the alteration of *et* to *aut*. This might suggest that, compared with the exhaustive practices of the bull in the *Georgics*, Turnus is taking a piecemeal approach to his training.⁷⁵ The alteration of *Geo.* 3.232 into 12.104 and addition of 12.103⁷⁶ have similarly foreboding connotations.⁷⁷ Now, instead of *irasci in cornua discit*, the bull merely *irasci in cornua temptat*, which may indicate less success. The *mugitus* added in 12.103 must be regarded as ill-omened; the word is used once only in the rest of the *Aeneid*, at 2.223, where it is the central feature of the simile describing the death of Laocoon.⁷⁸ This initial simile of Turnus as a bull, then, appears initially to connect him to the young bull of the *Georgics* who seems assured of a successful rematch. In the adaptation, however, Vergil has added a powerful reminiscence of a tragic event that gives the bull comparison sacrificial overtones.

When Aeneas and Turnus face off as two bulls near the end of the book, the same passage of the third *Georgic* provides the backdrop both directly and filtered through the boxing scene in book five. The vehicle is the third longest of all the similes in the *Aeneid* and is elaborated with some interesting details (12.715-22):

ac uelut ingenti Sila summoque Taburno
cum duo conuersis inimica in proelia tauri
frontibus incurrunt, pauidi cessere magistri,
stat pecus omne metu mutum, mussantque iuuencae

with scattered sand.” Briggs (1980, 50 n.52) observes a verbal correlation between *Turnus* and *taurus*, citing *A.* 7.783 *praestanti corpore Turnus* and *G.* 4.538 *praestanti corpore tauros*.

⁷⁵ I am aware of the ease with which words like *et*, *atque* and *aut* may be interchanged in the manuscript tradition. The OCT apparatus reveals a like concern for the *aut* of 12.104, whether it is actually *atque*.

⁷⁶ In the third *Georgic*, the preceding lines described the training bull’s ascetic diet and lifestyle.

⁷⁷ Hornsby likewise believes that “the simile reveals that the bull achieves nothing, for his movements are essentially meaningless” (1970, 122).

⁷⁸ The related verb *mugire* and its compounds also appear thirteen times in varied contexts in the *Aeneid*; many of these occurrences are portentous or gloom-filled. In particular, the verb is associated with mourning for Pallas (11.38) and Turnus himself (12.928); with oracles (3.92); with goddesses and priestesses associated with the underworld or chthonic magic (6.99, 6.256); and with the onset of battle (8.256, 9.504). The instance at 12.928, occurring after Turnus has suffered the blow from Aeneas which strikes him down for the last time, is most important in our current context; *mugitus* looks back to sacrifice and death in book two, and forward to Turnus’ own death in book twelve. I am grateful to Michael Putnam for drawing my attention to the importance of this instance.

quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur;
 illi inter sese multa ui uulnera miscent
 cornuaque obnixa infigunt et sanguine largo
 colla armosque lauant, gemitu nemus omne remugit.⁷⁹

The passage in the third *Georgic* which was central to characterizing Turnus in the earlier simile is recalled immediately with a geographical epithet in the first line of this simile: the heifer who occasioned the initial battle between the young bull and his older rival was located *in magna Sila* (*Geo.* 3.219).

References to that passage continue: line 220 of the third *Georgic*,

illi alternantes multa ui proelia miscent,

appears here in line 720 with some alterations. *Inter sese* adapts the idea of *alternantes*, to some extent evoking a battle that is even more brutal and continuous, and *proelia* has been reflected earlier in the simile, at line 716. Blood “washes” their bodies (12.721-22, *sanguine largo colla armosque lauant*; *Geo.* 3.221 *lauit ater corpora sanguis*), evoking in a terrible way both the horse simile (11.492-7, discussed on page 178 above) and the episode of Silvia’s stag (7.487-9, discussed in the deer chapter), where noble masculine animals are tended carefully with pure water. In both *Georgics* and *Aeneid* the bulls strive to butt one another with their horns, as might be expected (12.721 *cornuaque obnixa infigunt*; *Geo.* 3.222 *uersaque in obnixos urgentur cornua*), and make a great noise (12.722 *gemitu*; *Geo.* 3.222-3 *uasto cum gemitu*) which the surrounding forest resounds (12.722 *nemus omne remugit*; *Geo.* 3.223 *reboant siluaeque et longus Olympus*).⁸⁰

⁷⁹ “And just as when in huge Sila or the top of Taburnus two bulls run together in unfriendly battle with opposed heads, and the timorous herdsmen yield place, the whole herd stands silent in fear, and the heifers mutter over who will control the grove, whom the whole herd will follow; the bulls interchange wounds with one another with great force and strive to stab in their horns and wash their necks and shoulders with copious blood. The whole grove moos back with a groan.”

⁸⁰ The word *remugit* is etymologically appropriate to cattle. *Reboant*, while strictly related to Greek βοᾶω, may have at least pretended to a connection to *bos*, making these two words even more equivalent. Also,

The simile in the *Aeneid* adds a great deal of detail about the observers in comparison to the *Georgic* passage, in which (with the exception of the heifer) the bulls seem to dwell in a desert realm. First we behold the herdsmen (717): incompetent and fearful, like so many of those considered in the excursus on the shepherd.⁸¹ Next the cows: while there is no one *formosa iuuenca* (*Geo.* 3.219)⁸² like the lady of Sila who provoked the bulls in the *Georgics*, the whole herd watches with interest (718).⁸³ The heifers as a collective unit get particular attention, and the narrator attributes a pair of indirect questions to them in a surprising instance of secondary focalization (718-19). *Mussant*, the verb which characterizes the cows, has somewhat negative connotations of being unwilling to speak one's mind openly or act boldly.⁸⁴ It appears four times in the *Aeneid*, and the other three occurrences describe Latins. In book eleven, Drances uses the word in accusatory fashion against his fellow-countrymen (11.345); then the narrator employs it of the Latin elders as the Trojans attack their city (11.454). Finally, Saces, injured messenger to Turnus as he wanders the battlefield, uses it to describe King Latinus' behavior in particular (6.657).⁸⁵

the mention of Olympus may provide a sense of focalization through divine observers akin to the race simile of *Il.* 22.162-66, on which see above, page 169, Griffin (1980, 193), and Bremer (1986, 371).

⁸¹ There is a suggestion of an incompetent cowherd in the background to the *Georgic* original: when the bull departs to live in the wilderness, on the explanation that *nec mos bellantis una stabulare* (*G.* 3.224), he looks at his *stabula* as he leaves (*G.* 3.228). I am not aware of wild cattle living in stables; this one, then, must be leaving a domestic life where he is observed and cared for. For the cowherd to permit such an action could leave the bull open to predations by a lion, as in the simile of Pallas (10.453-6, discussed above on page 19). See also Putnam (2006, 391-92) on the *magistri*.

⁸² Hunter (1989, 558 n. 7) observes that *formosa iuuenca* is echoed in the boxing passage when Entellus "refers to the prize as a *pulcher iuuenus*" (*A.* 5.399).

⁸³ Putnam notes the geographical marker connecting these two scenes, and goes on to explore the characterization of the bystanders (2006, 390-92).

⁸⁴ *OLD* s.v. 1. "To speak in low tones, mutter, whisper (esp. discontentedly)..." 2. "To do no more than mutter..." 3. "To mutter in indecision..." Given the low value Roman epic places on discontent, words without actions, and indecision, it is reasonable to consider this a word of negative associations. Yet, cf. *G.* 4.188 for a neutral meaning (*OLD* s.v. 1b), of the humming noise made by bees.

⁸⁵ This occurrence is 61 lines prior to *mussant* in the simile. Newton comments on all four appearances of the word in the epic, arguing that the occurrences at 11.454 and 12.718 serve to reinforce the instances that precede them and characterize the Latins as waiting in silence; also, that the occasions in book 12 recall those

Just before the simile, Vergil catalogues the bystanders: Rutulians, Trojans, Italians and Latinus himself (12.704-9). With the exception of the Trojans, all these are accurately characterized by the herd in the simile, leaving off battle and wondering, in line with their “muttering” activities earlier in the epic. The fact that they are like heifers, though, is interesting. Lavinia, who alone could be represented as igniting the love of Aeneas, is not watching the battle. Amata, whose relationship with Turnus was more passionate than might be appropriate, has killed herself, a fact of which Turnus is aware (Saces informed him at 12.659-60, two lines after describing Latinus as “muttering”). Because of the echo with Latinus’ muttering at 6.657 and this absence of the ladies, it is possible that it is the king’s lack of leadership and failed masculinity that is emphasized, as much as the fact that the frenzy of love is not driving Aeneas, or Turnus any more.⁸⁶ Their battle will differ from that in the *Georgics* for that reason at least.

So much for the bystanders; what does the simile reveal about the two men who are the contenders? We have already seen on the preceding page how the particular expression of their violence replicates the first struggle between the two bulls in the *Georgics*. The elder bull emerged victorious from that contest, and the elder bull probably corresponds here to Aeneas rather than Turnus. This is not only because Aeneas is depicted as an older warrior than Turnus, but also because Turnus has been clearly connected to the younger bull by the simile at 12.103-6. In the initial context, the scenes of fight, withdrawal and training, and anticipated rematch offer some optimism for the younger bull – although success is not guaranteed, on which see the analysis of the

in book 11 and make the bull simile here “a culmination” of tendencies and themes in the war (1953, 168 and 208).

⁸⁶ Pace Knauer (1981, 917), who affirms that desire is the guiding principle here. Putnam notes the absence of sexuality from this rendering of the bulls’ bout (2006, 391). Jeri DeBrohun suggests to me that the heifers may represent the fact that all the bystanders will be ruled by the winner of the fight.

wave simile (*Geo.* 3.237-41) on page 22 above. Yet this time the withdrawal and training has been portrayed before the initial fight, an ominous reversal of events noted by Putnam.⁸⁷

The boxing match between Dares and Entellus (discussed above on pages 192-94) appeared to be connected to the bull battle of the third *Georgic* in its Apollonian source material and the detail of an attack on the winds. As such, it is worth comparing to both of the bull similes of book twelve. In the simile of Turnus alone, the element of a futile attack on the winds is preserved in the training regimen (12.105-6). This gives him a sort of literary descent from Amycus, who missed Polydeuces and was killed, and Entellus, who missed Dares but proceeded to win the fight.⁸⁸ Considering the other elements of the boxing match, Entellus is the older, which would correspond to Aeneas; but Dares is the Trojan and Entellus the local champion. The scenes are inextricably linked by their shared sources in Apollonius and the *Georgics*, and yet with true Vergilian complexity, it is still difficult to predict whether the simile forebodes victory to Aeneas or to Turnus.

Of course, it is possible that the function of the simile is not to serve as an augury of victory to one competitor or the other. Rather, a consideration of the overall format of the simile would suggest that it promises real victory to no one. For what sort of a simile is it that pits two domesticated animals against one another? Except for the brief space of two lines in Apollonius, this is not something that is usual in epic. The bull would normally do combat against a noble lion, a beast destined to defeat him, or be sacrificed to the gods by the men who have raised him. In either of these outcomes there is a

⁸⁷ Putnam (1965, 185).

⁸⁸ On the boxing match's literary antecedents see Nelis (2001, 12-18).

certain nobility for both victor and victim, and this is the traditional mode of the epic simile.

What we have here is quite different: combat between two farm animals, intricately backed with an allusion to the *Georgics*.⁸⁹ The scene in the *Georgics* is not among the didactic verses which instruct how best to breed cattle.⁹⁰ Instead it is a sort of excursus on the negative aspects of that animal passion so necessary to increasing the herd. Vergil bypasses a narrative end to the story in order to inject a warning (*Geo.* 3.242-4):

Omne adeo genus in terris hominumque ferarumque
et genus aequoreum, pecudes pictaeque uolucres,
in furias ignemque ruunt: amor omnibus idem.⁹¹

The warning extends even to Man (*Geo.* 3.258-63):

quid iuuenis, magnum cui uersat in ossibus ignem
durus amor? nempe abruptis turbata procellis
nocte natat caeca serus freta, quem super ingens
porta tonat caeli, et scopulis inlisa reclamant
aequora; nec miseri possunt reuocare parentes,
nec moritura super crudeli funere uirgo.⁹²

Aeneas and Turnus, it seems, are reenacting a *Georgic* public service announcement about the dangers inspired by love.⁹³ As noted above on page 198, the role of the heifer as love interest is muted in the simile of book twelve and replaced by the role of the heifer representing the general (male) population of Latium. So we are left

⁸⁹ Hornsby (1970, 132) suggests that the simile implies that “the herds...are to be merged into one herd.” To the contrary, there seems simply to be one herd with two leaders (much like the conflict between bee “kings”).

⁹⁰ Those may be found e.g. at *G.* 3.49-71.

⁹¹ “Indeed every sort of man and beast on earth, and every sort of watery thing, flocks and painted birds, rush into rages and flame: love is the same for all.”

⁹² “What of the youth, in whose bones harsh love turns a great fire? Indeed late in the dark night he swims straits roiled by bursting storms, he above whom the giant gate of the heavens sounds, and the seas, dashed against the rocks, call in response; nor are his wretched parents able to recall him, nor the maiden about to die over his grievous ashes.”

⁹³ Putnam discusses the inevitability of violence arising from the parallel rivalries of bulls and heroes (1965, 183).

with a desexualized competition for power between two bulls.⁹⁴ What is the point? With the absence of the lion, there is no epic nobility. We have an abundance of agricultural imagery, so central to the ideals of *Romanitas*, but showing two bulls of one stable⁹⁵ turned against one another. Vergil has drawn on Homer, Apollonius, the *Georgics*, and all the bull similes of the *Aeneid*. This simile is so ambiguous and yet so powerful, because it resonates through Vergil's entire corpus. The result is a profound image of civil war.

⁹⁴ Putnam 1965.186 points out that Turnus "is still the victim of what the poet calls love tormented by madness" as of line 668, noting however that in Aeneas, "though love is absent, violence remains." I do not argue that Turnus is not in love any more, only that the woman at the center of the love and the conflict has a surprisingly low profile in these lines.

⁹⁵ Farrell 1991.224-5 points out that by casting Aeneas and Turnus as bulls, Vergil emphasizes their similarities rather than the cultural differences between Trojans and Italians.

CONCLUSION

In the four studies of Vergil's self-referential simile technique that make up this dissertation, I have endeavored to merge two major approaches to the *Aeneid*: scholarship which examines Vergil's use of a particular poetic technique within the epic (in this case, simile),¹ and analysis of Vergilian allusion.² Conventionally, simile and allusion both reach outside the text. Allusion engages the text with literary predecessors, while the comparison involved in a simile requires that the vehicle belong to a separate sphere from the tenor (frequently the world of nature). These figures appear constantly in the *Aeneid*, often in combination, as Vergil shapes an epic that is distinguished by its graceful use of Homeric structures and its seamless incorporation of literary antecedents.

While it is unsurprising that Vergil's epic similes allude to generic predecessors,³ I have read Vergilian similes as particularly important sites of *intratextual* allusion. Through interaction with marked narrative episodes, Vergil's similes invite the reader to make multiple comparisons: not only between tenor and vehicle, but outside the simile to other moments in the epic. This "self-allusive" simile profitably subverts the traditional functions of simile and allusion. Instead of directing the reader to think outside of the text, self-allusive similes are eloquent tools of cross-reference within the *Aeneid*.

¹ See for instance Pöschl (1962) on imagery, Putnam (1998) on ecphrasis, Hornsby (1970) on the similes, or Wills (1996) on repetition.

² For example, Knauer (1964) on Homer, Nelis (2001) on Apollonius, and Briggs (1980) on Vergil's allusion to his own *Georgics*.

³ Briggs (1980) and Farrell (1991) show, moreover, that Vergil practices self-imitation to great effect in his reuse of material from the didactic *Georgics* in his later epic.

Inspired by Conte's observations on the similar processes underlying allusion and figurative language such as simile and metaphor, I have pursued this type of reading in the interest of identifying the specific mechanics by which Vergilian themes and motifs are constructed, articulating and codifying methods that are intuited or presented in general terms in Pöschl, Hornsby and other studies of Vergilian imagery. Vergil's self-allusive simile generates a comparative process on several levels. First, it fulfills the basic function of a simile by explicitly juxtaposing tenor and vehicle. Second, it may allude to simile or narrative in other works. Finally, and most significantly for the thematic structure of the epic, it draws the simile – in its entirety: vehicle, tenor and broader context – into contact with other moments in the epic.

The relationship between the similes of the *Aeneid* and other, referenced episodes is even closer than the relationship between the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics* in moments where Vergil has reused his own work. This is because, unlike any other allusive project, allusion within one text is stripped of notions of primacy. The relationship between Laocoon's bull sacrifice (2.201-2, with its related bull simile, 2.223-34), Entellus' execution of his prize bull (5.477-84), and the simile comparing Aeneas and Turnus to bulls (12.715-22) is not limited by the historical dependence of one text on its predecessor. Instead, the scenes inform one another within the single text as statements of a theme of unnecessary destruction and sacrifice gone awry.

As in West's "unilateral" similes, one element of a simile-narrative interaction can supply information that is missing or vague in the other component. For example, I have identified such a process occurring in Vergil's use of bees. The simile of a shepherd smoking out bees (12.587-92) portrays Aeneas in battle, behaving destructively, and

alludes to the *Georgics* and the *Argonautica*. What makes this simile so important, providing hidden impetus to the debates over the propriety of Aeneas' violence, is its relationship of reference with the swarm portent in book seven (7.59-67). As symbolic fulfillment to that prodigy, the bee smoking simile is an instance of closure in an entire half of the epic, and the relationship between the two scenes enriches any re-reading of the earlier portent as well. The inexorable end of the *Aeneid* reveals itself articulated in the oracular responses of the natural world.

Vergilian commentators have criticized some of the narrative moments which I have identified as anchoring motifs and providing the points of contact between similes and the rest of the text, on the grounds that they are insufficiently appropriate to the epic genre. For instance, I have noted a variety of complaints in the deer chapter from those who considered that the death of Silvia's stag was in no way the *prima/ laborum causa* it is cast as in the text (7.481-82). This feeling of dissonance is understandable, since (as I have noted above) the contents of simile vehicles are often drawn from a world that has little to do with the subject matter traditionally assigned to epic. In the *Aeneid*, deer, bees, trees, horses, doves, and a number of other creatures of the natural world have a much more prominent narrative role than in earlier epic. This is not a failure to respect the genre on Vergil's part, but a deliberate artistic choice that focuses the reader's attention on the interaction between simile and narrative. By drawing out the allusive relationship underlying these motifs in the *Aeneid*, I hope to have added to our understanding of Vergilian originality in the deployment of similes with such broad narrative scope.

I have carefully traced the mechanics of simile-narrative interaction in four such thematic areas, where the topoi of conventional epic simile vehicles make an appearance recast as epic narrative. In the process, I have mentioned in passing a number of additional motifs, previously handled by other scholars or too limited in scope to warrant chapters of their own. Among such topics, however, there are additional directions in which this study could be pursued further. One such direction is the exploration of links between the various themes that display simile-narrative interaction. The Excursus, which examined the role of the *pastor* in similes of the bee and deer motifs, is an example of this type of study, but similar echoes can be found between each of the other chapters.⁴ A second topic, that of birds in the similes and narrative of the Aeneid, is a study I would like to pursue in future. The theme is complicated by the omens involved and a sub-theme involving arrows, and will likely be similar to the bee study but on a larger scale.

While a literary reading of interconnections within Vergil's most complex poem runs the risk of being impossible to complete, I would like to draw together and emphasize some conclusions about the significance of themes articulated through self-allusive similes in the epic. Two themes have emerged from the chapters and have a bearing on wider readings of the epic.

The first such concept, articulated in the chapters on trees, bees, and large livestock, is the similarity and even identity between Aeneas and the Trojans on the one hand, and their enemies on the other. Much as Vergil's simile-narrative interaction produces a leveling effect between text and figure, with the traditional material of simile vehicles escaping into the epic narrative proper, Aeneas and his opponents interact and

⁴ Many of these links are mentioned in footnotes to the relevant chapters, and some have been written on by other scholars – I think particularly of Grant (1969) on bees and Dido, connecting bees and deer through the figure of Diana, and Connors (1992) on cypress mythology and Crete, connecting deer and trees.

exchange places through shared imagery. Whether by comparing Aeneas and Turnus to two bulls of the same stable, colored by allusion to tragic sacrifices elsewhere in the text, or by characterizing Aeneas and Mezentius both as tree-like men and men who cut down trees (and men), Vergil emphasizes the likeness of his antagonists over their difference. Repeatedly, he uses these thematic resonances to depict the tragedy of a war that pits future kinsmen against one another: civil war emerges as the great disaster for the heroic world as well as the natural world.

The second, related theme is the tragedy of unintentional destruction, emerging from the deer and bee themes in particular. Disastrous failures of understanding by protagonists of similes who are linked to Aeneas highlight moments of violence and foreboding on the border of wild and domestic life in the narrative. While the tragedy of civil war is the mistaking of those who should by nature be friends for enemies, the danger in these cases is depicted symbolically as a mistaking of domestic for wild (Sylvia's stag) or wild for domestic (the shepherd lighting fires, 10.405-9). Aeneas' behavior ranges from oblivious (the doe simile at 4.69-73) to possibly malign (bee-smoking at 12.587-92).

Because of the dual nature of a theme expressed through self-allusive simile, these motifs have power and meaning not only for the readers (the usual beneficiaries of similes' instructive force), but also for the characters within the text. While we know from the simile of 4.441-46 that Aeneas is like a tree in his fortitude, within the narrative he explores the boundaries of the similarity between trees and men's bodies by crafting a tropaeum adorned with Mezentius' armor. We read of Dido suffering love's wound like a stricken deer, but Sylvia actually cares for and grieves over a stricken deer; Aeneas and

Ascanius remain oblivious to the destruction in both instances. Vergil opens the epic narrative to the world of simile, often likened to the capricious Nature of the *Georgics*.

In so doing he exposes his protagonist more fully to pathos and the reality of conflict, and reveals the consequences of heroic combat for the greater world.

APPENDIX: LIST OF SIMILES

The following appendix contains all 153 similes, of any length, that I have identified in the *Aeneid*. Numeration in the left-most column includes a Roman numeral indicating the book of the *Aeneid* and an Arabic numeral indicating the simile's order within the book. If a pair of Arabic numerals is listed, the similes are linked; an asterisk indicates that the comparison may not be included as a simile under other listing criteria. Bold type in the Content column highlights the general focus of the simile vehicle.

Table 1: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book one

	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
I.1	1.148-153	1.154-156	Neptune calming waves is compared to a statesman calming a crowd.	<i>Il.</i> 2.144-48; <i>Arg.</i> 1.513-15; <i>Livy AUC</i> 28.27.11	7.528-30, 7.586-90, 10.356-59
I.2	1.316-17	1.314-15, 318-20	Comparison of Venus in disguise to "Thracian Harpalyce "	<i>Od.</i> 6.102-04, 7.18-20	Camilla; 11.659-63
I.3	1.430-436	1.422-429	Busy city-building Carthaginians are compared to busy bees .	<i>Il.</i> 2.87-90; <i>Arg.</i> 1.879-82; <i>Geo.</i> 4.162-9	6.707-09, 4.402-07, 7.59-67, 12.587-92
I.4	1.498-502	1.503-504	Dido & entourage are compared to Diana with a chorus of nymphs.	<i>Od.</i> 6.102-04; <i>Arg.</i> 3.876-84	1.329, 4.143-49
I.5	1.589		Aeneas is like a god .	Very popular and insignificant.	
I.6	1.592-593	1.588-591	Venus improves Aeneas' appearance like a craftsman working with ivory or gold .	<i>Il.</i> 4.141-45; <i>Od.</i> 6.232-34, 23.159-61; <i>Arg.</i> 3.443-44; <i>Geo.</i> 3.26-29	Daedalus

Table 2: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book two

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
II.1	2.15	2.15	Trojan horse is like a mountain .	<i>Od.</i> 9.190-92, 10.113	12.701-03
II.2	2.223-4	2.222	Laocoon's shouts are compared to mooing of bull inaccurately killed at altar.	<i>Il.</i> 17.520-22, 20.403-05, 21.237	2.202
II.3-4	2.304-308	2.302-03	Aeneas watching Troy burn from his roof is compared to a shepherd watching the carnage of a wildfire or flood .	<i>Il.</i> 2.455-56, 4.452-55; <i>Arg.</i> 1.1027-28; <i>Hor. Odes</i> 3.29.33-41 ; <i>Geo.</i> 1.316-27	2.496-99, 10.405-11, 12.521-25
II.5	2.355-358	2.358-360	Aeneas compares the Trojan fighters to ravenous wolves who abandon their pups.	<i>Il.</i> 12.299-306, 16.156-63, 16.352-55; <i>Arg.</i> 2.123-28	9.59-64, 9.565-66, 11.809-13
II.6	2.379-381	2.382	Androgeos recoils from Trojans like someone who has accidentally stepped on a snake .	<i>Il.</i> 3.33-35; <i>Geo.</i> 2.153-54, 3.416-39, 4.458-49	2.203-212, 2.471-75, 5.273-79
II.7	2.416-419	2.413-415	Confusion in attempted rescue of Cassandra is compared to winds roiling sea and forest .	<i>Il.</i> 9.4-7, 16.765-69; <i>Geo.</i> 1.316-27, 3.470-71	1.82f., 10.356-59, 10.603-04, 10.763-67, 12.923
II.8	2.471-475	2.469-470	Pyrrhus compared to poisonous snake who has just shed his skin.	<i>Il.</i> 22.93-95; <i>Geo.</i> 2.153-54, 3.416-39	2.379-81, 5.84-93, 5.273-79
II.9	2.496-499	2.494-495	Pyrrhus' unstoppable attack is more powerful than a flood .	<i>Il.</i> 5.87-92, 4.452-455, 11.492-495, 13.137-142	2.304-08
II.10	2.516	2.515, 517	Hecuba and her daughters are clustered around the altar like doves in a storm.	<i>Il.</i> 21.493-95; <i>Eur. Andr.</i> 1140-41	5.213-17, 5.485-516, 6.190, 11.721-24, 12.473-78
II.11	2.626-631	2.624-625	Troy falling is compared to an old ash tree felled by farmers.	<i>Il.</i> 4.482-87, 5.560, 13.389-91, 16.482-84, 22.410-11; <i>Arg.</i> 4.1682-86; <i>Cat.</i> 64.105-09; <i>Geo.</i> 2.207-11	2.557-8, 4.669-71
II.12-13	2.794	2.793	Creusa's ghost is compared to wind and dream .	<i>Il.</i> 23.100; <i>Od.</i> 11.206-08; <i>Arg.</i> 4.877; <i>Geo.</i> 4.499-500	5.740, 6.702

Table 3: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book three

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
III.1-2	3.637	3.635-636	Achaemenides compares the Cyclops' eye to a Greek shield and the sun .	<i>Od.</i> 9.391-393	8.622-23, 8.424-53
III.3	3.679-681	3.677-679	Cyclopes look like oak or cypress trees in a holy grove of Jupiter or Diana.		9.674, 9.679-82, 10.763-67

Table 4: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book four

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
IV.1	4.69-73	4.68-69	Dido is compared to a deer wounded by a shepherd.	<i>Il.</i> 11.474-81, <i>Arg.</i> 2.278-83, 4.11-13; <i>Geo.</i> 3.368-75, 3.409-13	7.483-502, 12.749-57
IV.2	4.143-149	4.149-150	Aeneas is compared to Apollo .	<i>Il.</i> 1.45-46; <i>Arg.</i> 1.307-09, 3.1280-83	1.498-502
IV.3*	4.254-255	4.253-254, 256-258	Mercury dives in flight like a sea bird .	<i>Il.</i> 15.237-38; <i>Od.</i> 1.320, 5.51-53, 22.40; <i>Arg.</i> 4.966-67; <i>Geo.</i> 1.377	12.862-64
IV.4	4.301-303	4.300-301	Dido is compared to a maenad .	<i>Il.</i> 22.460-61; <i>Eur. Bacchae</i>	7.385-405, 4.469-73
IV.5	4.402-407	4.401	Trojans preparing to leave Carthage are likened to ants collecting and storing food.	<i>Il.</i> 2.469-71, 16.641-43; <i>Arg.</i> 4.1452-55; <i>Geo.</i> 1.185-186, 1.379-80, 2.60, 4.156-69; <i>Ennius sed. inc.</i> 502 (Skutsch)	1.430-36, 6.707-09, 12.587-92
IV.6	4.441-446	4.447-449	Aeneas is compared to a great oak tree weathering a storm.	<i>Il.</i> 12.132-34, 16.765-69; <i>Od.</i> 19-209-12; <i>Geo.</i> 2.291-92, <i>Arg.</i> 3.967-72; <i>Cat.</i> 64.105-09	
IV.7-8	4.469-473	4.465-68	Dido in her dream suffers like Pentheus or Orestes on the tragic stage.	<i>Il.</i> 1.29-43; <i>Eur. Bacchae</i> and <i>Aesch. Eumenides</i>	7.385-405, 4.301-03, 12.908-12
IV.9*	4.558	4.556-59	The apparition to Aeneas "seems like Mercury "	<i>Il.</i> 23.65-67, 24.347-48; <i>Od.</i> 2.268, 10.278-79, 24.503	4.254-55
IV.10	4.669-671	4.667-668	The mourning for Dido is as if Karthage or Tyre were being destroyed .	<i>Il.</i> 22.410-11	2.626-631, 7.501-502

Table 5: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book five

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
V.1	5.88-89	5.84-88	Snake's blue and gold flecked scales are compared to a rainbow .	<i>Il.</i> 11.26-28, 17.547-40; <i>Arg.</i> 4.123-30	2.379-81, 2.471-75, 4.700-02
V.2	5.144-147	5.139-143	Racing ships are compared to racing chariots .	<i>Il.</i> 15.679-684, 23.362-535; <i>Od.</i> 13.81-83; <i>Arg.</i> 1.1157-58; <i>Geo.</i> 1.512-14, 2.541-2, 3.103-112	8.690
V.3	5.213-217	5.218-219	Mnestheus' ship <i>Pristis</i> flies like a dove .	<i>Il.</i> 5.778, 21.493-95; <i>Od.</i> 13.86-87; <i>Arg.</i> 2.932-35	2.516, 5.485-516, 6.190, 11.721-24, 12.473-78
V.4-5*	5.242	5.241-43	Cloanthus' ship is faster than the wind or an arrow .	<i>Arg.</i> 2.598-600; <i>Geo.</i> 4.308-14	5.319, 5.527-28, 8.223, 10.248, 12.84, 12.733, 12.856-59
V.6*	5.254	5.252-54	Woven Ganymede appears like a breathing person .	<i>Arg.</i> 1.739	7.502, 8.649, 12.754
V.7	5.273-279	5.280-81	Sergestus' damaged ship is compared to a snake run over by a chariot.	<i>Il.</i> 23.532-33; <i>Arg.</i> 1541-45; <i>Geo.</i> 2.153-54, 3.416-39, 4.458-49	2.379-81, 2.471-75, 5.84-93
V.8	5.317	5.315-316	Runners starting race are compared to a cloud .	<i>Il.</i> 23.366	7.793, 12.451-55
V.9-10*	5.319	5.318	Nisus is faster than the wind or lightning .		5.242, 6.590, 8.223, 8.391-92, 9.706, 11.616, 12.84, 12.733, 12.921-23
V.11	5.439-440	5.441-442	Dares attacking Entellus is compared to someone besieging a city or mountain fort .	<i>Il.</i> 18.509-22; <i>Arg.</i> 2.79-85	Books 2 and 12

Table continues on following page.

Table 5: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book five, cont'd.

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
V.12	5.448-449	5.446-448	Entellus falling down is compared to a pine tree falling on Erymanthus or Ida.	<i>Il.</i> 5.560, 13.178-80, 13.389-91, 14.414-17, 16.482-84, 23.692-95; <i>Arg.</i> 4.1682-86; <i>Cat.</i> 64.105-11	9.674
V.13	5.458-459	5.459-460	Entellus' flurry of blows on Dares is compared to hail .	<i>Il.</i> 15-170-71; <i>Arg.</i> 2.1083-89; <i>Geo.</i> 1.448-49, 4.67-85	9.668-71
V.14	5.527-528	5.525-527	Acestes' arrow is like a comet .	<i>Il.</i> 4.75-77; <i>Arg.</i> 3.141, 3.1377-79	5.242, 10.248, 10.272-75, 12.856-59
V.15-16	5.588-591	5.592-593	The <i>Ludus Troiae</i> is compared to the Labyrinth .	<i>Il.</i> 18.590-606; <i>Cat.</i> 64	6.24-30
	5.594-595	5.592-593	...and to dolphins swimming.	<i>Arg.</i> 4.933-36	8.673, 9.117-22
V.17	5.740	5.740	Dream of Anchises flees Aeneas like smoke .	<i>Il.</i> 23.100; <i>Od.</i> 11.206-08; <i>Arg.</i> 4.877; <i>Geo.</i> 4.499-500	2.794, 6.702

Table 6: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book six

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
VI.1	6.205-207	6.208-209	Golden bough is compared to mistletoe .	<i>Arg.</i> 4.167-73; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 4.727	
VI.2	6.270-272	6.268-269	Road to Hades is compared to a forest path on a dark night.		4.465-73, 6.185-204, 6.453-54
VI.3-4	6.309-310	6.305-308	Waiting souls compared to fallen leaves .	<i>Il.</i> 2.468, 6.146-48; <i>Od.</i> 9.51-52; <i>Arg.</i> 4.216-19; <i>Geo.</i> 4.471-77; <i>Bacchyl. Ep.</i> 5.63-67	4.443-44
	6.310-312	6.305-308	...then to migrating birds .	<i>Il.</i> 3.2-7; <i>Soph. OT</i> 174-77, <i>Arg.</i> 4.239-40; <i>Geo.</i> 1.374-75, 4.471-77	
VI.5	6.453-454	6.451-453	Aeneas sees Dido like viewing a new moon through clouds.	<i>Il.</i> 19.374; <i>Arg.</i> 4.1479-80	Diana; 1.490, 2.255, 3.152, 4.81, 4.513, 6.270-72, 7.8-9, 8.22-25 11.663
VI.6	6.471	6.470	Dido is no more moved than if she were stone .	<i>Il.</i> 16.33-35; <i>Od.</i> 19.209-12; <i>Eur. Med.</i> 28-33	4.366-367, 4.441-6
VI.7	6.522	6.520-22	Deiphobus compares his sleep on the final night of Troy to a peaceful death .	<i>Od.</i> 13.79-80	
VI.8*	6.577-579	6.577-79	Tartarus stretches down as much as Olympus does up.	<i>Il.</i> 8.16; <i>Geo.</i> 2.291-92	4.441-46
VI.9-10	6.702	6.700-701	Anchises' spirit is compared to wind and dream .	<i>Il.</i> 23.100; <i>Od.</i> 11.206-08; <i>Arg.</i> 4.877; <i>Geo.</i> 4.499-500	2.793-94, 5.740
VI.11	6.707-709	6.706	Souls are compared to bees .	<i>Il.</i> 2.87-90; <i>Arg.</i> 1.879-82; <i>Geo.</i> 4.162-9	1.430-36, 4.402-07, 7.59-67, 12.587-92
VI.12	6.784-787	6.781-784	Walled and towered Rome is compared to Cybele .	<i>Cat.</i> 63; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 2.606-80	2.788, 3.111-13, 9.80-122, 10.249-55
VI.13*	6.801-05	6.791-800	Caesar's rule is greater than Hercules '.		8.184-279, 8.714-28

Table 7: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book seven

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
VII.1	7.378-383	7.383-384	Amata under Allecto's influence is compared to a top .	<i>Il.</i> 14.413; <i>Callim. Epigr.</i> 1.9-10	
VII.2	7.462-466	7.460-462	Turnus enflamed by Allecto is compared to piling up a fire under a boiling cauldron .	<i>Il.</i> 21.361-67; <i>Od.</i> 12.237-38; <i>Arg.</i> 3.291-92; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 3.294-98	2.759, 12.592
VII.3*	7.502	7.501-02	Silvia's stag compared to imploring person .		2.679, 5.254, 8.649, 12.754
VII.4	7.528-530	7.526-527	Ranks of soldiers with glittering weapons compared to surf .	<i>Il.</i> 4.422-26, 13.795-99; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 2.766-67; <i>Geo.</i> 3.237-41	1.106-12, 1.148-53, 7.586-90
VII.5	7.586-590	7.585	Latinus stands firm like a rock in the surf .	<i>Il.</i> 9.4-7, 15.618-621, 17.747-51; <i>Od.</i> 17.463; <i>Arg.</i> 4.214-15	1.106-12, 1.148-53, 7.528-30, 10.693-96, 11.624-28
VII.6	7.674-677	7.670-673	Catillus and Coras compared to two centaurs galloping down a mountain.		1.316-17, 4.301-03, 4.469-73, 6.282-89, 10.565-68, 10.763-67, 11.659-63
VII.7	7.699-702, 704-705	7.698, 703-704	Latins compared to swans in two ways.	<i>Il.</i> 2.459-63, 3.2-7; <i>Arg.</i> 4.1300-02	9.563-64, 10.264-66, 11.456-58, 11.578-80
VII.8-9	7.718-721	7.710-717	Claudius' Latin troops compared in number to Libyan sands or ears of grain .	<i>Il.</i> 2.147-48; <i>Arg.</i> 4.214-15; <i>Geo.</i> 2.105-08	

Table 8: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book eight

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
VIII.1	8.22-25	8.18-21	Aeneas' thoughts compared to sun or moon reflected in water in a kettle.	<i>Od.</i> 12.237-38; <i>Arg.</i> 3.756-59	7.462-66, 8.88-89
VIII.2*	8.88-89	8.86-87, 89	Tiber is as smooth as a swamp .		1.148-53, 7.699-702, 8.22-25
VIII.3*	8.223	8.223	Cacus flees more swiftly than Eurus .		5.242, 5.319, 12.733
VIII.4	8.243-246	8.241-242	Hercules breaching Cacus' cave compared to Hades burst open .	<i>Il.</i> 20.61-66	Visit to Hades, book 6; 6.801-05
VIII.5	8.391-392	8.388-390	Desire shoots through Vulcan like lightning .	<i>Il.</i> 14.294-96; Lucr. <i>DRN</i> 1.31-40, 6.282-84	5.319, 8.426-32, 9.706
VIII.6	8.408-413	8.414-415	Vulcan gets up and starts work like a diligent woman .	<i>Il.</i> 12.433-35; <i>Arg.</i> 3.291-95, 4.1062-65	
VIII.7	8.589-591	8.587-588	Pallas rides out like Lucifer .	<i>Il.</i> 5.5-6, 11.62-63, 22.26-31, 22.317-18; <i>Od.</i> 13.93-94; <i>Arg.</i> 2.40-42	2.801
VIII.8	8.622-623	8.617-622	Aeneas' new armor compared to a cloud shining in the sun .	<i>Arg.</i> 4.125-26	1.411-14
VIII.9*	8.649	8.646-48	Porsenna compared to someone indignant or threatening .		5.254, 7.502, 12.754

Table 9: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book nine

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
IX.1	9.30-32	9.25-28	Rutulian soldiers approaching Trojan camp compared to Nile or Ganges .	<i>Geo.</i> 3.26-29	6.800, 8.711
IX.2	9.59-64	9.65-66	Turnus compared to wolf prowling outside sheepfold .	<i>Il.</i> 11.548-55, 16.156-63; <i>Od.</i> 6.130-34; <i>Arg.</i> 1.1243-47; <i>Geo.</i> 3.537-39	2.355-58, 9.565-66, 11.809-13
IX.3	9.119	9.117-122	Ships turning into nymphs compared to dolphins .	<i>Arg.</i> 4.933-36	5.594-95, 8.673, 10.221-50
IX.4	9.339-341	9.334-338, 342	Nisus killing compared to a lion .	<i>Il.</i> 10.485-86, 16.352-55; <i>Od.</i> 6.130-34; <i>Arg.</i> 1.1243-47, 2.123-28, 4.486-87	9.59-64, 10.723-28
IX.5	9.435-437	9.433-434	Decapitated Euryalus compared to flowers .	<i>Il.</i> 8.306-08, 17.53-58; <i>Arg.</i> 3.1399-1403; <i>Cat.</i> 11.22-24, 62.39-47	11.68-71
IX.6	9.551-553	9.549-550, 554-555	Trojan Helenor, surrounded by Latins, fights like a wild animal surrounded by hunters .	<i>Il.</i> 12.41-48, 12.299-306, 20.164-73; <i>Arg.</i> 2.26-29	7.489, 10.707-18
IX.7-8	9.563-564	9.561-562	Turnus kills Lycus like an eagle snatching a rabbit or swan	<i>Il.</i> 15.690-92, 17.674-78, 22.308-10; <i>Arg.</i> 4.485-86	5.254-55, 11.578-80, 11.721-24
	9.565-566	9.561-562	...or a wolf taking a lamb from its mother .	<i>Il.</i> 16.156-63, 16.352-55; <i>Od.</i> 4.335-39, 17.126-30; <i>Arg.</i> 2.123-28, 4.486-87	2.355-58, 9.565-66, 11.809-13

Table continues on following page.

Table 9: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book nine, cont'd.

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
IX.9-10*	9.668-671	9.667	Projectile weapons as numerous as rain or hail in Jove's winter storm.	<i>Il.</i> 10.5-8, 12.156-58, 12.278-80; <i>Arg.</i> 2.1083-87; <i>Geo.</i> 4.78-81; <i>Hor. Ode</i> 3.1.25-32	5.458-59, 10-803-08
IX.11	9.674	9.674	Pandarus and Bitias are large as pin es and/on mountains.	<i>Il.</i> 12.132-34, 5.560; <i>Od.</i> 9.190-92, 10.113	2.15, 4.441-46, 9.85-89, 9.677-78, 9.706, 12.701-03
IX.12	9.679-682	9.677-678	Pandarus and Bitias compared to lofty twin oaks on bank of Po, Adige or Livenza.	<i>Il.</i> 12.132-34, 5.560; <i>Arg.</i> 3.968-71	3.679-81, 4.441-46, 9.674, 9.706
IX.13	9.706	9.705	Heavy bolt that kills Bitias is like lightning.	<i>Il.</i> 14.414-17	8.391-92, 11.616, 12.921-23
IX.14	9.710-716	9.708-709	Bitias' fall crashes like hurling masonry into the sea at Baiae to make foundations.	<i>Il.</i> 2.781-83, 4.462, 23.712-13; <i>Od.</i> 15.479; <i>Geo.</i> 2.161; <i>Hor. Ode</i> 3.1.33-34	2.626-31
IX.15	9.730	9.727-729	Turnus shut in camp is like a tiger among (sheep).	<i>Il.</i> 17.20; <i>Od.</i> 4.457; <i>Arg.</i> 2.123-28; <i>Geo.</i> 4.407	4.367, 6.805, 9.59-64, 9.565-66, 9.792-96, 11.577
IX.16	9.792-796	9.791-792, 797-798	Turnus retreats before Trojans like a lion before a crowd of people.	<i>Il.</i> 5.136-142, 11.548-55, 17.109-12, 17.657-64; <i>Arg.</i> 2.26-29	12.4-8

Table 10: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book ten

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
X.1	10.97-99	10.96-97	Gods whisper after Juno's speech like wind rustling in the woods, noticed by sailors.	<i>Il.</i> 7.4-6, 16.765-69; <i>Arg.</i> 3.1328-29; <i>Geo.</i> 1.356, 4.260-63	
X.2-3	10.134-137	10.132-133, 137-138	Ascanius compared to jewel in gold setting or ivory inset with dark wood.	<i>Il.</i> 2.867-75, 4.141-45; <i>Od.</i> 6.232-234, 23.159-161; <i>Geo.</i> 3.26-29	1.592-93, 12.67-68
X.4-5*	10.248	10.247	Cymodocea swims/speeds Aeneas' boat, faster than javelin or wind-like arrow	<i>Arg.</i> 2.598-600; <i>Geo.</i> 4.308-14	5.319, 5.527-28, 5.242-43, 8.223, 9.119, 12.733, 12.856-59
X.6	10.264-266	10.262-264	Trojans shout like cranes flying south.	<i>Il.</i> 2.459-63, 3.2-7; <i>Arg.</i> 4.1300-02; <i>Geo.</i> 3.120	7.699-702, 7.704-05, 9.563-64, 11.456-58, 11.578-80
X.7-8	10.272-275	10.270-271	Aeneas in his armor compared to comet or Sirius.	<i>Il.</i> 4.75-77, 5.5-6, 11.62-63, 22.26-31; <i>Arg.</i> 3.956-59, 3.1377-79; <i>Geo.</i> 1.488, 4.425-28	2.692-98, 8.680-681, 10.763-67
X.9	10.356-359	10.360-361	Battle in stalemate like the clouds and sea when winds battle.	<i>Il.</i> 11.297-98, 11.305-08, 16.765-69; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 6.96-101	2.416-19, 10.602-04, 10.762-63, 12.923-25
X.10	10.405-409	10.410-411	Pallas watches his men's deeds like a shepherd watching small fires he's started join into a roaring blaze.	<i>Il.</i> 11.155-57, 13.492-94, 15.605-06, 20.490-92; <i>Arg.</i> 1.1027-28; <i>Geo.</i> 1.84-93, 2.303-10	9.801, 12.587-92
X.11	10.454-456	10.453-454, 456	Turnus attacks Pallas like a lion attacking a bull.	<i>Il.</i> 3.23-26, 5.161-62, 15.630-36, 16.487-89; <i>Geo.</i> 3.224-36	9.792-96, 12.4-8, 12.103-06, 12.715-22

Table continues on following page.

Table 10: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book ten, cont'd.

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
X.12	10.565-568	10.569-570	Aeneas compared to Aegaeon fighting Jove.	<i>Il.</i> 1.401-06	1.316-17, 4.301-03, 4.469-73, 6.282-89, 7.674-77, 10.763-67, 11.659-63
X.13-14	10.603-604	10.602-603	Aeneas compared to torrent of water or black whirlwind.	<i>Il.</i> 11.747, 12.40	2.416-19, 10.356-59, 10.762-63, 12.923-25
X.15-16	10.641-642	10.636-640	Juno's fake Aeneas is like ghosts and dreams.	<i>Il.</i> 5.449; <i>Arg.</i> 4.1280-81	2.268-97, 2.794, 5.740, 6.702, 12.908-12
X.17	10.693-696	10.692-693, 696-97	Mezentius compared to rock beaten by wind and wave in vain.	<i>Il.</i> 9.4-7, 15.618-621, 17.747-51; <i>Od.</i> 17.463; <i>Arg.</i> 3.1294-95	1.106-12, 1.148-53, 7.586-90, 11.624-28
X.18	10.707-718	10.714-716	Mezentius like boar trapped by hunting dogs.	<i>Il.</i> 11.414-18, 12.41-48, 12.146-50, 13.471-75, 17.281-83, 17.725-29	12.749-57
X.20	10.723-728	10.729	Mezentius attacks Acron like a hungry lion attacking goat/deer.	<i>Il.</i> 3.23-26, 11.113-19, 12.299-306; <i>Od.</i> 6.130-134, 22.402-405	9.792-96, 10.454-56, 12.4-8
X.21	10.763-767	10.768	Mezentius is compared to giant Orion walking through a lake or carrying an uprooted ash tree.	<i>Il.</i> 7.208-13; <i>Od.</i> 11.572-75; <i>Theocr.</i> 7.52-54	4.177, 3.664-65, 3.679-81, 10.272-75, 10.565-68
X.22	10.803-808	10.808-810	Aeneas shelters from Mezentius' allies' thrown weapons like a plowman, farmer or traveler sheltering from hail and rain.	<i>Il.</i> 10.5-8, 12.156-58, 12.278-80; <i>Arg.</i> 2.1083-87; <i>Geo.</i> 1.316-34, 4.78-81; <i>Hor. Ode</i> 3.1.25-32	5.458-59, 6.270-72, 9.668-71, 12.451-55

Table 11: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book eleven

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
XI.1	11.68-71	11.67	Pallas' corpse on bier compared to plucked flowers .	<i>Il.</i> 8.306-08, 17.53-58; <i>Arg.</i> 3.1399-1403; <i>Cat.</i> 11.22-24, 62.39-47; <i>Ecl.</i> 6.53	9.435-37
XI.2	11.297-299	11.296-297	Latins murmuring compared to rivers gurgling over rocks.		10.97-99
XI.3-4	11.456-458	11.454-455	Latin uproar compared to flock of birds landing in a wood and to swans at the mouth of the Po.	<i>Il.</i> 2.459-63, 3.2-7; <i>Arg.</i> 4.1300-02	7.699-702, 7.704-05, 9.563-64, 10.264-66, 11.578-80
XI.5	11.492-497	11.490-491	Turnus is compared to an escaped horse .	<i>Il.</i> 6.506-11, 15.263-68, 22.22-23, 22.162-64, 23.362-533; <i>Od.</i> 13.81-83; <i>Arg.</i> 3.1259-61; <i>Enn. Ann. sed. inc.</i> 535-39 (Skutsch); <i>Geo.</i> 3.81, 187-204	2.13-20
XI.6-7	11.616	11.615, 617	Aconteus falls from horse like lightning or a projectile from a catapult .	<i>Il.</i> 12.385, 16.742	9.706, 12.921-23
XI.8	11.624-628	11.629-630	Latins and Rutulians pushed back to the walls like surf crashing against the shore and receding .	<i>Il.</i> 9.4-7, 14.394-95, 15.618-621, 17.747-51; <i>Arg.</i> 4.214-15	1.106-12, 1.148-53, 7.528-30, 7.586-90, 10.693-96
XI.9*	11.659-663	11.655-658	Camilla and her companions are like Amazons, Hippolyte or Penthesilea .	<i>Il.</i> 3.189; <i>Od.</i> 6.102-04, 7.18-20; <i>Arg.</i> 2.966-1000	1.316-17

Table continues on following page.

Table 11: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book eleven, cont'd.

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
XI.10	11.721-724	11.718-720	Camilla kills like a hawk ripping a dove .	<i>Il.</i> 13.62-64, 16.582-83, 17.460, 17.755-57, 21.493-95, 22.139-42; <i>Od.</i> 15.525-28; <i>Arg.</i> 1.1049-50; <i>Eur. Andr.</i> 1140-41; <i>Hor. Odes</i> 1.37.17-20	2.516, 5.213-17, 5.485-516, 6.190, 11.751-56, 12.473-78
XI.11	11.751-756	11.757-758	Tarchon carries Venulus away like an eagle carrying off a snake	<i>Il.</i> 12.200-07	11.721-24, 12.247-56
XI.12	11.809-813	11.814-815	Arruns turns tail after killing Camilla like a wolf who has killed a herdsman .	<i>Il.</i> 15.586-88	9.59-64, 9.565-66, 2.355-58

Table 12: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book twelve

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
XII.1	12.4-8	12.9	Turnus is like a wounded, fighting lion .	<i>Il.</i> 5.136-142, 12.41-48, 16.752-53, 20.164-173; <i>Arg.</i> 2.26-29	9.792-96, 10.454-56, 9.339-41, 10.723-28
XII.2-3	12.67-69	12.69	Lavinia's blush compared to dyeing ivory or roses mixed with lilies .	<i>Il.</i> 2.867-75, 4.141-45; <i>Od.</i> 6.232-234, 23.159-161; <i>Geo.</i> 3.26-29	1.592-93, 10.134-37
XII.3*-4*	12.84	12.81-82	Turnus' horses are whiter than snow and swifter than the wind .	<i>Il.</i> 2.764, 10.437; <i>Geo.</i> 3.196-201	3.537-38, 5.242, 5.319, 11.492-97
XII.5	12.103-106	12.101-102	Turnus compared to a bull in training.	<i>Eur. Bacch.</i> 743; <i>Arg.</i> 2.88-89, 3.1289-92; <i>Geo.</i> 3.232-234; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 3.302-07	2.223-24, 12.715-22
XII.6	12.331-336	12.337-340	Turnus rides into the fray like Mars .	<i>Il.</i> 4.439-45, 7.208-10, 13.298-303, 15.605-06	4.143-49, 8.700-03
XII.7	12.365-367	12.368-370	Turnus cuts through enemies like the north wind pushing waves .	<i>Il.</i> 4.422-426, 11.305-308, 13.795-799; <i>Arg.</i> 3.1359-62; <i>Geo.</i> 3.196-201	4.442, 7.586-90, 12.84, 12.451-55
XII.8	12.451-455	12.456-458	Aeneas enters the fray like a stormcloud foreboding to farmers.	<i>Il.</i> 4.275-79, 13.795-99; <i>Arg.</i> 3.1399-1402; <i>Geo.</i> 1.316-34	10.803-08, 12.367
XII.9	12.473-477	12.477-480	Juturna drives Turnus' chariot like a swift seeking food in a palace.	<i>Il.</i> 8.271-72, 9.323-24; <i>Od.</i> 22.239-40; <i>Theocr.</i> 14.39-40; <i>Geo.</i> 2.207-11, 4.17, 4.511-15	5.213-17, 11.721-24, 12.862-64
XII.10-11	12.521-522	12.525-528	Aeneas and Turnus rush through battle no more lazily than forest fires .	<i>Il.</i> 11.155-57, 20.490-92, 15.605-06; <i>Arg.</i> 1.1027-28; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 6.152-55	2.304-08, 10.405-09
	12.523-525	12.525-528	...or torrential rivers .	<i>Il.</i> 4.452-55, 11.492-95, 16.384-92; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 1.283-86	2.304-08, 2.496-99

Table continues on following page.

Table 12: Similes of the *Aeneid*, book twelve, cont'd.

Simile Identifier	Line #s: Vehicle	Line #s: Tenor	Content	External Connections	Internal Connections
XII.12	12.587-592	12.573-586	Aeneas attacks Latins with fire like a shepherd smoking out bees .	<i>Il.</i> 2.87-90, 12.167-70, 16.259-65; <i>Arg.</i> 2.130-36; <i>Geo.</i> 4.42-44, 4.228-38	1.430-36, 6.707-09, 7.59-67
XII.13	12.684-689	12.689-692	Turnus returns to the walls on foot like a falling boulder .	<i>Il.</i> 13.137-42	2.15, 10.693-96, 12.701-03, 12.896-902
XII.14	12.701-703	12.697-700	Aeneas is big as a mountain .	<i>Il.</i> 13.754; <i>Od.</i> 9.190-92, 10.113	2.15, 10.693-96, 12.684-89
XII.15	12.715-722	12.723-724	Aeneas and Turnus like two bulls battling.	<i>Il.</i> 16.823-26; <i>Eur. Trach.</i> 507-30; <i>Arg.</i> 2.88-89; <i>Geo.</i> 2.38, 3.215-23	5.472-84, 12.103-06
XII.16	12.733	12.733	Turnus flees more swiftly than the wind .		5.242, 5.319, 8.223
XII.17	12.749-12.757	12.746-748, 758-759	Aeneas chases Turnus like a hunting dog chasing a stag .	<i>Il.</i> 22.189-192, 8.338-340, 10.360-362; <i>Arg.</i> 2.278-81, 4.12-13; <i>Geo.</i> 3.368-75, 3.411-13	4.69-73, 10.707-18
XII.18*	12.754	12.755	Hunting dog (in simile) is as if catching its prey.		5.254, 7.502, 8.649
XII.19	12.856-859	12.860	Dira flies down to earth like a Parthian's poison arrow .	<i>Il.</i> 15.170-71; <i>Geo.</i> 3.31-32, 4.313-314	5.527-28, 10.247-48
XII.20	12.908-912	12.903-907, 913-914	Turnus' inability to hit Aeneas with rock like incapacitation in dreams .	<i>Il.</i> 22.199-200; <i>Arg.</i> 3.446-47; <i>Lucr. DRN</i> 4.453-61	4.465-73, 12.684-89, 12.749-57
XII.21-22	12.921-923	12.919-921	Aeneas' spear is louder than a catapult or lightning .	<i>Il.</i> 14.414-17	8.391-92, 9.706, 11.616
XII.23	12.923	12.923	Aeneas' spear like a whirlwind .	<i>Geo.</i> 3.470-71	10.602-04, 10.762-63, 11.742

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