BOOK VIII OF VIRGIL'S AENEID WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ECPHRASIS

by

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ABSTRACT

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The thesis is concerned with the use of ecphrasis in the eighth book of Virgil's Aeneid. It is focused primarily upon the description of the shield of Aeneas (Aeneid VIII, 630-728). My intention is to examine Virgil's use of an existing poetic form, ecphrasis, and to evaluate, by means of comparative literary analysis, his achievement. I commence with the assumption that Virgil's consummate artistry enables him to perfect the rhetorical device of ecphrasis, the first appearance of which, in classical literature, is in Homer's Iliad, XVIII, 483-607, the shield of Achilles. The results of my investigations do not, I think, disappoint this assumption.

Because my approach to the problem of evaluating the success of Virgil's use of ecphrasis is comparative, I pursue four separate but interrelated methods of inquiry in the various chapters of the thesis. Firstly, the description of the shield of Aeneas is placed within the context of Book VIII as a whole and a strong argument is

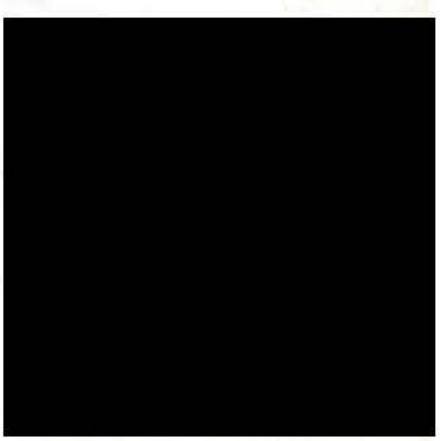
constructed for the interpretation of the Cacus episode (Aeneid VIII, 184-279) as a passage which is both preparatory and complementary to this description. Secondly, I relate the climactic ecphrasis of book VIII to other examples of the use of this device in the Aeneid, and demonstrate, by argument and illustration, its superiority over them. Thirdly, the thesis follows the method of comparative analysis through the juxtaposition of Aeneid VIII, 630-728, with Homer's Iliad XVIII, 483-607, with the Pseudo-Hesiodic Shield of Herakles, and with Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica, I, 721-767. Fourthly, the connexions between Aeneid VI, 756-886, and Iliad XVIII, 675-728 are explored in order to explain more fully Virgil's intentions in the shield ecphrasis. In addition, brief appendices are supplied to suggest the general lines along which ecphrasis developed after Virgil both in Roman and in English literature. Passages from Ovid, Claudian, Spenser, Nashe, and Milton are included without comment, with the exception of Milton.

The thesis begins with a general definition of ecphrasis based upon relevant passages in J. F. D'Alton's Roman Literary Theory and Criticism and Gordon Williams' Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry. It differentiates between thematic and ornamental ecphrasis in the Aeneid by means of a discussion of Aeneid V, 249-257.

In chapter II a brief comparative study of Apollonius Rhodius' Argonautica I, 721-767 and Aeneid I, 453-493 and VIII, 608-731 supplies further evidence for the necessity for the distinction between the two kinds of ecphrasis in classical poetry. Chapter III approaches the problem of the importance of the Cacus episode to book VIII, and especially to the shield description. The relationship between the Cacus passage and Homer's Odyssey is examined and Virgil's use of aetiological themes is discussed with reference to Callimachus, Propertius, Ovid, Juvenal, and Servius. Chapter IV examines some of the connexions between Aeneid VI, 756-886 and VIII, 675-728. The writings of Otis, Pöschl, Galinsky, Quinn, and Putnam on this subject are briefly evaluated. Chapter V is concerned with the relationship of Virgil's Aeneid to Homer's Iliad, with particular reference to the comparison of the ecphrases in Aeneid VIII and Iliad XVIII. Arguments are given to support the conclusion that Virgil's use of ecphrasis in the eighth Aeneid is more thematic than is Homer's in the eighteenth Iliad. Chapter VI evaluates the success of the composer of the Shield of Herakles and maintains the method of comparative analysis which informs the thesis as a whole. Its fundamental importance to the subject of the thesis is that it supplies an extended example of

bad poetry and of mishandled ecphrasis. Virgil's achievement thus is given greater perspective when his readers become cognizant of the difficulties inherent in ecphrastic poetry which he avoided, but which Pseudo-Hesiod did not. Chapter VII analyses in detail Aeneid VIII, 630-728 and is meant both to build upon and to complete the discussions of the preceeding chapters. A political interpretation is given to this supreme example of thematic ecphrasis.

The general conclusions of the thesis are twofold: that Virgil did indeed surpass the achievements of his predecessors in the use of ecphrasis in epic poetry, and that he was able to transform what was, before him, essentially a stylized set piece necessary for the fulfillment of the conventions of epic poetry into a vehicle not merely of great beauty but of subtle political comment as well.



When Christe said, the kingdom of heaven must suffer violence, hee meant not the violence of long babbling praiers, not the violence of tedious invective sermons without wit, but the violence of faith, the violence of good works, the violence of patient suffering. The ignorant snatch the kingdome of heaven to themselves with greediness, when we with all our learning sinke into hell.

Thomas Nashe (The Unfortunate Traveller)

Unless otherwise stated, all references to Virgil are to the edition of R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969).

For Professor H.H. Huxley

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I. Introduction: thematic and ornamental ecphrasis.

> It (the digression) had its place in the technique of the Epic poet, and was beloved by the orator. The latter's digressions were required to have some bearing on the cause that he pleaded, and should not be so long drawn out as to break the main thread of his speech. Though the historians were fond of having recourse to what Livy styles "diverticula amoena", they did not all employ them with the same artistry. The digression often took the form of a description (ecphrasis). Here again the historian could learn something from the practice of the Epic poet, as well as from that of the orator, who was able to expend all his art of such descriptions. The ecphrasis was, in fact, preeminently suited to the genius of the rhetorical historian. The later authors, in particular, gave minute instructions regarding its scope and treatment. The style should be in harmony with the subject dealt with, and should above all exhibit the qualities of clearness and vividness. An abundant variety of topics lay ready to hand. The history and character of cities, countries, and peoples, were favourite subjects with historians, as they could be treated with a wealth of geographical or ethnographical detail, and offered the fullest scope for a writer's descriptive powers. Again, battle scenes, the deaths of famous leaders, the siege and capture of cities, the sufferings of the vanquished, could be painted either in glorious or tragic colours as the occasion demanded. Many found material for the ecphrasis in dreams, portents, and the marvels of nature generally.[1]

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[1] J. F. D'Alton, Roman Literary Theory and Criticism, New York, Russell, 1962, pps. 506-508.

In epic poetry ecphrasis is the stylized description of a work of art. The first example of this epic convention is in Homer's Iliad, book XVIII, 483-607--the shield of Achilles. Poetic ecphrasis may be classified as either ornamental or thematic, according to the degree to which the details of the set piece are integrated into the work as a whole.

It is necessary in a discussion of the use of ecphrasis in book VIII of the Aeneid to ask oneself the questions (a) is the subject matter of the description related to the main theme of the poem? (b) are the individual 'pictures' of the shield, or cloak, or temple wall, and so on, related to one another? For an example of ecphrasis fully to have realized its possibilities it must, I contend, be integrated into the poem as a whole, and its allusions must themselves be meaningful, and not simply ornamental. Gordon Williams makes the distinction between decorative and 'thematic' ecphrasis in Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry[2], in his discussion of the pictures on Dido's temple (Aeneid I, 450-493):

> ...the description itself is integral with the main theme of the poem because of its subject-matter and because of the relationship of the pictures to one another. In this respect it is comparable with the description of Aeneas' shield at the end of Book VIII, and quite different

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[2]p. 148

> from a simple decorative ecphrasis like
> the pictures of Ganymede on the cloak
> in Aeneid V 252f.

The 'decorative ecphrasis' to which Williams alludes is worth quoting in its entirety since it contains many of the elements which characterize the description of Aeneas' shield in Book VIII, but, taken as a whole, it has no great significance for the themes of Aeneid (Aeneid V 249-257):

> ipsis praecipuos ductoribus addit honores:
> uictori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima
> circum
> purpura maeandro duplici Meliboea cucurrit,
> intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida
> uelocis iaculo ceruos cursusque fatigat
> acer, anhelanti similis, quem praepes
> ab Ida
> sublimem pedibus rapuit Iouis armiger
> uncis;
> longaeui palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt
> custodes, saevitque canum latratus in auras.

The setting is that of the 'Trojan Games', initiated by Aeneas at Eryx, a mountain and city on the Western tip of Sicily, in honour of his father Anchises, whose death at nearby Drepanum is narrated in Aeneid III, 707-715. The golden cloak with its pictures of the rape of Ganymede is Aeneas' present to the victorious captain in the boat-race, Cloanthus. The Trojan Games are clearly meant to recall Achilles' Games in Iliad XXIII, and their most obvious function is to allow the listener to relax after the Sophoclean intensity of Book IV, and to pick up the threads of the narrative which have been wonderfully interrupted

by the Tragedy of Dido. They do, in addition, have the emotional attraction of their prefiguration of the Games held under Augustus, but there is little of the nostalgia which surrounds the aetiological theme of Hercules in Book VIII and of the foundation of his cult on the future site of Rome. As J. F. D'Alton remarks in Roman Literary Theory and Criticism[3],

> The ecphrasis could be made the vehicle of lofty poetry, or be made to serve merely for rhetorical display.

In Book V Virgil has the opportunity to compete directly for 440 lines (Aeneid V, 104-544) with the Iliad, Book XXIII. At the same time the Lusus Troiae connect the legendary past to the Rome of Virgil's acquaintance and so re-inforce the link between the people of Augustan Rome and those of the ancient citadel of Troy. But in spite of the many similarities between the two books[4], the only appearances of Ganymede, whose abduction is the subject of the 'simple decorative ecphrasis'[5] at Aeneid V 249-257, in the Iliad are at V 265-273 and XX 232-235. Of these two the latter is a

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[3]p. 460

[4]Homer's chariot race closely parallels Virgil's boat race, Menelaos complains of foul play at Iliad XXIII, 566, as does Salius at Aeneid V, 340, both Aeneas and Achilles call a halt to contests in order to avoid death or injury to a hero, etc.

[5]Gordon Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, p. 148.

detail in a speech, interestingly, of Aeneas to Achilles in which he boasts his noble lineage before doing battle. Similarly, the first mention of Ganymede in the Iliad occurs in a speech of Diomedes, the subject of which is the lineage of the horses of Aeneas (Iliad V, 264-273):

> remember to make a dash against the horses
> of Aineias,
> and drive them away from the Trojans among
> the strong-greaved Achaians.
> These are of that strain which Zeus of the
> wide brows granted
> once to Tros, recompense for his son Gany-
> medes, and therefore
> are the finest of all horses beneath the
> sun and the daybreak;
> and the lord of men Anchises stole horses
> from this breed,
> without the knowledge of Laomedon putting
> mares under them.
> From these there was bred for him a string
> of six in his great house.
> Four of these, keeping them himself, he
> raised at his mangers,
> but these two he gave to Aineias, two
> horses urgent of terror.[6]

But both of these passages are of a strictly narrative nature, and are linked to the Aeneid only through the names of Ganymede, Anchises, and Aeneas. In short there is no Iliadic prefiguration or exemplum upon which Virgil built the ecphrasis of Book V, as is the case with the 'thematic

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[6] Richmond Lattimore, The Iliad of Homer, p. 135.

ecphrasis' in Book I and in Book VIII.[7] The description of the designs on the cloak awarded to Cloanthus is animated ('anhelanti similis') and pictorial ('intextusque puer frondosa regius Ida/ uelocis iaculo ceruos cursusque fatigat/ acer') but has no great significance for the rest of Book V or for the Aeneid as a whole.[8]

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[7]It is clear that Virgil generally employs the device of ecphrasis either at moments of great dramatic intensity, when the listener is aware of the ramifications of the designs on the shield of Aeneas or of the pictures of Dido's temple, or, conversely, strictly for ornamentation. Interestingly, there is one cloak which has great significance for the hero and which is scarcely described at all--the cloak given to him by Dido (mentioned at Book IV, 261-264, and recalled at XI, 67-78, the funeral of Pallas).

[8]Although his abduction by Jupiter and his replacement of Hebe as cupbearer was one of the reasons for the anger of Juno (Aeneid I, 28), et genus inuisum et rapti Ganymedis honores

II. A brief comparative study of ecphrasis in Apollonius Rhodius and Virgil

Although it is beyond dispute that Homer's influence upon the Aeneid is the most profound, that of Greek Tragedy and of Apollonius Rhodius' epic can be easily discerned. R. D. Williams comments on the major sources of the Aeneid[1]:

> Homer was by far the most important literary influence on Virgil, but there were others of great importance. The tragedies of fifth-century Athens deeply influenced Virgil's account of the fall of Troy, and especially of the fate of Dido and of Turnus. Apollonius of Rhodius had shown how a love-motif, sensitively and intensely presented as in lyric or elegy, could be incorporated into epic, and Virgil's fourth Aeneid owes (for all its differences) a good deal to him.

It is relevant, therefore, to discuss an example of ecphrasis in Apollonius, a poet whom Virgil obviously knew very well indeed, and to compare its effectiveness with that of the most important ecphrasis in the Aeneid, that of the shield of Aeneas in Book VIII.

At once one is struck by the difference: Apollonius' description of Jason's embroidered mantle in the Argonautica, Book I, 721-767 does not fulfil the criteria for the best realization of the possibilities of ecphrasis (as Aeneid I, 453-493 and VIII, 608-731 do). The subject matter of the designs described is not absolutely crucial to the main themes of the poem, and the individual pictures themselves

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[1] R. D. Williams, The Aeneid of Virgil, Books I-VI, pps. xv-xvi.

are not related to each other with any of the intimacy of those on the shield of Aeneas.

Firstly, the description of the cloak is abruptly interpolated into the action. Jason and the Minyae are invited by Hypsipyle, daughter of Thoas, through her messenger Iphinoe, to enter the town of the Lemnian women (who had, according to Rhodius, killed all of their men, with the exception of the aged king Thoas, in the previous year). The cloak which Jason wears around his shoulders[2] is put within the framework of a flashback. The reason for this is difficult to see, and it is obviously not the case in Homer's Iliad nor imitated by Virgil in the second half of the eighth Aeneid. The ecphrasis in Aeneid I, 455-457 is, it is true, a flashback for the hero, but it is, more importantly, a device of dramatic foreshadowing, because its subject anticipates the recitation of Books II and III. Although the poet of the Argonautica gains, by the inclusion of the elaborate description of Jason's cloak at this point in the story, a degree of unity of time (the cloak is described at the moment of its first important use--Jason's first temptation

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[2]Virgil's concluding line to Book VIII and to the shield ecphrasis (line 731: 'attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum') comes into one's mind here, but Apollonius makes very little use of any potential relationship between the pictures on the cloak and the fate of the hero.

in the voyage of the Argo), its effect is lessened by the result it produces of narrative interruption. Moreover, the moment itself is not particularly suspenseful,

> Jason fastened round his shoulders a purple cloak of double width which Pallas Athene, the Lady of Trito, had made and given him when she was laying down the props for Argo's keel and showing him how to measure timber for the cross-beams with a rule.[3]

Apollonius' manner is leisurely and digressive and his striving for memorable pictorial qualities is obvious when he prefaces the description proper with assertion and exaggeration:

> The brilliance of this mantle outdid the rising sun.

A more blatant example of assertion which does, however, have a degree of vividness, is the account of Phrixus the Minyan[4] with his ram:

> So vividly were they portrayed, the ram speaking and Phrixus listening, that as you looked you would have kept quiet in the fond hope of

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[3]Apollonius Rhodius, The Voyage of Argo I, 721-724, (E. V. Rieu's Translation).

[4]In fairness to Apollonius Rhodius, it should be pointed out that this detail is a 'thematic' one, since it looks forward to the narrative of the poem. The O.C.D. has this account: 'Nephele saved them (Phrixus and Helle), or him, by means of a golden-fleeced ram given by Hermes; the ram brought Phrixus to Colchis, where he married Chalciope, daughter of Aeetes'. (O.C.D., 1964, pps. 112-113).

> hearing some wise words from their lips.
> And still you would have gazed and still
> have hoped.[5]

In contrast to this, the brilliance of the dona Vulcani in Aeneid VIII is directly related to the arms themselves. Virgil's ecphrasis is not frozen, captured in the craftsman's art, but, within the context of the physical properties of the weapons themselves, is alive and has motion:

> (Aeneid VIII, 619-623)
> miraturque interque manus et bracchia
> uersat
> terribilem cristis galeam flammasque
> uomentem,
> fatiferumque ensem, loricam ex aere
> rigentem,
> sanguineam, ingentem, qualis cum
> caerula nubes
> solis inardescit radiis longeque
> refulget....

Apollonius' attempt to verbalize the appearance of movement in a description of an essentially static object depends upon specific, striking details (Argonautica I, 730-733):

> Here were the Cyclopes sitting at work
> on an imperishable thunderbolt for Zeus
> the King. One ray was lacking to
> complete its splendour, and this lay
> spurting flame as they beat it out with
> their iron hammers.

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[5] Ibid., I, 763-767.

In the Aeneid we see the shield through the gaze of Aeneas (Aeneid VIII, 617-618):

> ...tanto laetus honore
> expleri nequit atque oculos per singula
> uoluit

and its importance to the hero, to the Aeneid as a whole, and to Augustan propaganda, is emphasized by the climactic lines of Book VIII, simple and profound, which follow the ecphrasis proper (Aeneid VIII, 639-731):

> Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
> miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
> attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

In The Voyage of Argo the point of view is that of the 'omniscient' Apollonius Rhodius. The dramatic irony of Aeneid VIII, 639-731 is absent, and the particular reaction of the wearer of the cloak, Jason, is never suggested. The impact of the ecphrasis in the eighth Aeneid is heightened by the preceding 600 lines of the book, and especially by the meaning of the Hercules-Cacus episode: that the brutal, heroic world of Hercules and of his grotesque adversary, must be renounced in favour of the future, the destiny of the Roman people, which is highlighted on the shield of Aeneas. Conversely, all we in fact know of the circumstances which surround the gify of the cloak to Jason in the first Book of The Voyage of Argo is a brief, matter-of-fact recollection (I, 721-724):

Jason fastened around his shoulders,a purple cloak of double width which Pallas Athene, the Lady of Trito, had made and given him when she was laying down the props for Argo's keel and showing him how to measure timber for the cross-beams with a rule.

III. Approaches to the Cacus episode: its relationship to the Odyssean Aeneid; aetiological themes in narrative and in narrative-elegiac poetry--Callimachus, Propertius, Ovid; Cacus in Juvenal and Servius; the relationship of the Cacus episode to the shield of Aeneas.

Virgil's intention throughout Aeneid II-VI is to demonstrate the labours of Aeneas and to suggest that they develop his sense of pietas. In short, the ancient idea of the labours of Hercules has been transferred from the physical to the psychological, from the world of Homer and Hesiod to the world of the Princeps, from the milieu of heroic epic to that of conscious, literary creation. In Book VIII the recitation by Evander of Hercules' victory over the volcanic Cacus effectively separates Aeneas from the past, just as the second, and especially the third Aeneid, with the plethora of Odyssean and fantastic monsters, is distanced from the 'historical present' of the poem by means of an extended flashback which begins (Aeneid III, 1...10):

> Infandum, regina, uibes renouare dolorem...
> quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
> incipiam.

By this device the realism of the rest of the poem is not weakened by the presence of Celaeno, Polydorus, Polyphemus, Scylla and so on, within the linear movement of the story (an obvious parallel to one of the functions of Odyssey IX-XII).[1]

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[1] One important difference between the content of Virgil's flashback and Homer's is that the eleventh book of the Odyssey, the descent of the hero into Hades, is removed by Virgil from the recitation and is placed at the very center of the poem, Book VI.

At the same time, however, the difficulty of his labores should not be minimized. Galinsky, in his book, The Herakles Theme, stresses the physical aspect of Aeneas' trials too strongly; but his evidence for this view is nonetheless impressive:

> Only after Aeneas has stressed his labores does he mention the quality for which he was dear to the Romans and to Augustus in particular, his pietas (I. 378).
>
> This conception of Aeneas of himself is confirmed by the many oracular and divine agencies who are guiding him through his trials. Venus pleads with Jupiter to grant Aeneas an end to his labores (I. 241), and she uses the term again when she asks Vulcan to provide Aeneas' arms (8.380). After all the oracles in Book III apply the term labor to each new trial of Aeneas, Jupiter himself sanctions it in Book IV when he asks Mercury to tell Aeneas to shoulder his burden (molitur...laborem 4.233). The expression recalls the exertion of Atlas, but Herakles' shouldering of Atlas' starry burden was well remembered in Augustan Rome. Ovid (Fasti I. 565-568) linked it explicitly to Herakles' flight against Cacus which, as we shall see, plays such a significant part in the Aeneid.[2]

The examination of other examples of aetiological themes

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[2]G. Karl Galinsky, The Herakles Theme, Rowland and Littlefield, New Jersey, 1972, p. 133.

in narrative and in narrative-elegiac poetry[3] should elucidate Virgil's handling of the Hercules-Cacus episode.

The Aetia of Callimachus is apparently the first classical work to be devoted wholly to aetiological legends. In my opinion the fragmentary nature of the work militates against the possibility of constructing a coherent view of the methods with which individual Aetia were treated by Callimachus. For the same reason his Hecale throws but faint light on the nature of Callimachean ecphrasis, and, consequently, upon our understanding of Aeneid VIII, 608-731. Fordyce cautiously says of the Hecale,

> ...the tale of Erichthonius seems to have been woven into the adventure of Theseus which was the theme of the poem....[4]

Trypanis comments, generally, upon the style of Callimachus in these poems:

> This variety, together with the lively personal and realistic touches, introduced into the narrative by the poet, never allowed the work to degenerate into an arid handbook of obscure mythology.[5]

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[3]In the context of this paper I am referring here specifically to the fourth book of Propertius.

[4]Fordyce, Catullus, p. 273. Indeed the tale of Erichthonius, on the basis of the fragmentary text, may have been less an ecphrasis than simply a story within a story.

[5]C. A. Trypanis, Callimachus, p. 3.

"Lively personal...touches" are, in my opinion, as rare in Virgil as they are ubiquitous in Propertius; but the realism of the Cacus passage in Aeneid VIII lies in its graphic detail and circumscribed horror. It is circumscribed because the digression of the myth of Hercules' battle with Cacus is contained within the narration of Evander and is carefully woven into the fabric of Book VIII, and of the entire Aeneid, as I have attempted to show elsewhere in this paper (as J. R. Bacon has pointed out in her article, "Aeneas in Wonderland" in The Classical Review, July, 1939, pps. 97-104, the unifying tone of many of the key passages in Book VIII is summed up in the verb miror and its cognates and synonyms).

A much shortened version of the Hercules-Cacus episode is narrated by Propertius in Elegies IV:ix, 1-22.[6] In its details, however, it is strikingly dissimilar to the Virgilian passage. This is especially interesting because parts of the Aeneid probably had been heard by Propertius before the death of Virgil in 19 B.C. The strongest evidence for this is Propertius II:xxxiv, 61-84, and particularly these lines, in which the climactic theme of Book VIII, the shield ecphrasis, and indeed the concerns of the 'Iliadic' Aeneid (VII-XII) are briefly recounted:

> Actia Vergilium custodis litora Phoebi,
> Caesaris et fortes dicere posse rates,
> qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitat arma
> iactaque Lauinis moenia litoribus.

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[6]This is in sharp contrast to the length of Virgil's treatment in Aeneid VIII, 184-279.

cedite Romani scriptores, cedite Grai!
nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.

The two accounts of the Hercules-Cacus story agree specifically only at the following point: Cacus, in both versions, is a disloyal host and steals the cattle of Hercules, which are resting at a stream near Cacus's hill-cave (Prop. 4.9.7-8)...

sed non infido manserunt hospite Caco
incolumes: furto polluit ille Iouem.

and

at furis Caci mens effera, ne quid inausum
aut intractatum scelerisue doliue fuisset.
(Virg. Aen.8.205-206).

Examples of disagreement between the two poets are plentiful and not always easy to explain. In Propertius, Cacus has three mouths:

per tria partitos qui dabat ora sonos (Prop.4.9.10).[7]

It is difficult to find a deeper degree of meaning for this attribute of Cacus than its intended quality of gruesomeness. Butler and Barber simply say

Cacus, believed to be an ancient fire-god...
is represented here as having three heads,
a detail not recorded elsewhere.[8]

In any case the detail of the triple orifices of a monstrous

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[7]Virgil's Cacus has but one mouth as is, perhaps, more appropriate to the extended development of Volcanic imagery in Book VIII.

[8]Butler and Barber, The Elegies of Propertius, Oxford, 1933, p. 371

being who is associated with the underworld (the connexion between Cacus's cave and Hades is one of the key ways in which Virgil links the sixth and the eighth Aeneid) may have been suggested to Propertius by the hideous dog, Cerberus, who guarded the entrance to Hades in Graeco-Roman mythology,

> The canonical type of C., established in late archaic and classical literature and art (Eur. HF 611), shows him with three heads and mane or tail of snakes. C. is most frequently mentioned in connexion with the descent of Heracles to Hades (Il.8.367; Apollod.2.5.12).[9]

In the Aeneid itself, Book VIII, line 202 has tergemini nece Geryonae (another victim of the maximus ultor, Hercules). Even if Propertius did not have Cerberus or Geryon in mind, epic repetitions of the number three are frequent from Homer onwards in Classical Literature:

> Three times across the ditch brilliant
> Achilleus gave his great cry,
> and three times the Trojans and their
> renowned companions were routed.
> There at that time twelve of the best
> men among them perished....[10]

Although in both accounts the cattle of Hercules are dragged by the tail into Cacus's cave (Propertius IV:ix,12 cauda and Aeneid VIII, 210), Virgil elaborates upon the theme of the thief's betrayal by the victims of his greed. In the

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[9] O.C.D., 1970, p. 223.

[10] Homer, Iliad, XVIII, 228-230 (Lattimore's translation).

Aeneid, a single cow gives the alarm at VIII 217-218:

> reddidit una boum uocem uastoque sub
> antro
> mugiit et Caci spem custodita fefellit.

Propertius simply says furem sonuere iuuenci (IV:ix,13). In the elegist's poem Cacus is quickly dispatched by the club of the enraged Hercules, (IV:ix,15-16):

> Maenalio iacuit pulsus tria tempora ramo
> Cacus ...

But in Virgil's description at VIII, 259-261, the end of Cacus is ghastly and more closely described:

> hic Cacum in tenebris incendia uana
> uomentem
> corripit in nodum complexus, et angit
> inhaerens
> elisos oculos et siccum sanguine
> guttur.

This theme of mutilation separates Hercules from the 'civilized' world of Aeneas.

Finally, Propertius has Hercules address the liberated oxen with what is almost a parody of Virgilian Arcadian diction, utterly out of place as the conclusion to the horrible and ancient myth of Hercules and Cacus, even though there are significant differences of treatment occasioned by the elegiac couplet vis-a-vis the epic hexameter.

> ...et Alcides sic ait: 'Ite boues,
> Herculis ite boues, nostrae labor ultime clauae,
> bis mihi quaesitae, bis mea praeda, boues,
> aruaque mugitu sancite Bouaria longo:
> nobile erit Romae pascua uestra Forum.

Besides the incongruity of Hercules' club, clauae, instead of the shepherd's crook, and the scarcely avoidable Arcadian associations of the phrases ite boues, pascua nostra, and so on, the passage, in its rhythms, oddly recalls the conclusion to Virgil's last Eclogue, X, 77:

> ite domum saturae, uenit Hesperus,
> ite capellae.

And, in any case, the all-important theme of prefiguration in the eighth Aeneid, that Evander's kingdom is the future site of Rome, is given only cursory mention by Propertius at the end of Hercules' speech, nobile erit Romae pascua uestra Forum.

One would have expected Propertius's Cacus episode to have contained few significant departures from Aeneid VIII. It is, indeed, merely a prelude for the encounter of the hero, in IV:ix, 23-74, with the Bona Dea. Furthermore, the passionate intensity of the Monobiblos has mellowed, and the elegist in his fourth book now finds his inspiration "in narrative coloured with mythological learning"[11]. It is curious, then, that in spite of its brevity, the first twenty-two lines of Propertius IV:ix do contain a remarkable number of minor points at which the two poets do not agree, although Propertius' handling of the Hercules-Cacus myth is not, thematically, different from Virgil's. There is, of course, the possibility that Propertius had in mind a tradition which was at variance with that used by

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[11] O.C.D., 1964, p. 737 (this particular entry embraces a detail which is omitted in later editions).

Virgil, although the legend was not obscure. In my opinion, either Propertius was deliberately departing from Aeneid VIII, or he was ignorant of its contents. The latter possibility is weakened, but not decisively refuted, by Propertius 2.34, 61-66, quoted above. By his excessive emphasis of some details, by his exclusion of others, and by his failure to integrate the narrative episode into the peom as a whole, Propertius' poetic technique is the antithesis of Virgil's in Aeneid VIII.

Galinsky has an excellent comment on the treatment of the Hercules theme in Latin elegiac poetry:

> Although Augustus showed neither any special preference for the god's cult nor for being associated with him, Herakles, by virtue of his role as a prototype for Aeneas and thus also Augustus, came to be considered an Augustan symbol. Poets such as Propertius and Ovid, whose temperament and background were different from Vergil's, refused to take the Augustan symbols seriously. Their adaptation of the Herakles theme was no exception... The subject (the Hercules-Cacus story), to be sure, was more appropriate to epic than to elegy, but Propertius went beyond the simple exigencies of the genre in adapting Herakles for his purpose...Besides minimizing Herakles' conquest of Cacus, 'Propertius suppresses certain elements of the story which might tend to enlarge its Roman and Augustan significance'. In Propertius' elegy, Cacus is a clumsy chiseller (sic) rather than an infernal creature....[12]

Similarly, of Ovid (Metamorphoses, IX) Galinsky observes:

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[12]G. Karl Galinsky, The Herakles Theme, p. 153.

> As Herakles' apotheosis prefigures Aeneas', so the fight between Herakles and Achelous is Ovid's version of Aeneas' combat with Turnus. It is intentionally ludicrous and much of the effect comes from Vergil's noble lines being put in the mouth of a shaggy, grimy river deity.[14]

For the sake of completeness in this discussion of approaches to the Cacus episode, with particular reference to Aeneid VIII, it is necessary to mention the allusion to the story of Hercules and Cacus in the fifth satire of Juvenal. Juvenal is a poet for whom no myth can have validity--not even that which is at the centre of Aeneas' shield, the history of the city and state of Rome. The satirist of the intensity of Juvenal denigrates; he does not celebrate (satura V, 120-127):

> structorem interea, ne qua indignatio
> desit,
> saltantem spectes et chironomunta
> uolanti
> cultello, donec peragat dictata
> magistri
> omnia; nec minimo sane discrimine
> refert
> quo gestu lepores et quo gallina
> secetur.
> duceris planta uelut ictus ab
> Hercule Cacus
> et ponere foris, si quid temptaueris
> umquam
> hiscere tamquam habeas tria nomina.

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[13] Aeneid XI, 338-9, largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello/ dextera, consiliis habitus non futtilis auctor. cf. Ovid, Metamorphoses IX, 30.

[14] Galinsky, Herakles, p. 158.

Finally, Juvenal, a few lines later, irreverently alludes to the hero of Virgil's epic (satura V, 138-139):

> ...nullus tibi paruulus aula
> luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo.

The incompatibility of epic materials with the reality of life within the city of Rome at the end of the first century A.D. is one of the recurring themes of Juvenal's satires. It is his indignation with hack epicists which is proclaimed in the beginning of the first satire as one of his major compulsions for writing in the first place (satura I, 1-2):

> Semper ego auditor tantum? numquamne
> reponam
> uexatus totiens rauci Theseide Cordi?

and (I, 7-13)

> nota magis nulli domus est sua quam
> mihi lucus
> Martis et Aeoliis uicinum rūpibus
> antrum
> Vulcani; quid agant uenti, quas
> torqueat umbras
> Aeacus, unde alius furtiuae deuehat
> aurum
> pelliculae, quantas iaculētur
> Monychus ornos,
> Frontonis platani conuolsaque marmora
> clamant
> semper et adsiduo rūptae lectore
> columnae.

Finally, Servius' note on Aeneid VIII, line 190 should be mentioned here, not because of its insights, which are by no means ubiquitous in the Fourth Century Grammarian and Commentator, but because it dwells upon the obvious, that the name Cacus is probably itself a pun, synonymous with 'villain,

rascal, as designations of a servant[15]. Whether the connexion between the monster of ancient myth and a character 'type' was made in Augustan Rome I cannot say, since the two earliest authorities, Virgil and Livy, differ only in trivial details concerning the events of the Hercules-Cacus story. Servius does, however, draw an illustrative parallel to the name of Helen in the Iliad:

> Cacus secundum fabulam Vulcani filius fuit,
> ore ignem ac fumum uomens, qui uicina omnia
> populabatur. ueritas tamen secundum philologos
> et historicos hoc habet, hunc fuisse Euandri
> nequissimum seruum ac furem. Nouimus autem
> malum a Graecis κακόν dici: quem ita illo
> tempore Arcades appellabant. Postea translato
> accentu Cacus dictus est, ut Ἑλένη[16]
> Helena.[17]

By relating the story of Cacus within the context of the recitation of King Evander, Virgil is following one of the most famous of Homeric epic precedents. Perhaps the most obvious of these is Odysseus' narrative in Odyssey IX-XII,

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[15] Lewis and Short, A Latin Dictionary, Oxford, 1966, p. 258.

[16] There is in fact a linguistic coincidence between the name Ἑλένη and the verb αἱρέω (I take), the aorist of which is εἷλον, and the aorist infinitive, ἑλεῖν.

[17] Servii Grammatici (Thilo-Hagen ed.), Olms, Hildesheim, 1961, p. 227.

at the court of King Alcinous in Phaeacia, of his fantastic adventures. The extended use of "flashback" lends dramatic unity to the poem, and the inclusion of the Cyclops, Calypso, Circe, et al. within it to some degree circumscribes the fantasy and thus does not lessen our sense of the "heroic realism" of the other parts of the epic. In Aeneid II and III Virgil imitates this technique, as he does in Aeneid VIII, 183-275.

Moreover, the passage prepares the listener for the climactic image of Book VIII, the shield of Aeneas, both by its length and position in the Book, and by its overwhelmingly pictorial nature. Evander's speech itself becomes, in our minds, the ornament for Hercules' altar (Aeneid VIII, 268-272):

> ex illo celebratus honos laetique minores
> seruauēre diem, primusque Potitius auctor
> et domus Herculei custos Pinaria sacri
> hanc aram luco statuit, quae maxima semper
> dicetur nobis et erit quae maxima semper.

The great flexibility with which Virgil handles rhetorical descriptions of works of art is initially demonstrated in Aeneid I, 453-493, whose subject, the scenes of the Trojan war which beautify Dido's temple, is repeatedly and with great dramatic effect, interrupted by Aeneas' interjections (Aeneid I, 459-463):

> constitit et lacrimans 'quis iam locus',
> inquit, 'Achate,
> quae regio in terris nostri non plena
> laboris?

en Priamus. sunt hic etiam sua praemia
laudi,
sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia
tangunt.
solue metus; feret haec aliquam tibi
fama salutem'.

Further comment upon the ecphrasis in Aeneid I is relevant here in terms not only of the polished structure of Book VIII, but of the epic as a whole. It captures past events in vivid pictorial descriptions (Aeneid I, 455-457):

artificumque manus inter se operumque
laborem
miratur, uidet Iliacas ex ordine
pugnas
bellaque iam fama totum uulgata per
orbem.

Simultaneously, it is a device of dramatic foreshadowing, since it anticipates, in miniature and in relief, the recitation of Books II and III. Aeneid VIII, 183-275 similarly is a flash-back, but to a more distant past, to the primitive, fantastic, heroic world of Hercules and Cacus. Its memory is perpetuated in the "historical present" of Aeneas through the libation to Hercules which is performed by Aeneas' Greek ally, King Evander (Aeneid VIII, 276-279):

dixerat, Herculea bicolor cum populus
umbra
uelauitque comas foliisque innexa
pependit,
et sacer impleuit dextram scyphus.
ocius omnes
in mensam laeti libant diuosque
precantur.

And if the Cacus episode does contain, as I have earlier in this paper argued, some of the qualities of the rhetorical description

of a work of art, then, like the ecphrasis in Book I, it looks both backwards and forwards in time. Evander's little kingdom is the future site of Rome (Aeneid VIII, 359-361):

> talibus inter se dictis ad tecta subibant
> pauperis Euandri, passimque armenta uidebant
> Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis.

Moreover, I do not think it farfetched to remember the exemplum of the first half of Book VIII, the victory of heroic might (Hercules) over the principle of evil (Cacus), in the context of Book XII. There one may expect Aeneas to personify pietas, as he does in Books IV and VI, and Turnus to represent furor. Certainly some of the imagery which supports the descriptions of Turnus is not unlike that which surrounds Cacus--nature in upheaval. One simile should amply illustrate this (Aeneid XII, 684-690):

> ac ueluti montis saxum de uertice praeceps
> cum ruit auulsum uento, seu turbidus imber
> proluit aut annis soluit sublapsa uetustas;
> fertur in abruptum magno mons improbus actu
> exsultatque solo, siluas armenta uirosque
> inuoluens secum: disiecta per agmina Turnus
> sic urbis ruit ad muros....

Like Cacus, Turnus is maddened with fear (Aeneid VIII, 222-223):

> tum primum nostri Cacum uidere timentem
> turbatumque oculis...

and (Aeneid XII, 915-916):

> ...Rutulos aspectat et urbem
> cunctaturque metu letumque instare
> tremescit.

But it is the similarity between Hercules in Book VIII and Aeneas in Book XII which, to a large degree, explains the

brilliant and dramatic reversal of Aeneas' conduct in the climactic verses of the poem. Both Hercules and Aeneas fall into tremendous rages which are caused by a sense of personal injury--Hercules at the theft of his cattle, and Aeneas at the sudden reminder of the brutal slaying of Pallas by Turnus. Both are plunged into a kind of righteous (by heroic standards) furor by a single incident; Hercules hears the bawling of a single cow deep in Cacus' cave, and Aeneas' eye falls upon the infelix...balteus and notis[18]...bullis of Pallas which, in Aeneid XII, 940-941, gleam on the breast of the suppliant Turnus. Both are maximi ultores and their feelings at the moment of vengeance are identical (Aeneid VIII, 219-220),

> hic uero Alcidae furiis exarserat atro
> felle dolor...

and (Aeneid XII, 946-947),

> ...furiis accensus et ira
> terribilis....

But what is crucial to an understanding of Aeneid XII is that, in lines 938-952, Aeneas' heroic, Herculean instincts overwhelm the restraint and selflessness which pietas[19] has

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[18] Notus is an extremely emotional word throughout Virgil's works. cf. Aen. IV, 648 (...postquam Iliacas uestis notumque cubile), Aen. VII, 480 (...et noto naris contingit odore), Aen. VI, 689 (...tua et notas audire et reddere uoces?), Aen. II, 21-22 (est in conspectu Tendedos, notissima fama/insula), inter alia.

[19] First applied to Aeneas at Aeneid I, 10: insignem pietate uirum.

added to the growth of his character during the poem. Otis remarks:

> The end of the Aeneid is certainly not Christian. There is no reconciliation or forgiveness in the Christian sense. Aeneas is still a man who takes vengeance in blood, who can be driven to ferocity by the very recollection of Pallas.[20]

At the moment of greatest stress, he looks backwards to the brutality of Troy in Book II, not forwards to the world prophesied by Anchises in Aeneid VI (851-853):

> tu regere imperio populos, Romane,
> memento
> (hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere
> morem,
> parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

That the conclusion to the Aeneid is the death of Turnus is of the greatest importance, for it shows the poet, at the end, as a political realist; and one of the ways in which we are prepared for it is through the struggle between Hercules and Cacus in Aeneid VIII.

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[20] Brooks Otis, Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1964, p. 381.

IV. Connexions between Aeneid VI and VIII: symbolism, ecphrasis, Aeneid VI, 756-886 and VIII, 675-728.

Although the correspondences between Aeneid VIII and Iliad XVIII are striking[1], the relationship between the Sixth and Eighth Aeneids is both profound and symbolic.[2] Especially because of the vast differences of technique occasioned by the natures of oral and literary composition of epic, the connexions between a book of Homer and one of Virgil could never have that degree of intimacy which is attained among the various books of the Aeneid. One of the ways in which this unity is achieved is through the judicious use of symbol. Poschl's words are useful here:[3]

> Those who are suspicious of the word 'symbol' may wish to use another designation. I should be at a loss to find a word better suited to show that artistic forms are not simply vessels for content having separate existence, but are themselves content, indeed, according to Hebbel, the highest content.

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[1] Similarly, Aeneid V and Iliad XXIII; Aeneid VI and Odyssey XI; Aeneid III and Odyssey IX, X, and XII

[2] The sense in which I use the term 'symbol' is, unless otherwise specified, that of an emblem, representation, figure, object etc., which calls to mind something moral, intellectual, or historical. A 'thematic ecphrasis', thus is a very obvious symbol, since its designs themselves are what the poet means to put into our minds by means of a description of, for example, a shield. On a more subtle level, Palinurus comes to 'symbolize', through the manner of his death, the sacrifice of the innocent because 'tantae molis erat Romanan condere gentem' (Aeneid I, 33).

[3] Viktor Poschl, The Art of Vergil, translated by Gerda Seligson, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, p. 2.

The ease with which Poschl uses the literary term 'symbol', and the more controversial word 'allegory' seems to me to be exciting, if occasionally arbitrary.[4] Another approach to a symbolical reading of the two dominant images of Book VIII is to examine some of the Greek meanings for the word 'symbol' and to see, whether by coincidence or by design, any of them can be detected in Virgil's poetry.

According to Liddell and Scott one of the meanings for which the word σύμβολον was used by Herodotus, Euripides, and others was to denote a 'tally, i.e. each of two halves or corresponding pieces of an ἀστράγαλος or other object, which two ξένοι, or any two contracting parties broke between them, each party keeping one piece, in order to have proof of the identity of the presenter of the other'.[5]

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[4]His excellent book tends, in my opinion, to over-simplification. "He (Poschl) analyses the poem in terms of mood, which is to Virgil what light is to painting. Metaphors, similes, symbols, imagery are all seen to be part of this pattern of mood; he represents a reaction against the 'over-rationalization' of critics like Heinze (to whom, however, Poschl owes much) and Norden, and an attempt to supply instead of aesthetic analysis with frequent reference to the moral values of the Augustan world and the historical symbolism of the poem. The book is selective, dealing only with parts of the poem, and often not sufficiently sharp or terse in making its points;....' (R.D. Williams, Virgil ((New Surveys in Classics, no. I, Oxford, 1967.)))

[5]Some of the other meanings which are less relevant to this discussion are 'a pre-arranged signal', 'a passport or seal thereon', and 'a treaty between two states providing for the security of one another's citizens...for the settlement of commercial and other disputes'.

Whether or not Virgil had this meaning in mind is impossible to say with certitude, and the results will be nugatory from an inquiry which asks the wrong questions. Nevertheless, if the shield ecphrasis in Aeneid VIII is read as one half of an ἀστράγαλος, then its full meaning must (and does) escape Aeneas ('...rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet', Aeneid VIII, 730). Because of the dramatic irony of the situation, the reader has the advantage over the hero of historical hindsight. This is the second half of the σύμβολον, according to its Greek, material meaning.

Brooks Otis summarizes the principal connexions between Aeneids VI and VIII Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry, p. 218:

> 6 and 8 each culminate in a major revelation of the Roman future... it is the way for which Aeneas has been prepared in 6 and which he actively accepts as his predestined duty in 8. In 6 he merely sees the future of Rome; in 8 he takes the future (depicted on the shield) upon his own shoulders into the Latin War. Thus though 7 is in this sense the centre of the poem (that to which everything leads, from which everything follows), 6 is the culmination of Aeneas' preparations for the war, inaugurated in 7, and met by Aeneas' arms in 8. It is surely no coincidense, therefore, that it, like the correspondingly pivotal portions of the Ec and G[6], is a kind of death and resurrection, a journey to and from the Underworld.

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[6] Eclogue 5 and the Artistaeus Episode.

It is interesting to observe the subtle touches, as well as the massive strokes, with which Virgil reinforces the relationship between VI and VIII. In both Books, and at relatively the same moment (immediately before the revelations), a hidden valley is mentioned,

> At pater Anchises penitus conualle
> uirenti (VI, 679),

and

> ...natumque in ualle reducta
> ut procul egelido secretum flumine
> uidit (VIII, 609-610).

Similarly, in both parallel situations, the hero embraces a parent, although the contrast between the Underworld and the Italy of Evander is not made explicit:

> ter conatus ibi collo dare bracchia
> circum;
> ter frustra comprensa manus effugit
> imago,
> par levibus uentis uolucrique simillima
> somno. (VI, 700-702),

and

> dixit, et amplexus nati Cytherea
> petiuit,
> arma sub audersa posuit radiantia
> quercu (VIII, 615-616).

One further correspondence might be noted, <u>inter alia</u>. In both sections of the poem streams of great importance occur. In Bk. VI, Lethe symbolizes the termination of the past by its role in the transmigration of the souls. In Book VIII, the stream, which must be related in some way to the Tiber, represents the challenge of the future,

Interea uidet Aeneas in ualle reducta
seclusum nemus et uirgulta sonantia
siluae,
Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat
amnem;
hunc circum innumerae gentes populique
uolabant (VI, 703-706),

and

...natumque in ualle reducta
ut procul egelido secretum flumine uidit.

In addition to the many imagistic and thematic parralels which exist between Books VI and VIII of the Aeneid, in both there are examples of ecphrasis. As the shield of Aeneas in VIII, 626-728 looks towards the future, so the designs on the doors to the shrine of Phoebus at VI, 20-33 looks towards the past. Indeed this ecphrasis is prefaced by six lines of explanation and introduction (Aeneid VI, 14-19):

Daedalus, ut fama est[7], fugiens Minoia
regna
praepetibus pennis ausus se credere caelo
insuetum per iter gelidas enauit ad Arctos,
Chalcidicaque leuis tandem super astitit
arce.
redditus his primum terris tibi, Phoebe,
sacrauit
remigium alarum posuitque immania templa.

Significantly, the ecphrasis in Book VI is practically at the beginning of the Book, while the shield of Aeneas, except for the moving three line coda of VIII, 729-731, occupies the end.

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[7]Virgil's caution in treating myths in which the listener's credulity might be strained is underscored by the familiar ut fama est.

Aeneid VI, 20-33 is a "thematic ecphrasis" since its climactic detail, the grief and longing of Daedalus for his son, foreshadow the meeting of Aeneas with Anchises which is to occur at VI, 684-702. Anchises' longing for his son's safety, and his joy at seeing him in the fields of the blessed, are especially poignant in lines 687-694, and stand in contrast to the inability of Daedalus to express his grief in 30-33:

> ...tu quoque magnam
> partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor,
> Icare, haberes.
> bis conatus erat casus effingere in
> auro,
> bis patriae cecidere manus.

and

> 'uenisti tandem, tuaque expectata[8]
> parenti
> uicit iter durum pietas? datur
> ora tueri,
> nate, tua et notas audire et reddere
> uoces?
> sic equidem ducebam animo rebarque
> futurum

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[8] expectata is an extremely emotive word in this context, as it is, with connotations of unrequited longing, in Aeneid II, 281-286:

> 'O lux Dardaniae, spes o fidissima
> Teucrum,
> quae tantae tenuere morae? quibus
> Hector ab oris
> expectate uenis? ut te post multa
> tuorum
> funera, post uarios hominumque
> urbisque labores
> defessi aspicimus! quae causa
> indigna serenos
> foedauit uultus? aut cur haec
> uulnera cerno?'

tempora dinumerans, nec me mea cura
fefellit.
quas ego te terras et quanta per
aequora uectum
accipio! quantis iactatum, nate,
periclis!
quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna
nocerent!'

Poschl's comment is relevant here:

> The heartbreaking love of Daedalus for Icarus reflects Aeneas' longing to meet Anchises. Both are examples of the deep pietas, that binds together those who are separated. That pietas, in its several forms, is the concealed but central motif of the sixth book. The "obvious parallel" of the connection with the pictures of Juno's Carthaginian temple in the first book is far more important than has been assumed. Aeneas finds his own story in both places; once, quite directly, then, symbolically disguised in the mysterious sixth book. Both times Aeneas is depicted as engrossed in sorrowful memories and interrupted by the entrance of a third person, the Sibyl in the second book and Dido in the first.[9]

As a footnote to Poschl's excellent analysis, I should like to add that, as the ecphrasis of VI, 20-33 looks both forwards to the meeting of Aeneas with Anchises at VI, 684-694, and backwards to the ecphrasis of I, 453-494, so these words of Anchises,

quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna
nocerent
(Aeneid VI, 694)

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[9] Viktor Poschl (Gerda Seligson trans.), The Art of Vergil, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1962, p. 150.

recall the consequences of Aeneas' entry into Carthage, the Tragedy of Dido in Book IV. Virgil's art is wonderfully interwoven.

In the great revelation of Anchises in Aeneid VI, 756-886 Augustus is eulogized in lines 789-805, but the only explicit reference to the civil war is, as Quinn points out[10], at line 800:

> et septemgemi turbant trepida ostia
> Nili.

Emphasis is placed by the poet upon the vastness of his conquests and he is favourably compared with Hercules and Bacchus (VI, 801-805):

> nec uero Alcides tantum telluris
> obiuit,
> fixerit aeripedem ceruam licet,
> aut Erymanthi
> pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit
> arcu;
> nec qui pampineis uictor iuga flectit
> habenis
> Liber, agens celso Nysae de uertice
> tigris.

Virgil is careful to dissociate Augustus from culpability in the civil war by laying the blame squarely on the shoulders of Julius Caesar and Pompey (VI, 824-835):

> quin Decios Drusosque procul saeuumque
> securi
> aspice Torquatum et referentem signa
> Camillum.
> illae autem paribus quas fulgere
> cernis in armis,

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[10] Kenneth Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, A Critical Description, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968, p. 49.

> concordes animae nunc et dum nocte
> prementur,
> heu quantum inter se bellum, si
> lumina uitae
> attigerint, quantas acies stragemque
> ciebunt,
> aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce
> Monoeci
> descendens, gener aduersis instructus
> Eois!
> ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite
> bella
> neu patriae ualidas in uiscera uertite
> uiris;
> tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis
> Olympo,
> proice tela manu, sanguis meus!

Quinn justly observes of this passage:

> Later in Anchises' speech (826-35), and separated from this panegyric by twenty lines of historical pageantry, comes a tableau in more sombre colours depicting Julius Caesar and Pompey as the future instigators, equally guilty, of the civil war. But in these lines there is no hint of Augustus....[11]

In my opinion, there is more a sense of propaganda[12] in the rather arbitrary role of peacemaker which Virgil awards to Augustus, than the quality of epic appropriateness which usually informs the Aeneid.[13]

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[11] Ibid., p. 49.

[12] The sentimentality of the Marcellus passage (868-886) comes dangerously near to flattery for the same reason.

[13] For a different reading of this passage see, inter alia, Galinsky, Herakles, p. 136: "The passage--and it is typical of virtually any passage in the Aeneid, even the most 'episodic' ones--is carefully integrated into the immediate and larger context...."

The scenes of the battle of Actium (VIII, 675-713), and of the triumph celebrated in Rome two years after it (VIII, 714-728), treat the conclusion of the civil war within the context of the shield ecphrasis. Their function as propaganda is circumscribed by the very nature of the context--this is the work of a god, and not the words of Anchises. The climactic sections of the pictures on the shield of Aeneas continue a theme only hinted at by Anchises in VI, 800. But even here his role is not unqualified. He shares part of the glory with Agrippa (VIII, 680-684):

> stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui
> tempora flammas
> laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur
> uertice sidus.
> parte alia uentis et dis Agrippa
> secundis
> arduus agmen agens, cui, belli
> insigne superbum,
> tempora nauali fulgent rostrata
> corona.

The image associated with Augustus which remains most strongly with us is not one of warfare, but one of triumph and reconstruction, symbolized by the erection of the three hundred shrines in Rome (VIII, 714-719):

> at Caesar, triplici inuectus Romana
> triumpho
> moenia, dis Italis uotum immortale
> sacrabat,
> maxima ter centum totam delubra per
> urbem.
> laetitia ludisque uiae plausuque
> fremebant;
> omnibus in templis matrum chorus,
> omnibus arae;

ante aras terram caesi strauere
iuuenci.

Although Putnam correctly notes that this passage reinforces a theme crucial to the Aeneid, that out of violence will come peace[14], he is swept up in the triumph of VIII, 714-728, and fails to notice that the words of Anchises at VI, 853,

parcere subiectis et debellare
superbos

are only being half fulfilled (VIII, 722-723):

...incedunt uictae longo ordine
gentes,
quam uariae linguis, habitu tam
uestis et armis.

Putnam[15] makes the dangerous mistake of thinking that he can read a mind as subtle as Virgil's, in his commentary on this passage:

> Nevertheless, from the description of Augustus' return in triple triumph, with all the races and nations in abject surrender at his feet, one feels that Virgil too felt himself keenly admiring, at least for the moment, that peace gained through might which was the glory of the regime he felt called upon to eulogize and which forms so important a theme in Aeneid VIII.[16]

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[14] Michael Putnam, The Poetry of the Aeneid, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1966, p. 150.

[15] Ibid., p. 150.

[16] Putnam's reading of Aeneid VIII, 722-728 is, in my opinion, too strongly worded. Victae (Aen. VIII, 722) does begin the passage and indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes (Aen. VIII, 728) concludes it, but these words do not constitute "keen admiration" on the part of the poet.

V. The characters of the heroes of the Iliad and the Aeneid; comparative analysis of Aeneid VIII, 630-728 and Iliad XVIII, 483-607; Virgil's handling of the Homeric model.

Although Book VIII in the Aeneid is structurally excellent, the eighteenth Iliad is dramatically more felicitous because of its personal, unifying theme of Achilles' grief and of his consequent resolutions to accept his fate and to return to battle, upon which the whole poem turns. Book XVIII deepens the Tragedy of Achilles by illustrating the emotional cost of his wrath: his grief at the death of Patroklos. As the loss of Briseis to Agamemnon leads to his withdrawal from battle, so, conversely, the loss of Patroklos spurs him to rejoin Agamemnon's fight. This is in utter contrast to the character and actions of Aeneas in, for example, the fourth, sixth or eighth Aeneid. Both incidents in Homer could happen only as a result of Achilles' fundamentally selfish, egotistical, heroic view of life, and, too, of his unusual sensitivity concerning his status vis-à-vis Agamemnon. Although Achilles' angry words to the leader of the Argives are a realistic political statement of Agamemnon's loose hegemony over the Greeks, they are, significantly, never uttered by any of the other heroes:

> For I have not come hither to fight for
> the sake of the Trojan spearmen, since
> to me they are not blameworthy (Iliad I, 152-154).

Achilles' heroic egotism is further illustrated in Book XVI, 'The Patroklead'. He gives Patroklos three reasons for cautioning him not to pursue the Trojans 'and lead the way against Ilion' (Iliad XVI, 92):

When you have driven them from the ships,
come back; although later
the thunderous lord of Hera might grant
you the winning of glory,
you must not set your mind on fighting
the Trojans, whose delight
is in battle, without me. So you will
diminish my honour.(1)
You must not, in the pride and fury of
fighting, go on
slaughtering the Trojans, and lead the
way against Ilion,
for fear some one of the everlasting
gods on Olympos
might crush you.(2) Apollo who works
from afar loves these people
dearly. You must turn back once you
bring the light of salvation
to the ships, and let the others go on
fighting in the flat land.
Father Zeus, Athene and Apollo, if only
not one of all the Trojans could escape
destruction, not one
of the Argives, but you and I could
emerge from the slaughter
so that we two along could break Troy's
hallowed coronal.(3)
(Iliad XVI, 87-100)[1]

This egotism is absent from the ~~Aeneid~~. Pallas, who is the Patroklos of the 'Iliadic ~~Aeneid~~', to use a phrase of Brooks Otis, does not enter battle until Book X. This is partially accounted for by the structure of the poem. The major themes and situations in Books I-VI are to be accorded parallels of varying degrees of fulfillment in Books VII-XII[2]. But

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[1]Richmond Lattimore, The Iliad of Homer, University of Chicago Press, pps. 332-333.

[2]Most of these parallels are discussed by Otis in Virgil, A Study in Civilized Poetry.

certainly, the tragedy of Dido is more memorable than the death of Pallas, and the tragedy of Turnus lacks the concision and intensity of the fourth Aeneid. Homer is "authentic epic", pre-literary, oral, and largely unconscious of structural parallels.[3] Thus the Death of Patroklos and the Grief of Achilles stand alone, and are meant to.[4] Aeneas sometimes appears to be more a catalyst than an active participant, when one compares (as indeed the narrative parallels cannot be ignored) the Grief of Achilles with the mourning of Aeneas for Pallas. Pallas, who first appears in Book VIII, represents, in my opinion, the danger of following a literary tradition too closely. Mistakes must inevitably occur, since Pallas, unlike Patroklos[5], cannot possibly, because of the dictates of the combined Iliadic and Odyssean narratives, appear in the first books of the Aeneid and consequently become a familiar figure to the listener in the first half of the poem.

'Pius Aeneas' is the antithesis of Achilles in everything except prowess in battle (and he is less impressive there too).

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[3]One obvious proof of this is the manner in which the two poems employ simile. In Homer it is illustrative; in Virgil it is usually judgemental.

[4]Iliad XVIII, 22-38, dwarfs Aeneid XI, 1-30, and X, 510-520 ff., in the intensity and singularity of the emotion which drowns the Homeric hero par excellence, Achilles.

[5]Iliad, I, 307.

His 'virtus' is that of responsible, selfless, civic behavior, except on these infrequent occasions on which the Homeric hero momentarily bursts forth.[6] This is the ideal to which he is educated in the Aeneid. Achilles, on the other hand, learns nothing in the Iliad that he did not already know (Iliad I, 352-354):

> 'Since, my mother, you bore me to be
> a man with a short life,
> therefore Zeus of the loud thunder
> on Olympos should grant me
> honour at least'.[7]

Thus where Achilles is static, Aeneas is active.

It is because the Aeneid is a poem of celebration, and its hero, Aeneas, is the instrument and symbol of Augustan Rome's 'manifest destiny', and because Aeneas' consciousness of his role grows from suicidal lack of direction in the early parts of Book II, to 'triumph' in Book XII, there can be no Tragedy of Aeneas to balance Homer's Tragedy of

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[6] Discussed on p. 76.

[7] Richmond Lattimore, The Iliad of Homer, University of Chicago Press, p. 68.

Achilles.[8] Because Homer's poem celebrates the exploits of the greatest hero of the Mycenean Greeks, and not his political destiny, he need not attempt to arrange on his shield a panorama of Greek history--indeed I doubt that the conception of 'history' properly existed in Homeric times. There is no necessity for his shield to have, as its emphasis, the legitimization of an Augustus (who was, after all, more the ruthless autocrat than the Messiah of Eclogue IV). It has been my concern to point out in this paper that the intentions of Homer and Virgil concerning their use of ecphrasis are quite different. The material object, the subject of the ecphrasis, receives completely different treatment in 'authentic' and in 'literary' epic.

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[8] Virgil has borrowed, although in different contexts, Homer's excellent technique of 'purposeful omission'. We realize the Tragedy of Achilles, although the poem ends with his triumph over Hektor, the Funeral Games, and his meeting with Priam. The inexorability of his doom is throughout the epic reiterated by Thetis, and by Achilles himself (Iliad XVIII, 95-96).

Similarly, for the purposes of characterization, Helen is never specifically described either In Iliad III or anywhere else in the epic. Always she is seen through the eyes of others. Similarly, in Aeneid IV, Aeneas says nothing until line 333. The effect of the technique in Virgil is, in this case, reversed. By seeing Aeneas only through Dido's eyes we are aware of her idealized (the Apollo simile) and emotional conception of him. In Homer, the result of omission is usually to enhance the importance of the character (most obviously, Achilles' withdrawal from battle).

> It is not that Vergil says more about the emotions than the older poets; rather, in his hands, as he follows their stylistic tendency, the inherited form becomes more responsive and meaningful--a more sensitive instrument capable of finer expression. The fullness of Homeric art has been modified but not discarded by subsequent development. In Vergil's poetry it exists, tempered with pictorial and musical elements and suffused with a new sensitivity, giving it the lyricism characteristic of Western poetry ever since. He added depth of feeling and symbolic significance to Homer's direct observations and literal meanings.[9]

Homer, unlike Virgil, does not characterize; he accumulates adjectives. His heroes do not undergo change, as do the heroes in Greek Tragedy; they are discovered to have qualities which have been, earlier in the narrative, subsumed, and which have suddenly become dramatically necessary to the success of the epic. Achilles in Iliad XVIII feels a grief which pre-existed, inside him, the death of Patroklos. Similarly, in Iliad XXIV, Achilles' compassion for the grieving, suppliant Priam in his tent is a reflection not of a change in his character, but of the sense of mortality that haunts him throughout the poem:

> So he spoke, and stirred in the other
> a passion of grieving
> for his own father. He took the old man's
> hand and pushed him
> gently away, and the two remembered, as
> Priam sat huddled
> at the feet of Achilleus and wept close
> for manslaughtering Hektor

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[9]Poschl, (Gerda Seligson trans.) The Art of Vergil, p. 3.

> and Achilleus wept now for his own father,
> now again
> for Patroklos. (Iliad XXIV, 507-512)[10]

In contrast, Aeneas, throughout the epic, undergoes change as he develops qualities of leadership, civic responsibility, and all the other traits which are included in the untranslateable word, pietas, and which are scarcely evident in his suicidal heroism at the beginning of his recitation, in Aeneid II, of the night of the fall of Troy. J.R. Bacon's comment on Book VIII might be applied with equal relevance to each book of the odyssean Aeneid:

> The development is not practical, but spiritual or sentimental. In the course of the book an entirely new complexion is put upon Aeneas' fortunes; from the end of it onward he is a changed man.[11]

Having briefly discussed the intentions of Homer and Virgil in terms of the ways in which they set forth the characters of their respective heroes in the Iliad and in the Aeneid, I shall now analyse the meaning of the contents of Achilles' shield and comment on its relationship to Aeneid VIII, 630-728.

The shield of Achilles, Iliad XVIII, 483-607, attempts (successfully) to convey the impression of universality.

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[10] Richmond Lattimore, The Iliad of Homer, University of Chicago Press, 1961, p. 488.

[11] J.R. Bacon, C.R., 1939, Volume LIII, p. 97.

Individuals are not mentioned. Divinities are not closely described (Ares and Pallas Athena for example);[12] and some, like Hate, Confusion, and Death are simply anthropomorphically described feelings. The ecphrasis is not integrated into the poem as a whole, as is that of Virgil in Book VIII. Its main relevance to the shield-bearer is that Achilles is aware that his short life will soon cut him off from the scenes on the shield which he wields.

The ecphrasis is resolved into a series of individual scenes and an attempt has been made to pair some of them together. 483-489 describes the universe, earth, sky, moon, sun and the constellations. It is a macrocosm in microcosm, and is neatly balanced by the last detail of the ecphrasis, 606-607, the uttermost rim of the Ocean. 490-508 describe the first of two cities, and contains descriptions of marriage and litigation. This city at peace is immediately followed

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[12] "In one notable respect this account of the shield differs from all similar works in later Greek art, and agrees with the Mycenean remains. The subjects are all taken from everyday life, and mythology is conspicuously absent. Two divinities only are mentioned, Ares and Athene, in the scene of the siege; and they are not brought into any mythological relation, but are simply taking part in purely human events, just as they do in the battle scenes of the Iliad itself." (Leaf and Bayfield, Homer, Iliad Books XIII-XXIV, p. 452.)

by the contrast of the second. It is in a state of siege and Ares and Pallas Athena make their brief appearances as leaders in the attack upon it. A transition is made during this scene, 509-540, from city to country and from the general to the particular, by means of the detail of the ambush, the two shepherds (525-529), and by the detail of the dragging of a corpse by Death. The agrarian motif is embellished firstly with the ploughmen in the field (541-549), then by the king and his reapers and heralds (550-560), in which the harmony between the ruler and the earth is stressed, and then by 561-572, the description of the vineyard and the processional and song to Linos. The motif of savagery recurs at 573-586, the blood-lust of the two lions for the ox. This agrarian brutality is balanced by 587-589, the idyllic meadow and 'glimmering sheepflocks'. The climactic detail is concerned with dancing and gymnastics, in which Cretan reminiscences are strong. The shield is completed by the rim of Ocean, which conforms to Homer's sense of geography.

Anderson comments on the close relationship of Virgil's shield ecphrasis to the themes of the Aeneid, and draws a comparison to the less carefully integrated ecphrasis in Book XVIII of the Iliad:[13]

> A brief look back at Homer's Iliad can shed some light on Vergil's achievement here. If we think of the supposed "Iliad

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[13] William S. Anderson, The Art of the Aeneid, New Jersey, 1969, pps. 73-74.

> pattern", we should be struck by the fact that Aeneas has not been acting like any of Homer's Trojans...If we do compare him (Aeneas) with Achilles, though, we see that he is a special kind of Achilles, not guilty or tragic in Achilles' way: and the difference becomes more apparent through study of their respective divine shields. Achilles carries scenes which represent the total spectrum of life--war and peace, marriage and death, festivals and lawcases. The exact connection with the Greek hero is not spelled out, but at least we sense the tragic fact that Achilles is fated to lose all these things by early death, further that he has even cut himself off from the wider community by his own fatal anger before this moment in the Iliad, Book Eighteen. Vergil, by contrast, restricts his subject matter to warfare, Roman[14] wars. Moreover, he has set this shield episode as the climax of a development in Book Eight: Hercules[15], Aeneas, and Augustus all belong together thematically as representatives of Order who resort to force only to curtail the

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[14] One of the means by which unity and concision is maintained throughout Virgil's shield description is the fact that, with the exception of the Battle of Actium passage of Aeneid VIII, 675-713 (itself closely followed by the conclusion of the ecphrasis, the Triumph of VIII, 714-728), all of the scenes depicted take place on the site of Rome.

[15] It should be mentioned that Hercules does not appear within the ecphrasis of Aeneid VIII, as Anderson's sentence seems to suggest. He is last mentioned at VIII, 542. But, as I have suggested earlier in this paper, the Hercules-Cacus episode (VIII, 184-279) is meant to balance the shield imagery of Book VIII, 630-731.

> destructive, utterly negative results of Disorder.[16]

The reason for the less "thematic" use of ecphrasis in Iliad XVIII than in Aeneid VIII, lies in the nature of the generation of oral epic[17], with its particular affection for digression. Kirk points out that the description of Achilles' shield is but one of the many digressive passages found in the Iliad:

> Moreover, the battle is only a part of the poem; the main motif is the wrath of Achilles, and when this too is left in the background there are many other different scenes and subjects to vary the action: scenes among the gods on Olympus and Ida or human scenes in the Achaean camp or in Troy; major digressions like the making of the shield in XVIII and the funeral games in XXIII; lists and catalogues of many kinds, of ships and warriors, of legendary parallels, of ancestors, gifts, horses, heroines, or Nereids; elaborate and frequent similes; summaries of other legends outside the Trojan tale--the attacks on Thebes and the prowess of Tydeus, Heracles, Meleagros and Bellerophon; detailed descriptions of sacrifices, tactical devices, the

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[16] In my opinion, Anderson's judgement should at least be qualified by a reference to the conclusion of Book XII and to the Aeneid as a whole: the brutal killing by an enraged Aeneas of the suppliant and rational Turnus (XII, 930-952).

[17] "The true oral poet is one who transmits and composes poetry without the aid of writing, who absorbs songs easily from others and elaborates them extempore and by ear", G.S. Kirk, Homer and the Epic, Cambridge University Press, 1965, p. 1.

handling of ships or the preparation
of heroic meals.[18]

In addition to the differences in treatment accorded ecphrasis by the composers of oral (Homer) and literary (Virgil) epic, it is significant to observe the differences in context within which the two shield descriptions are placed. If Virgil cannot mean the reader to ignore the parallel of Achilles' and Aeneas' withdrawal (for dissimilar reasons) from battle to receive their armour, brought by Thetis and Venus and made by Hephaistos and Vulcan, then the divergencies in his treatment of this analagous situation must be intentional.

The respective descents of Thetis and Venus, who both bring the fatal armour[19] for the heroes of the epics, exhibit a remarkable correspondence of line numbering and of language, although in quite different contexts:

(Iliad XVIII, 615-616)
And she like a hawk came sweeping down
from the snows of Olympos
and carried with her the shining armour,
the gift of Hephaistos.

(Aeneid VIII, 608-610)
At Venus aetherios inter dea candida
nimbos
dona ferens aderat; natumque in ualle
reducta

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[18] Ibid., p. 127.

[19] In Homer this armour is seen, by dramatic foreshadowing, to be fatal both to Achilles and to his enemies; in Virgil to the enemies of Rome (Aeneas) only.

ut procul ĝelido secretum flumine
uidit,
talibus adfata est dictis seque
obtulit ultro....

The most obvious difference, however, is structural. Aeneas receives the dona Vulcani before the description of the shield, and, throughout the tableaux, the reader is looking through the eyes of Aeneas himself. In the Iliad, the ecphrasis is less complicated, but not devoid of meanings for the rest of the epic. It is because Achilles' tragic wrath has spurred him to embrace his fate--a short, glorious life--that he is cut off from the scenes on his shield. Consequently, Homer does not give the listener a detailed, intimate reaction of the hero to the gifts of Hephaistos. That the designs on the shield are ironic comments upon Achilles' life (and this may have been unconsciously done) and early death, is not particularly germane to the Iliad as a whole. They contain no unifying theme of the magnitude of the Manifest Destiny of Aeneid VIII.

(Iliad XIX, 18-20)
He was glad, holding in his hands the
shining gifts of Hephaistos,
But when he had satisfied his heart
with looking at the intricate
armour, he spoke to his mother and
addressed her in winged words.

By way of contrast, to Virgil's description (and in the same book as the ecphrasis) is added:

(Aeneid VIII, 729-731)
Talia per clipeum Volcani, dona parentis,
miratur rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet
attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum.

Unlike Homer, these lines stress, in a climactic position in the book, the intimate historical relationship between the ecphrasis of the shield and him who carries it. Ignarus is wonderfully sympathetic towards the man who is the instrument of destiny. Similarly, while Aeneas delights in the designs on the shield, even though he does not understand their significance, the last line of the book, attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum, is really the climax of the tableau in the reader's mind; Aeneas could not possibly be more closely associated with the shield and with the events which it portrays.

VI. The Shield of Herakles: deficiencies as poetry, as an ecphrasis, Homeric influences, comparison with Aeneid VIII, 675-728.

No discussion of the use of ecphrasis in Aeneid VIII would be complete without at least a cursory mention of the Shield of Herakles. Unfortunately, one immediately realizes that this extended ecphrasis is the work of a poet who was far less inspired than the author of Iliad XVIII, 483-607, or than Apollonius Rhodius in The Voyage of Argo, Book I, 721-767. Indeed it is unlikely that the ecphrasis which consumes so large a part of the Shield of Herakles (122-320) can reasonably be attributed to the poet of the Theogony and The Works and Days, Hesiod. Richmond Lattimore's observation is relevant here:

> Like the Theogony, the Catalogue, so composed, permits the building-in of supplementary material without undue strain. We have a case attested, for the Argument to The Shield of Herakles states that the first fifty-six lines are from the Fourth Book of the Catalogue. To regard the rest of the Shield as the work of a later interpolator is, in view of this, a temperate opinion--and very welcome, too, for the poetry of the rest of the Shield seems to most, and to me, to be sub-Hesiodic, although it does have its moments.[1]

The Oxford Classical Dictionary gives ancient authority for this view:

> For the rest (the fight between Heracles and Cycnus and the description of Heracles' shield), the opinion of Aristophanes of Byzantium (cited in the Argument)

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[1]Richmond Lattimore Trans., Hesiod, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1968, p. 9.

> is generally accepted--that it is not by H. 'but by some other person who had the notion of imitating the Homeric Shield' (IL. 18. 478-609). Its date is uncertain, but some of the scenes depicted (e.g. 215-17) appear to resemble those on vases of the late seventh and early sixth centuries....[2]

In the first place the Shield of Heracles contains some extended interpolations from Iliad XVIII; but, inevitably, such wholesale borrowing, when put into a different context, can hardly satisfy the two main criteria for the realization of the full possibilities of ecphrasis, (a) that the subject matter of the description be related to the main theme(s) of the poem[3], and (b) that the individual scenes be interrelated. One example of this, inter alia, is the Shield of Herakles, 156-159, which is identical to Iliad XVIII, 535-538:

> and Hate was there with Confusion among them, and Death the destructive;
> she was holding allive man with a new wound, and another
> one unhurt, and dragged a dead man by the feet through the carnage.
> The clothing upon her shoulders showed strong red with the men's blood.[4]

The composer of the Shield of Herakles gives the impression

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[2] O.C.D., 1964, p. 424.

[3] Indeed, as I stated above, the description of the shield of Herakles is the main focus on the subject matter of the poem.

[4] Richmond Lattimore, The Iliad of Homer, University of Chicago Press, 1961, p. 389.

of confusion in his conception of the designs he is describing, and lacks the over-all scheme which gives unity and order to Homer's ecphrasis in Iliad XVIII, the juxtaposition of opposites. The Homeric lines quoted on the previous page occur in the scene of the city at war (Iliad XVIII, 509-540), and they are balanced by the tableau of the city at peace which precedes it (490-508), and by the scenes of ploughing and reaping which follow (541-560). In the "sub-Hesiodic" lines, the interpolation from Homer is merely an added detail to a somewhat random catalogue of anthropomorphic deities:

> On it were wrought the figures of Onrush
> and Backrush, on it
> Battlenoise and Panic
> and Manslaughter were blazing,
> and Hate was there with Confusion among them....[5]

The poet of the Shield is careless in his repetition of single words, formulae, and even whole lines, all in close proximity to each other. Line 150 of the Shield:

> whosoever might bring war against the son
> of Zeus,

is repeated at 163, which moved F.A. Paley to remark:

> This verse can hardly be genuine both here
> and v.150.[6]

In an attempt to imitate the technique employed by Homer of beginning a line with an adjective or epithet whose noun is in

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[5] Richmond Lattimore Trans., Hesiod, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1968, p. 200 (the Shield of Herakles, 154-156).

[6] F.A. Paley, The Epics of Hesiod, London, Whittaker & Co., 1883, p. 136.

the preceeding verse (Iliad XVIII, 562, 656, 578, 594, 604, inter alia), the author of the Shield often uses the same epithet, in the same place in the line, and separated by too few verses for the repetition to be effective. One example of this is the appearance of the adjective "silvery" in the first feet of 183 and 188. Similarly, the Shield sometimes merely lists adjectives (125, 134) and the names of warriors (179-182). The latter example seems to have as its only merit the versatility (such as it is) of the poet's ability to adapt names to the dactylic hexameter! One final blemish of style is worth noting, since it is absent in Virgil's shield ecphrasis, and used sparingly by Homer. The poet of the Shield all too frequently resorts to assertion in an attempt to convey the impression of the reality of the designs on the shield (215, 198, 189, 194, 206, 211, etc.). The effect of this is illustrated in Mair's prose translation:

> And over against them gathered the Kentauroi round mighty Petraios, and the seer Asbolos, and Arktos, and Oureios, and dark-haired Mimas, and the two sons of Peukeus, even Perimedes and Dryalos, silvern men with golden pine trees in their hands. And rushing together, even as living men, they lunged at one another with spear and pine.
>
> Thereon, too, stood the swift-footed steeds of fierce Ares, wrought in gold, and himself withal, even murderous Ares, bearer of spoils, spear in hand, urging on the van: crimson with blood,

> as if it were living men he slew, he stood upon his car. And by him stood Fear and Rout, fain to enter the war of men.
>
> Thereon, too, was the Driver of the Spoil, Tritogeneia, daughter of Zeus: like to her, even as if she were fain to enter battle, with her spear in her hand, and her golden helmet and her Aegis about her shoulders, she ranged through the dread strife.[7]

Finally, one is struck by the poet's affection for the macabre, for what, in fact, constitutes an error of bad taste in ecphrastic poetry. The description of the dragon will amply serve to illustrate this defect, to which even the bloodiest lines of Homer's shield (582-583) do not approach:

> And in its middle was a dragon, a terror unspeakable,
> Looking backwards with eyes shining with fire
> And its mouth was filled white with rows of teeth,
> Terrible, unapproachable, and on its shaggy brow
> Hovered deadly Strife marshalling the throng of men,
> Cruel, who took away the minds and wits of men,
> Whosoever might bring war against the son of Zeus.
> Whose souls under the earth enter into the house of Hades
> Whose bones, the skin having rotted about them,
> Decay on the black earth under parched Sirios.[8]

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[7] A.W. Mair, Hesiod, The Poems and Fragments, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1908, pps. 75-76 (Shield, 184-200).

[8] Shield, 144-153, tr. R.J.C.E.

In short, as compared to Homer's shield in Iliad XVIII, this ecphrasis contains an imbalance of terror and is not enough concerned with the scenes of peace and of the fruitful countryside by means of which Homer maintains an over-all mood of optimism in his ecphrasis. Muller comments:

> The Hesiodic poet places in the middle of the shield a terrible dragon, surrounded by twelve twisted snakes, exactly as the gorgoneum or head of Medusa is represented. On Tyrrhenian shields of Tarquinii other monstrous heads are similarly introduced in the middle. A battle of wild boars and lions makes a border, as is often the case in early Greek sculptures and vases. It must be conceived as a narrow band or ring round the middle. The first considerable row, which surrounds the centre piece in a circle, consists of four departments, of which two contain warlike, and two peaceable subjects. So that the entire shield contains, as it were, a sanguinary and a tranquil side.--An external row...is occupied by a city at war and a city at peace, which the poet borrows from Homer, but describes with greater minuteness, and indeed overloads with too many details.[9]

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[9]Muller, Gr. Lit. p. 99 (F.A. Paley, The Epics of Hesiod, London, Whittaker & Co., 1883, p. 134).

VII. The shield of Aeneas: its contents, structure, political and historical significance.

Before I examine the most important use of ecphrasis in the Aeneid, it will be useful to summarize briefly the content of the designs on the shield of Aeneas. In Book VIII, lines 630 to 634, Virgil describes the lupus Mauortis and Romulus and Remus. Lines 635-641 contain the story of the rape of the Sabine women and the pacts of peace and sacrifice solemnized by the kings of the Romans and of the Curetes. The hideous punishment of Mettus is portrayed at 642-645 and is closely and rather abruptly followed by the characters Porsena, Horatius Cocles, and Cloelia in 646-651. The legend of the Gauls and the sacred geese is vividly put in 652-662. The sixth major scene deals with the rites of the Salii, Luperci, and the matres castae. Catiline and Cato are contrasted in lines 666-670. The eighth picture is an interlude and describes the ocean with dolphins swimming in it. All this now is seen to be preparatory to the description of the battle of Actium and the consequent triumph (675-713, and 714-728), "in which the poet discharges his obligation to commemorate the conclusion of the civil war".[1] Finally, a brief coda follows (729-731), in which the listener is returned to the 'historical present' of Aeneas. It should be observed, however, that the battle of Actium is not described in the manner of an objective historian, but is placed wholly

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[1]Kenneth Quinn, Virgil's Aeneid, A Critical Description, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1968, p. 197.

within the context of the thematic ecphrasis of which it is the climactic tableau. Gordon Williams has this excellent analysis in Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry[2]:

> It is impossible to do justice to it in a translation, and there is one feature which may escape the attention of a reader who takes the passage out of context. Virgil is not describing the actual battle of Actium, but a representation of it on the shield of Aeneas. This was an admirable invention: it satisfied the demands of epic, which, ever since Homer, required the description of a shield as a formal element; it evoked the emotions that centred on a decisive battle in recent history which had great power to excite Roman sentiment; finally, it permitted the description of a work of art--and this was a favourite device of Hellenistic poetry.[3]

The initial scene on the shield, the picture of the pregnant she-wolf, giving suck to Romulus and Remus, is one of regeneration amid the forces of war. It is thus linked to one of the main themes of the Aeneid: the great cost of building the Roman state (I,33)

> tantae molis erat Romanam condere
> gentem.

It contains striking resemblances to a passage near the beginning of Lucretius' philosophical epic De Rerum Natura

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[2]Gordon Williams, Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry, Oxford, 1968, pps. 55-56.

[3]cf. Fordyce, Catullus, p. 273.

(I, 33-40):

> ...in gremium qui saepe tuum se
> reiicit aeterno deuictus uolnere
> amoris
> atque ita, suspiciens tereti ceruice
> reposta
> pascit amore auidos, inhians in te,
> dea, uisus
> eque tuo pendet resupini spiritus
> ore.
> hunc tu, diua, tuo recubantem corpore
> sancto
> circumfusa super, suauis ex ore
> loquellas
> funde petens placidam Romanis,
> incluta, pacem.

Here is Virgil's first tableau on the shield of Aeneas (VIII, 630-634):

> fecerat et uiridi fetam Mauortis in
> antro[4]
> procubuisse lupam, geminos huic ubera
> circum
> ludere pendentis pueros et lambere
> matrem
> impauidos, illam tereti ceruice
> reflexa
> mulcere alternos et corpora fingere
> lingua.

Putnam comments on this relationship:

> If we were to transfer the general impression conveyed by Lucretius' initial presentation of Venus to the opening scene on the shield of Aeneas, we would be tempted to find just one more example of the spirit of violence being lulled to sleep by creativity personified. But it must not be forgotten that the wolf of Mars is doing the cherishing here...The imagery looks in two directions. From one vantage

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[4] uiridi proiectus in antro echoes Eclogue I, 75, non ego uos posthac viridi proiectus in antro, a line spoken by the "dispossessed" Meliboeus.

> point it summarizes, through stress on the idea of birth and generation, the essential imagistic core of Book VIII...This is only half the story, however. We are never allowed to forget that the design on the shield consists not only of the offspring of Ascanius, but also of wars to be fought in the future.[5]

The harsh reality of the necessity for war is reinforced, most obviously, by the dominant and climactic tableau of the shield ecphrasis, the battle of Actium; and it is important to remember that the lupus Mauortis appears again, at Aeneid IX, 565-566, in a thoroughly destructive context:

> quaesitum aut matri multis balatibus agnum
> Martius a stabulis rapuit lupus.

The theme of the generation of the Roman state amid war, like the phoenix which rises from the ashes of its funeral pyre with renewed youth, is underscored by the poet in his introduction to the ecphrasis, at VIII, 628-629:

> ...illic genus omne futurae
> stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella.

A number of tensions are contained in these lines, tensions which are amplified by the designs on the shield itself, and, inevitably, by the Aeneid as a whole. genus omne is juxtaposed with pugnataque...bella, and by the further paradox that the furor of these battles is to be described in ordine.[6]

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[5]Michael Putnam, The Poetry of the Aeneid, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1966, pps. 148-149.

[6]But see Aen. 1, 456.

This kind of tension of opposites seems to be at the heart of the poet's imagination, in which the heroic and pastoral are mixed inextricably. Even in his first Eclogue, the spectre of the lupus Mauortis, of the insanity of war, haunts Meliboeus and makes Tityrus' "replies" strangely inappropriate.[7] A not unrelated tension exists inside the mind of Aeneas himself: the fundamentally egotistical Homeric valour which rises to the surface during the night of the fall of Troy, after the death of Pallas, and at the conclusion to Book twelve, is never completely curbed by the lessons of pietas, with which so much of the Aeneid, and of the growth of the social awareness of its hero, is concerned. The shield's designs, in fact, are constructed (as are those on the shield of Achilles to a lesser extent) in terms of the juxtaposition of opposites, of the representatives of pietas and those of furor. The rape of the Sabine women is balanced by the pacts of peace and rites of sacrifice (635-641), Mettus and Porsena are balanced by Cocles and Cloelia (642-651), the destructive Gauls are frustrated by the sacred geese (652-662), and by the emphasis upon the importance of correct observance of religious rites, itself an important theme throughout the

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[7] And, as Galinsky observes (Herakles, p. 136), "The fight of Herakles against Cacus also is placed into the bucolic setting of old Italy, which is ruled by Evander, king of the Arcadians".

the Aeneid (663-666). The infamous Catiline is answered by the example of Cato (666-670).[8] The interlude of the detail of the dolphins (671-674) is also a subtle transition to the climactic image on the shield, the naval battle of Actium. Virgil highlights the battle by moving quickly from one scene to another, as does Shakespeare, with great effect, in his play Antony and Cleopatra in the thirteen scenes of Act III. Aguustus, with flame pouring from his brows and guided by his father's star (VIII, 678-681):

> hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia
> Caesar
> cum patribus populoque, penatibus et
> magnis dis,
> stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui
> tempora flammas
> laeta uomunt patriumque aperitur
> uertice sidus

is balanced by Cleopatra and her monstrous (to a Roman!) gods and by the decadent Antony (whose description is intended to contrast vividly with that accorded to Augustus) in VIII, lines 685-688:

> hinc ope barbarica uariisque Antonius
> armis,
> uictor ab Aurorae populis et litore
> rubro,
> Aegyptum uirisque Orientis et ultima
> secum
> Bactra uehit, sequiturque (nefas)
> Aegyptia coniunx.

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[8] Aeneid VIII, 668, scelerum poenas, et te, Catilina and 670, dantem iura Catonem.

The ecphrasis ends, of course, on a note of triumph, in which the long lines of captives serve to swell the glory of Rome and of Augustus, but do not, in my view, fulfil the commands of Anchises in Book VI, 853:

parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.

Virgil, in short, is a political realist and his shield, like his poem, contains a great deal that is tragic. In spite of the pains Virgil takes to demonstrate the importance of pietas, the climaxes to Book VIII and to the poem itself, XII, 938-952, celebrate military power, accompanied though it may be by penatibus et magnis dis (VIII, 679, III, 12).

The Aeneid, finally, is a tragic poem because, in the beginning, middle, and end (to Virgil's own generation of course), the lupus Mauortis all too easily abandons the pastoral and the creative and fulfils her second role--that of a symbol of violence. The paradox of the very name, 'the wolf of Mars' symbolizes the uneasy cohabitation of pietas and of furor in the minds of men. So Aeneas' peaceful intentions are thwarted in Aeneids III, IV, VII, and especially in XII, where furor, paradoxically, ends the war in Latium by the killing of the suddenly sane and suppliant[9] Turnus by an enraged Aeneas.

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[9] Aeneid XII, 930, ille humilis supplex, and 940, oro.

VIII. Conclusions: the interrelationship between the two dominant images of Aeneid VIII, the cave of Cacus and the shield of Aeneas;

that Virgil's use of ecphrasis in Aeneid VIII, 630-728 surpasses the achievements of his predecessors; that the shield of Aeneas fully explores the possibilities of thematic ecphrasis.

One of the most important and most beautiful ways in which the Aeneid achieves unity and coherence within an epic framework is through the deliberate use of recurrent imagery and through the connexions (paradoxically via contrast) of opposites. Aeneid VIII is an excellent example of a "discordia concors" because of the connexions made by the poet between the cave of Cacus and the shield of Aeneas, in spite of the great differences of narrative context in which the two dominant images of the Book occur.

W.F.J. Knight, following R.W. Cruttwell[1] interprets, and in my opinion very reasonably, the Cacus episode and the shield of Aeneas, inter alia, in terms of one of Virgil's favourite groups of images in the Aeneid, that of circles and labyrinths.[2] This imagery does have precedents in the Aristaeus episode in Georgic IV, lines 333-356, and in the Eighth Eclogue, lines 72-78:

> ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina,
> ducite, Daphnin.
> terna tibi haec primum triplici diuersa
> colore
> licia circumdo; numero deus impare
> gaudet.
> ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina,
> ducite Daphnin,

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[1] In particular his book Virgil's Mind at Work (Oxford, 1946).

[2] W.F. Jackson Knight, Roman Vergil, Penguin, 1966, pps. 209-211.

necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli,
colores;
necte, Amarylli, modo et 'Veneris'
dic 'uincula necto'.

According to Knight, the circular image is 'symbolic of defense and sanctity'[3], and 'sharply distinguished the outside of a hut or settlement from the inside'. This sense is particularized at Aeneid VIII, lines 447-449:

ingentem clipeum informant, unum omnia
contra
tela Latinorum, septenosque orbibus
orbis
impediunt.

The sanctity of the designs upon the shield will be defended by Aeneas in Aeneid IX-XII against the first of many threats to the fulfillment of the Roman destiny, to wit, 'all the weapons of the Latins'.[4]

The dominant image of the first half of Book VIII, that of the lair of the volcanic monster, Cacus, is not unrelated to the circles of Aeneas' shield quoted above. The labyrinth also, for W.F.J. Knight, represents defense and sanctity:

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[3] Ibid., p. 210.

[4] It is interesting to observe that the shield of Mezentius, pierced by Aeneas' spear at X, 783-790, is not closely described beyond the unexceptionable details that it is composed of triple layers of bronze, linen, and leather. Similarly, in Iliad VII, 244-248, Hektor pierces six of the seven folds of Ajax' shield, but there is no mention of any designs upon it.

> ...but it is more complicated. Partly it represents the circle, and partly the cave, or the tomb, which was at first a cave, or the earth, which is the universal mother.[5]

In Virgil's mind, the labyrinth, the cave, subterranean passages et al form a cluster of associations which appear throughout his works.[6] Cacus' intramontane lair is related most obviously to Hades[7] in Book VI (similarly, Anchises'

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[5] Ibid., p. 210

[6] Some other examples are Georgicon IV, 333-356, Aeneid VIII, 241-267 (the interior of the cave is explicitly related to Hades in these lines, Aeneid VIII, 66-67 (the pool of the Tiber), Aeneid VIII, 416-423 (Vulcan), Aeneid VI, 236-267 (the Sybil's cave and the entrance to Hades).

[7] "In Contrast to the Cacus of Dionysius and Livy, Vergil's Cacus is not merely a thieving herdsman or a robber but a son of Vulcan and thus of divine origin. He is an infernal creature, a real monstrum, who belches forth smoke and fire and lives in a cave that the poet compares to the opening of hell itself:

> The court of Cacus stands revealed to sight;
> and cavern glares with new-admitted light.
> So the pent vapors, with a rumbling sound,
> Heave from below and rend the hollow ground.
> A sounding flaw succeeds; and, from on high,
> The gods with hate behold the nether sky:
> The ghosts repine at violated night,
> And curse the invading sun, and sicken at the sight.
> The graceless monster, caught in open day,
> Enclosed, and in despair to fly away,
> Howls horrible from underneath and fills
> His hollow palace with unmanly yells
>
> (Dryden's translation)",

Galinsky, Herakles, p. 142.

prophecy at VI, 756-886, complements the designs on Aeneas' shield in Book VIII).

Not unexpectedly, moreover, Cacus' cave is a place of destruction and of furor, not of retribution and regeneration, as is Hades in Aeneid VI:

> faucibus ingentem fumum (mirabile dictu)
> euomit inuoluitque domum caligine caeca
> prospectum eripiens oculis, glomeratque
> sub antro
> fumiferam noctem commixtis igne tenebris.
>
> (Aeneid VIII, 252-255)

In addition to the contrasts and similarities of the Cacus episode in Book VIII and the Hades description in Book VI, the connotations of the imagery with which Cacus is described are the reverse of those surrounding Hephaistos[8] in Iliad XVIII (who is amiable, reasonable, and creative). Similarly, as the shield of Aeneas in Aeneid VIII completes the revelation of Rome's future, which has been initiated by Anchises in Book VI, so Cacus stands in deliberate contrast, in spite of parallels of imagery, to the ecphrasis which ends the Eighth Aeneid. The reality of Cacus, which underlies the grotesque and fantastic imagery with which he is described, is that of the destructive force in mankind[9], which the shield forged by

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[8] The importance of the relationship of Iliad XVIII to Aeneid VIII is discussed on pages [illegible] of this paper.

[9] Illustrated, in my opinion, by the manner in which Virgil ends Book Twelve of the Aeneid.

Vulcan must resist, from omnis...tela Latinorum[10] to the central image of the ecphrasis, the battle of Actium.[11]

As the preceeding chapters of this thesis have attempted to demonstrate, the ecphrasis of Aeneid VIII, 630-728, far exceeds the achievements of Virgil's models in the exploration of the possibilities of thematic ecphrasis. Not only is it intimately connected with the dominant image of the first half of the book, the lair of the volcanic monster Cacus, but also the shield of Aeneas recalls, symbolically, structurally, and historically, the speech of Anchises in Aeneid VI, 756-886.[12] Although Homer's shield description at Iliad XVIII, 483-607, is a masterpiece of ornamental digression, its precise connexion to the fate of Achilles is never overtly stated, as Anderson, among others, has correctly observed.[13] The reasons for this lie in the fundamental differences between the intentions of the composers of oral and of literary epic, a subject which lies beyond the scope of this

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[10] Aeneid VIII, 447-448.

[11] Galinsky comments (Herakles, p. 133): "Aeneas' greatest labor, foreshadowed by the Herakles-Cacus episode in Book VIII, is his fight against Turnus and the Latins. Thus is the note on which Anchises ends his prophecy in Book VI (890-892)."

[12] cf. chapter IV.

[13] William S. Anderson, The Art of the Aeneid, New Jersey, 1969, pps. 73-74.

study. The conscious, literary attempts of individual poets, however, by no means guarantee the successful writing of thematic ecphrasis. In chapters II and VI comparative studies of Apollonius Rhodius, Pseudo-Hesiod, and Virgil have, I hope, demonstrated this fact. It remained for the poet of the Aeneid to transform what was, before him, essentially a stylized set piece necessary for the fulfillment of the conventions of epic poetry into a vehicle both of great beauty and of profound political analysis.[14]

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[14] cf. chapter VII.

IX. Appendixes: examples of ecphrasis in Roman poetry after Virgil, examples of ecphrasis in English literature, list of ecphrases discussed in the thesis.

Appendix I

Examples of ecphrasis in Roman poetry after Virgil:

(a) Ovid, Metamorphoses, II, 1-18 (the palace of the Sun).

The royal palace of the sun rose high
On lofty columns, bright with flashing gold,
With bronze that glowed like fire, and ivory crowned
The gables, and the double folding-doors
Were radiant with silver. Manner there
Had conquered matter, for the artist Vulcan
Carved, in relief, the earth-circling waters,
The wheel of earth, the overarching skies.
The sea holds blue-green gods, resounding Triton,
Proteus who changes always, and Aegaeon
Gripping the backs of whales, the sea-nymph Doris
And all her daughters, swimming, some, and others
Sitting on sea-wet rocks, their green hair drying,
And others riding fishes. All the sea-girls
Seem different, but alike, as sisters ought to.
And the land has men and cities, beasts and forests,
Rivers and nymphs and woodland gods. Above them
The image of the shining sky is fashioned,
Six of the zodiac symbols on the right,
Six on the left.[1]

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[1]Rolfe Humphries, Ovid, Metamorphoses, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1961, p. 28.

(b) Ovid, Metamorphoses XI, 592-618 (the cave of sleep).

Far down, far under a Cimmerian mountain,
A cavern winds, the home of lazy Sleep,
His dwelling-place and shrine. No sunlight ever
Comes there at morning, noon, or evening, only
A dubious twilight, and the ground is dark
With mist, and the fog settles there. No bird
With clarion cry ever calls out the morning,
Dogs never break the silence with their barking,
Geese never cackle, cattle never low,
No boughs move in the stir of air, no people
Talk in their human voices. Only quiet.
From under the rock's base a little stream,
A branch of Lethe, trickles, with a murmur
Over the shiny pebbles, whispering Sleep!
Before the doors great beds of poppies bloom
And other herbs, whose juices Night distils
To sprinkle slumber over the darkened earth.
There is no door to turn upon its hinge
With jarring sound, no guardian at the gate.
But in the very center, a dark couch
Rises on ebony framework, all one color,
Downy and soft, and with a counterpane
Of black thrown over it. Here the god is lying,
Dissolved in slumber. And around him lie,
In various forms, the unsubstantial dreams,

As numerous as the wheat-ears of the harvest,
The green leaves of the woods, or grains of sand
Along the shore.[2]

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[2] Ibid., pps. 277-278.

(c) Claudian, Rape of Proserpine I, 347-388 (Proserpine's Tapestry).

Fair Proserpine, in sweetest accents, sang;
The palace, with her notes melodious, rang,
While she, the nicest presents, tries to frame,
Against, returning, her loved mother came.
With dext'rous needle she, on tissue, wove
The course of elements;-the seat of Jove;-
The ways of NATURE when, with skilful trace,
She, things discordant, ranged in proper place,
Whate'er proves light, on high in skies, is shown;
And, 'mid the universe, the heavy thrown.
AIR shines with flame;- the HEAV'NS, bright beams,
disclose;-
EARTH hangs suspended: and the OCEAN flows.
Nor does a single colour, all, pervade:
In gold are STARS;- in purple, WAVES, displayed;-
The CLIFFS of precious gems;-while threads below,
Feigned undulations of the BILLOWS, show;
The GRASS-WRACK seems to dash against the shore,
And, through the sands, the SURGES hoarsely roar.
Five ZONES are added by the charmer's hands:
The TORRID, 'mid the whole, in red, expands;
The threads that mark the bounds, dark shade, display,
As if burnt up by PHOEBUS' sultry ray.

On both sides two TEMP'RATE she designed,
Alike inhabited by human kind.
Two FRIGID, in th'extremities, are found:
Perpetual WINTER seems to hover round;
The webs, a gloomy dreariness, unfold,
And indications of eternal cold.
Nor failed she to portray her uncle's dome,
And realms infernal, destined for her home.
Howe'er a direful presage prompted fears,
And filled her eyes at once with floods of tears.
She scarcely had begun the surge to trace
on OCEAN'S margin in the distant space,
When opeining doors discovered, to her view,
The goddesses divine, who near her drew.
Each finger instantly, the work, forsook;
Possession of her cheek the roses took,
And, piercing features that might rival snows,
In scarlet tints of modesty, arose.
Less glows the iv'ry, that the female slave,
Of Lydia, plunged in Sidon's purple wave.[3]

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[3]A. Hawkins, The Works of Claudian, Vol. II, London, 1817, pps. 223-224 (De Raptu Proserpinae I, 244-273).

(d) Claudian, Praise of Stilicho.

This said, he entered gardens strewed with dew;
A stream of flame around the valley flew;
Large Solar rays among the plants were spread,
On which the coursers of the Sun are fed.
His brow the God of Day, with garlands, graced,
And flow'rs, o'er saffron reins and horses, placed;
These, equally, the humid Star of Morn
And bright Aurora hastened to adorn,
Close by,-the coming, golden year was seen:
In hand the bridle, and with smiling mien;
The Consul's splendid name in front appeared:
The circling course begun, th'IMMORTALS cheered;
And, in the calends of th'ethereal frame,
They, STILICHO, inscribed on rolls of fame.[4]

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[4] A. Hawkins, The Works of Claudian, Vol. I, London, 1817, p. 105 (De Laudibus Stilichonis II, 467-476 (Claudian XXII)).

Appendix II

Examples of ecphrasis in English literature:

(a) Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Qveene, Book I, Canto V, 34, 35,[1]

(The faithfull knight in equall field
subdewes his faithlesse foe,
Whom false Duessa saues, and for
his cure to hell does goe).
Before the threshold dreadfull CERBERUS
His three deformed heads did lay along,
Curled with thousand adders venemous,
And lilled forth his bloodie flaming tong:
At them he gan to reare his bristles strong,
And felly gnarre, vntill dayes enemy
Did him appease; then downe his taile he hong
And suffered them to passen quietly:
For she in hell and heauen had power equally.

There was IXION turned on a wheele,
For daring tempt the Queene of heauen to sin;
And SISYPHUS an huge round stone did reele
Against an hill, ne might from labour lin;
There thirstie TANTALUS hong by the chin;

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[1] H.F. Lowry and Willard Thorp, editors, An Oxford Anthology of English Poetry, Oxford University Press, 1967, pps. 153, 159.

And TITYUS fed a vulture on his maw;
TYPHOEUS ioynts were stretched on a gin,
THESEUS condemned to endlesse slouth by law,
And fifty sisters water in leake vessels draw.[2]

[2] I chose these stanzas especially because they are concerned with the katabasis of the hero (cf., Odyssey XI, Aeneid VI, Dante's Inferno, etc.).

(b) Thomas Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller:

It were here too tedious to manifest all the discontented or amorous deuises y were vsed in that turnament. The shields onely of some few I wil touch to make short worke. One bare for his impresse the eies of yong swallowes comming againe after they were pluckt out, with this mot, Et addit et addimit, your beautie both bereaues and restores my sight. Another a siren smiling when the sea rageth and ships are ouerwhelmed, including a cruell woman, that laughs, singes and scornes at her louers tears, and the tempests of his despaire, the word Cuncta pereunt, all my labor is ill imploid. A third being troubled with a curst, a trecherous and wanton wife, vsed this similitude. On his shild he caused to be limmed Pompeies ordinance for paracides, as namely a man put into a sack with a cocke, a serpent and an ape, interpreting that his wife was a cocke for her crowing, a serpent for her stinging, and an ape for her vnconstant wantonnesse, with which ill qualities hee was so beset, that thereby hee was throwen into a sea of grief. The worde Extremum malorum mulier, The vtmost of euils is a woman. A fourth, who being a person of suspected religion, was continually hanted with intelligencers and spies that thought to praie vppon him for that hee had, he could not deuise which waie to shape them off, but by

making away that he had. To obscure this, he vsed no other fansie but a number of blinde flies, whose eies the colde had closed, the word Aurum reddit acutissimum, Gold is the onely phisicke for the eie-sight.[3]

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[3]Thomas Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller, London, Whittingham & Co., 1892, pps. 129-130.

(c) John Milton, Paradise Lost

In Paradise Lost I, 283-291, Milton deliberately omits the expected description of Satan's shield. It is but one of innumerable assertions of independence by the poet, a note first sounded in the opening lines of the epic (Paradise Lost I, 12-17):

> ...I thence
> Invoke thy aid to my advent'rous Song,
> That with no middle flight intends to soar
> Above th' Aonian Mount, while it pursues
> Things unattempted yet in Prose or Rhyme.

The appearance of Satan's shield is not described, as is the shield of Aeneas in Virgil, or of Achilles in the Iliad, in terms of its designs[4], but in terms of what it resembled in Milton's imagination (Paradise Lost I, 283-294):

> He scarce had ceas't when the superior Fiend
> Was moving towards the shore; his ponderous shield
> Ethereal temper, massy, large, and round,
> Behind him cast; the broad circumference
> Hung on his shoulders like the Moon, whose Orb
> Through Optic Glass the Tuscan Artist views
> At Ev'ning from the top of Fesole,
> Or in Valdarno, to descry new Lands,
> Rivers or Mountains in her spotty Globe.
> His spear, to equal which the tallest Pine
> Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the Mast
> Of some great Ammiral, were but a wand...

The replacement of the digression of ecphrasis with one of simile is particularly effective in the appreciation of

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[4] What Poschl terms 'the representation of things...as they are heard or seen' (The Art of Virgil, p. 2).

the 'classical reader' (an ironic phrase much used by Henry Fielding), whose head will be swimming at the plethora of shield descriptions from which Milton decided not to draw.

Similarly, in Paradise Lost VI, 80-86, a brief allusion is made to shields and to their 'boastful' significations:

> ...a fiery Region, strecht
> In battailous aspect, and nearer view
> Bristl'd with upright beams innumerable
> Of rigid Spears, and Helmets throng'd,
> and Shields
> Various, with boastful Argument portray'd,
> The banded Powers of Satan hasting on
> With furious expedition....

Although the allusion may indeed be specific, as Hughes suggests in his John Milton, p. 326, to Euripides' Phoenician Maidens, 1108-1140, it is clear from most of the ecphrases discussed in this paper, that modesty was not the intended effect of the armour of the Homeric and the Classical hero.

Appendix III

Ecphrases discussed in the thesis:

I. Aeneid I, 450-493. p. 9, 10, 28, 29, 40.

II. Aeneid VI, 249-257. p. 4.

III. Argonautica, I, 721-767. p. 9, 14, 61, 81.

IV. Aeneid VIII, 630-731. p. 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 19, 36, 38, 43, 44, 54-59, 64, 69-75, 76-81.

V. Callimachean ecphrasis, p. 18.

VI. Aeneid VI, 20-33. p. 38-40.

VII. Ecphrasis in authentic and literary epic. p. 50.

VIII. Iliad XVIII, 483-507. p. 52-59, 61-66, 80.

IX. The Shield of Herakles. p. 61-66, 81

X. Ovid, Metamorphoses, II, 1-18; p. 83 Metamorphoses, XI, 592-618. p. 84-85.

XI. Claudian, Rape of Proserpine, I. 347-388. p. 86-87. Praise of Stilicho, II, 467-476. p. 88

XII. Spenser, The Faerie Queene, I, canto V, 34, 35. p. 89-90.

XIII. Nashe, The Unfortunate Traveller, pps. 129-130. p. 91-92.

XIV. Milton, Paradise Lost, I, 283-291 (the omission of ecphrasis). p. 93-94.

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