

## **The struggling farmer: the literary function of some allusions to the *Georgics* in the *Aeneid***

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*Abstract:* In this article I identify a major function of allusion to the *Georgics* in Vergil's later poem the *Aeneid*. I argue that pity for various characters or groups in the epic is evoked by associating them with the figure of the struggling farmer from the earlier text. Some of the allusions which I claim have this function have long been recognized by scholars; others that I consider seem not to have been noticed before. In §1, I discuss the Trojans' association with the farmer of the *Georgics* at various points in *Aeneid* 2 and 3. In §2 and §3, I look at some passages from later in the epic where the struggles of the farmer are again recalled: by this stage, it tends to be the Italians rather than the Trojans who are aligned with the farmer.<sup>1</sup>

### **§1 The Trojans and the struggling farmer: *Aeneid* 2 and 3**

Fundamental to Vergil's manipulation and reworking of his various source-materials in *Aeneid* 2 and 3 is the attempt to evoke our pity for the suffering of the Trojans.<sup>2</sup> In *Aeneid* 2, this primarily involves the selection and deployment of telling episodes or details from among a rich variety of materials relating to the fall of Troy;<sup>3</sup> in *Aeneid* 3, the poet reworks a series of scenes from existing traditions of Aeneas' wanderings into an ambitious fabric which also draws heavily on Greek literature (notably the *Odyssey* and Apollonius).<sup>4</sup> In both books, however, Vergil exploits an eclectic range of texts beyond his immediate narrative sources for the purpose of generating further meaning and emotion via allusion. So in *Aeneid* 2, for example, we

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<sup>1</sup> This article forms part of a larger study of Vergil's use of allusion to his own earlier poetry (the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*) in the *Aeneid*. This type of allusion, where an author alludes to his own earlier work, I shall occasionally refer to as 'self-allusion'. I should like to thank Prof. Philip Hardie, and the late Prof. Oliver Lyne, for their comments on earlier versions of this piece; and the ORA's anonymous referees for their comments on the submitted version.

<sup>2</sup> See §1 [e] below.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. Heinze (1993), 3-67, and Austin (1964) *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> See in general Heinze (1993), 68-94. On book 3 and the Aeneas-legend, see esp. Lloyd (1957); on Homer, Knauer (1964a), 181ff.; on Apollonius, Nelis (2001), 22-66.

find evocations of Ennius' account of the fall of Alba Longa,<sup>5</sup> or of Lucretian visions of the end of the world,<sup>6</sup> deployed to elicit our sympathy and pity for the plight of the Trojans.<sup>7</sup> In the first section of this article, I shall demonstrate how Vergil makes use of allusion to the *Georgics* to this same end, in both *Aeneid* 2 and 3. In sub-sections [a] and [b], I shall focus on *Aeneid* 2; in [c] and [d], *Aeneid* 3; then in sub-section [e] I shall outline some preliminary conclusions.

### [a] Troy: storm and flood

Early in *Aeneid* 7, soon after the Trojans finally arrive in Latium, Aeneas dispatches an embassy to the native king Latinus (7.152ff.). Latinus welcomes the embassy (168-9, 192ff.), and Ilioneus steps forward to speak (212ff.). His speech appeals not only to the king's self-interest, but also to his sense of compassion;<sup>8</sup> I quote lines 222-30:

‘quanta per Idaeos saevis effusa Mycenis  
*tempestas* ierit campos, quibus actus uterque  
 Europae atque Asiae fatis concurrerit orbis,  
 audiit et si quem tellus extrema refuso  
 summovet Oceano et si quem extenta plagarum  
 quattor in medio dirimit plaga solis iniqui.  
*diluvio* ex illo tot vasta per aequora vecti  
 dis sedem exiguam patriis litusque rogamus  
 innocuum et cunctis undamque auramque patentem.’

Ilioneus here uses two distinct but related images to describe the disaster which befell Troy: the storm (‘*tempestas*’ 223) and the flood (‘*diluvio*’ 228). The first of these

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<sup>5</sup> Servius *ad Aen.* 2. 486; Austin *ad Aen.* 2.313 and 486ff.; Skutsch (1985), 279-80; Rossi (2004), 23-4, 31-2 and 42-3.

<sup>6</sup> Hardie (1986), 192-3, with 188 n.84 and 190 n.85.

<sup>7</sup> Emotion may also be generated by allusion to recent history. Servius *ad Aen.* 2.557 famously notes ‘*Pompei tangit historiam*’, and modern scholars have followed up this suggestion: see Bowie (1990); Moles (1983); Morgan (2000).

metaphors for the war is traditional, the second rather less so;<sup>9</sup> but for us the important point to note is that both images look back to Vergil's own handling of the sack of Troy in *Aeneid* 2.<sup>10</sup> For in that book the poet consistently associates the Greek attack with precisely these violent natural phenomena.<sup>11</sup> This association is achieved primarily through the use of extended similes (2.304-8, 416-19, 496-9, 516); but both within these similes and (on at least one occasion) in the narrative itself, Vergil intensifies the association by the deployment of allusion to his own earlier portrayal of actual<sup>12</sup> storms and floods in the *Georgics*.<sup>13</sup> In this sub-section I shall discuss three instances of this use of the *Georgics*.

The first of these is found in the scene when Aeneas wakes from his dream-visitation by Hector to the sound of 'luctu' (*Aen.* 2.298) and 'armorum...horror' (301).<sup>14</sup> He rushes up to Anchises' roof, and stands there 'arrectis auribus' (303) as the noise grows ever louder (299);<sup>15</sup> Aeneas as narrator illustrates his response to this noise by means of a two-part simile:

'in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus Austris  
incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens  
sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores

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<sup>8</sup> Cf. Horsfall *ad Aen.* 7.213-48.

<sup>9</sup> Horsfall *ad Aen.* 7.222-3, 228. Hardie (1986), 191-3 suggests that the flood-metaphor evokes mythological (and philosophical) universal κατακλυσμοί.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Hardie (1986), 192.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Hornsby (1970), 21-5 on 'violent nature' similes in *Aeneid* 2.

<sup>12</sup> Indeed the poet of the *Georgics* claims autopsy at e.g. *Geo.* 1.316-18 ('saepe ego...vidi'); at *Geo.* 1.464ff., the portents have been witnessed by the poet and his contemporaries: 'vidimus' (*Geo.* 1.472, in reference to an eruption of Etna). In the case of (for example) the Po flood mentioned at *Geo.* 1.481-3, Vergil's claims to autopsy may be more than a literary device (cf. Mynors *ad loc.*); his allusion to this passage in *Aen.* 2.496-9, which I discuss below, may thus recall not only a literary flood but also an actual flood witnessed by the poet's contemporaries.

<sup>13</sup> This fact has long been recognized; but existing scholarly treatments, for example Briggs Jnr (1980), 81ff. or Niehl (2002), 185-8, are not wholly satisfactory.

<sup>14</sup> On this see Austin *ad Aen.* 2.302.

<sup>15</sup> Aeneas does not tell us what he saw until 2.310-12; the fires there may be anticipated by 304-5 in the simile here.

praecipitisque trahit silvas; stupet inscius alto  
accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.’ (2.304-8)

Aeneas compares his reaction to that of a shepherd dumbstruck by the sound of a crop-fire (304-5) or a flood (305-7); it is on this second comparison that we shall focus here.<sup>16</sup>

A series of Iliadic passages lie in the background of lines 305-7.<sup>17</sup> The distant shepherd hearing the noise of a torrent rushing down from a mountain is clearly borrowed from *Iliad* 4.452-6, where the simile likewise illustrates the noise of battle.<sup>18</sup> But the interest in the effect of the flood on the surrounding landscape derives rather from similes at *Il.* 11.492-7 and 5.87-94. In the former passage, Ajax is compared to a ‘πλήθων ποταμὸς’ (11.492) in winter, which rushes down from the mountains onto the plain: ‘πολλὰς δὲ δρυῖς ἀζαλέας, πολλὰς δὲ τε πεύκας/ ἔσφέρεται...’ (11.494-5); *Aen.* 2.307 ‘praecipitisque trahit silvas’ is a development of this picture, with the hyperbole of ‘silvas’ probably influenced by Lucretius.<sup>19</sup> In *Iliad* 5, Diomedes rushing across the plain is likewise ‘ποταμῶ πληθόντι ἑοικῶς/ χειμάρρω’ (5.87-8), which the walls of the fruitful gardens<sup>20</sup> (‘ἀλωάων ἐριθηλέων’) cannot hold back as it rushes on: ‘πολλὰ δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἔργα κατήριπε κάλ’ ἀίζηων’ (5.92). This portrayal of ‘many fair works of

<sup>16</sup> On this double simile in general, see Austin *ad loc.*, Anderson (1968), 1-7, West (1969), 429-30. The crop-fire comparison owes something to *Il.* 11.155-9 and 20.490-4, rather less to *Il.* 15.605-6, 2.455-8 or Apollonius 1.1026-8; all these passages however deal with *forest-fires*, as do *Aen.* 12.521-2. Note however the forest-fire in the simile at *Aen.* 10.405-11 (on which see Harrison *ad loc.*), which spreads ‘per latos...campos’ (10.408). *Aen.* 2.304-5 owe no discernible linguistic debt to *Geo.* 2.303-11, which describe a fire in an olive-grove.

<sup>17</sup> Knauer (1964a), 380.

<sup>18</sup> In *Iliad* 4, the shepherd hears two torrents clashing in a gorge – which correspond to the armies clashing in the narrative.

<sup>19</sup> *DRN* 1.284 describes the action of a river in spate, ‘fragmina coniciens silvarum arbustaque tota’; the hyperbole has also influenced Vergil’s account of the flooding Po at *Geo.* 1.481 (‘insano contorquens vertice silvas’). Hardie (1986), 182 considers the passage of Lucretius (1.271-97) a more significant influence upon *Aen.* 2.304-8 than I do; with the exception of the example quoted, Merrill’s parallels between the passages (1918: 143-44) are hardly marked.

men' ruined by the flood seems to be the basic inspiration for Vergil's line 306: '...sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores'. But although these pictures are similar, there are significant differences of emphasis. This is most obvious in Vergil's more charged style (anaphora of 'sternit', the emotive adjective 'laeta'), and in his attention to detail: in Homer, we find 'many fair works' – in Vergil, 'sata laeta boumque labores'. These details in line 306 may owe something to passages elsewhere in Homer and in later Greek poetry (I discuss these in a footnote<sup>21</sup>); but the crucial parallel for the diction is found in book 1 of Vergil's own *Georgics*.<sup>22</sup>

Having advised the farmer at *Georgic* 1.204ff. to watch the stars in order to organize his year's work, the poet goes on to describe the storms of autumn<sup>23</sup> – and the havoc that they can wreak. I quote the passage in full:

'saepe ego, cum flavis messorum induceret arvis  
 agricola et fragili iam stringeret hordea culmo,  
 omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi,  
 quae gravidam late segetem ab radicibus imis  
 sublimem expulsam eruerent: ita turbine nigro  
 ferret hiems culmumque levem stipulasque volantis.  
 saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum  
 et foedam glomerant tempestatem imbris atris  
 collectae ex alto nubes; ruit arduus aether  
 et pluvia ingenti *sata laeta boumque labores*  
 diluit; implentur fossae et cava flumina crescunt  
 cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor.  
 ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca  
 fulmina molitur dextra, quo maxima motu

<sup>20</sup> Gardens, or vineyards, or orchards: the precise identification of the 'ἀλωάων' in this case is not straightforward. Kirk *ad loc.* argues for 'gardens'.

<sup>21</sup> *Iliad* 16.384-93 compares the noise of Hector's horses to torrents which at harvest-time rush down from the mountains, 'μινύθει δέ τε ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων' (16.392). Apollonius 4.1283 compares the distress of the Argonauts stuck on the Syrtes to that caused by a storm which 'βοῶν κατὰ μυρίος ἔκλυσεν ἔργα'; the phrase 'ἔργα βοῶν' goes back to Hesiod (*WD* 46) or *Odyssey* 10.98.

<sup>22</sup> This is noted by e.g. Austin *ad loc.*; Knauer (1964a), 380; Briggs Jr. (1980), 17-19; Thomas *ad Geo.* 1.325-6, Mynors *ad Geo.* 1.325-6.

<sup>23</sup> On the movement of *Geo.* 1.204-350, see Wilkinson (1969), 81-3; Thomas (1988a), 17-18, and *ad Geo.* 1.311-50; Farrell (1991), 157-8.

terra tremit, fugere ferae et mortalia corda  
 per gentis humilis stravit pavor; ille flagranti  
 aut Atho aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo  
 deicit; ingeminant Austri et densissimus imber;  
 nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc litora plangunt.’ (*Geo.* 1.316-34)

This storm is frighteningly destructive; and the quotation of ‘sata laeta boumque labores’ from this passage (*Geo.* 1.325) in the simile at *Aen.* 2.304-8 lends the flood there described something of the fearful power of this storm from *Georgic* 1.<sup>24</sup> That power the epic simile in turn lends to the rampant Greeks, as I explain in a footnote.<sup>25</sup> Thus self-allusion here helps to convey the terrible threat presented to Troy by the Greek attack. (The fact that the onset and activity of the storm is already in *Georgic* 1 described in military terms – note especially the ‘ventorum...proelia’ at 1.318, and the ‘immensum...agmen aquarum’ at 1.322 – may give its association with the Greek army in *Aeneid* 2 a certain additional conviction.<sup>26</sup>)

Moreover, our sympathies in the passage of *Georgic* 1 quoted above lie very much with the farmer whose hard work (316-7, 319-21, 324-6) is uprooted or washed away by the storm. Consequently the self-allusion at *Aen.* 2.306 also serves to generate

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<sup>24</sup> *TLL* s.v. ‘laetus’ col. 884 ll.45-6 has the adjective applied to ‘sata’ first in Vergil; thereafter once in each of Seneca, Pliny the Elder, Statius and Apuleius. (On ‘laetus’ in the *Georgics*, see Jenkyns (1998), 331-3.) *TLL* s.v. ‘labor’ col. 791 ll.73-5 and col. 795 ll.21-3 give only three other examples of the noun being applied to the work of ‘boves’ outside Vergil (who also has this at *Geo.* 1.118), in Columella, Curtius and Ausonius. The combination of the two elements ‘sata laeta’ and ‘boumque labores’ is found only in *Geo.* 1.325 and *Aen.* 2.306.

<sup>25</sup> The main point of the simile at *Aen.* 2.304-8 is comparison of the sounds Aeneas can hear with the stupendous noise generated by the fire or the flood in the simile (‘accipiens sonitum’, 308). But by ‘multiple-correspondence’ the generators of these noises are also aligned: in the simile, the fire or the flood; in the narrative, the Greeks. Thus if the flood takes on something of the power of the storm from *Georgic* 1, so (by association) do the Greeks. Ilioneus at *Aen.* 7.222-3 compares the Greeks themselves to a storm: ‘quanta per Idaeos saevis effusa Mycenis/ tempestas ierit campos...’.

<sup>26</sup> Further details in Thomas *ad Geo.* 1.316-34 (and 314, 316-7, 318, 322); Gale (2000), 68; Farrell (1991), 220. The history of the imagery is traced by Nisbet and Hubbard *ad Odes* 1.3.13, Gale (2000), 68 n.34. It is also worth noting that the description of the storm at *Geo.* 1.316-34 is itself heavily indebted to an Iliadic storm-simile from a military context (*Il.* 16.384-93, briefly mentioned in note 21 above); full details in Farrell (1991), 218-21.

some sympathy for those whose crops and hard work are destroyed by the flood: that is, if we follow the logic of the simile (which again I explain in a footnote<sup>27</sup>), the Trojans.

Allusion to the storm of *Georgic* 1.316-34 at *Aeneid* 2.306, therefore, serves both to give us a glimpse of the power of the Greek army and to elicit sympathy for the Trojans' plight. Nor perhaps is this the only time that this storm is evoked in the course of *Aeneid* 2. Some have claimed that it contributes something to the simile at *Aen.* 2.416-19, which compares the Greeks attacking Aeneas' band from three different directions to storm-winds clashing in a cyclone;<sup>28</sup> but significant verbal overlap with *Georgic* 1 is lacking here.<sup>29</sup> More interesting in this respect are the famous lines later in the book when Venus (having torn away the mortal cloud which dulls Aeneas' vision) reveals the involvement of the gods in the sack of Troy:

'hic, ubi disiectas moles avulsaque saxis  
 saxa vides, mixtoque undantem pulvere fumum,  
 Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti  
 fundamenta quatit totamque a sedibus urbem  
 eruit. hic Iuno Scaëas saevissima portas  
 prima tenet sociumque furens a navibus agmen  
 ferro accincta vocat.  
 iam summas arces Tritonia, respice, Pallas  
 insedit nimbo effulgens et Gorgone saeva.  
 ipse pater Danais animos virisque secundas  
 sufficit, ipse deos in Dardana suscitât arma.  
 eripe, nate, fugam finemque impone labori...' (*Aen.* 2.608-19)

<sup>27</sup> The 'pastor' in the simile clearly corresponds to Aeneas in the narrative (cf. West (1969), 430, Anderson (1968), 3-4): both are distant witnesses of the destruction. The farmers, whose work is implied by 'sata laeta boumque labores', are the real victims here: they correspond to the Trojans, already suffering at the hands of the Greeks (cf. *Aen.* 2.265-6, 290, 298, 310-12).

<sup>28</sup> Thomas *ad Geo.* 1.318; cf. Briggs Jr. (1980), 84. Better on this simile: Austin *ad loc.*; West (1969), 230; Lyne (1989), 118-9.

<sup>29</sup> The only shared diction is that of *Aen.* 2.415-16 ('adversi rupto ceu quondam turbine venti/ confligunt'), and *Geo.* 1.318 'omnia ventorum concurrere proelia vidi' and 320 'turbine nigro' – which does not seem very marked.

‘ipse pater’ in line 617 here denotes Jupiter, who is not himself named. The ‘father’ appears in enthusiastic support of the Greeks against the Trojans; we have known ever since *Iliad* 15.69-71 that this would happen,<sup>30</sup> but the visible confirmation here of Jupiter’s involvement in the sack nevertheless comes as something of a shock, to us as to Aeneas.<sup>31</sup> We are not sure what to make of this ‘pater’; and it may be that our uncertainty is compounded here by means of recollection of the *Georgics*. I shall briefly explain.

The collocation of ‘ipse’ and ‘pater’ is found of Jupiter four times in Latin literature before Vergil, always in the form ‘pater ipse’. (I give the references in a footnote.<sup>32</sup>) But the order ‘ipse pater’ is not found before Vergil, first occurring in extant Latin in two passages in *Georgic* 1 – on both occasions at line-beginning, as here at *Aen.* 2.617. This linguistic correspondence has been used as the basis for identifying allusion to *Georgic* 1 at this point in *Aeneid* 2,<sup>33</sup> and the suggestion is (at least) an interesting one. For the first appearance of ‘ipse pater’ in *Georgic* 1 is in lines 328-9, where Jupiter appears at the height of the storm, hurling down thunder and lightning upon the earth (‘ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca/ fulmina molitur dextra’; I quote the passage in full above). As at *Aen.* 2.617-8, the appearance of the ‘father’ here in *Georgic* 1 forms a frightening and not wholly expected climax to the description: in both passages the revelation of Jupiter’s activity represents something of a *coup de théâtre*.<sup>34</sup> Allusion to the storm from *Georgic* 1 at *Aen.* 2.617-8 is plausible, given that this same storm is evoked earlier at 2.306 (see above); and such an allusion would be effective. Our pity for

<sup>30</sup> Cf. E.L. Harrison (1970), 46; Feeney (1991), 142.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Austin (1964), xx and *ad Aen.* 2.608ff.

<sup>32</sup> Cat. 64.21 (‘pater ipse’); Cic. *de fato* fr.3 = *poet.* fr. 67 Tr. (‘pater ipse Iuppiter’), *Marius* fr. 17.12 Courtney (‘pater ipse’), *de cons. suo* fr. 10.36-7 Courtney (‘pater.../ ipse’). See Fowler (1996), 228-30; also *TLL* s.v. ‘ipse’ col. 342 ll.7ff. ‘ipse pater’ is used of mortal fathers before Vergil at Ter. *Hec.* 670 and Plaut. *Epid.* 360; ‘pater ipse’, at Cat. 62.60.

<sup>33</sup> The case was first made (to my knowledge) by Fowler (1996).

the Trojans would be augmented as they are again associated with the victims of a devastating storm; and just as the sky-god terrifies man and puts beast to flight in *Georgic* 1 (328-31), so here in *Aeneid* 2 his appearance convinces Aeneas that all is lost (*Aen.* 2.624-5) and that he must now flee (note Venus' words in 619 – 'eripe, nate, fugam').

But there is a second intertext available in the *Georgics* also. For 'ipse pater' is used again at *Geo.* 1.353, this time to describe a much more obviously beneficent Jupiter, who has established signs by which farmers might be warned of forthcoming danger. I quote the relevant lines:

'atque haec ut certis possemus discere signis,  
aestusque pluviasque et agentis frigora ventos,  
*ipse pater* statuit quid menstrua luna moneret,  
quo signo caderent Austri, quid saepe videntes  
agricolae propius stabulis armenta tenerent.' (*Geo.* 1.351-5)

A Jupiter concerned to help struggling mortals via signs (albeit of a rather different kind) will soon appear in *Aeneid* 2 also,<sup>35</sup> and critics have emphasized that we must bear this in mind when faced with the dismaying picture in *Aen.* 2.617-18.<sup>36</sup>

It may be, indeed, that the simultaneous mobilization (via 'ipse pater') of these two rather different images of Jupiter from *Georgic* 1 (frightening storm-god, beneficent guide) helps to generate an appropriate ambivalence at this point in *Aeneid* 2. The epic is able to tap into the genuine ambiguities of the *Georgics'* Jupiter here, in order to express something of the complexity of Jupiter's position as both supervisor of Troy's destruction and guarantor of the city's survival via Aeneas' line. (And if we follow Fowler in

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<sup>34</sup> Mynors *ad Geo.* 1.328-9; Austin *ad Aen.* 2.608, 617; cf. Feeney (1991), 142.

<sup>35</sup> See 2.679ff., esp. 687-98.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. E.L. Harrison (1970); Feeney (1991), 142-3.

regarding the notoriously ambiguous ‘pater ipse’ of *Georgic* 1.121-4 as a further relevant intertext at *Aen.* 2.617-18, this complexity is only increased.<sup>37)</sup>

So self-allusion at *Aeneid* 2.617-18 serves more than one purpose. By evoking the frightening storm-god of *Geo.* 1.328, the lines again arouse our pity for the plight of the Trojans; but their simultaneous glance at *Geo.* 1.353 may also hint obliquely at Jupiter’s coming favour. At any rate, the double<sup>38</sup> allusion to the *Georgics* in ‘ipse pater’ by no means serves to clarify Jupiter’s position here in the *Aeneid*: if anything, it leaves him more enigmatic than ever.<sup>39</sup>

Our third example is found towards the climax of Vergil’s *Iliupersis* narrative, at the battle for Priam’s palace.<sup>40</sup> Aeneas, arrived on the scene at 2.438ff., joins the Trojan resistance on the palace roof (2.458-9); from this position, he witnesses the Greeks, with Pyrrhus at their head, break through into the building:<sup>41</sup>

‘fit via vi; rumpunt aditus primosque trucidant  
immissi Danaï et late loca milite complent.  
non sic, aggeribus ruptis cum spumeus amnis  
exiit oppositasque evicit gurgite moles,  
fertur in arva furens cumulo camposque per omnis  
cum stabulis armenta trahit...’ (*Aen.* 2.494-9)

The simile in lines 496-9 here is clearly related to that at *Aeneid* 2.304-8 which we examined earlier.<sup>42</sup> In both situations, Aeneas on a roof finds himself an impotent

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<sup>37</sup> Fowler (1996), 230. *Geo.* 1.121-4 run: ‘pater ipse colendi/ haud facilem esse viam voluit, primusque per artem/ movit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda/ nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno’. These lines (indeed the whole passage 1.121-59) are of course controversial: see e.g. Altevogt (1952) and Thomas *ad Geo.* 1.118-46 (and 145-6) for one view; Jenkyns (1998), 335ff. and 678-84 for another. I think Jupiter cuts a genuinely ambiguous figure here.

<sup>38</sup> Perhaps triple, if we see allusion to *Geo.* 1.121-4 too.

<sup>39</sup> On the ambiguous position of *pater* Jupiter in the *Georgics*, cf. Fowler (1996), 230-1, who also considers the more general ambiguity of the position of the *pater* in Roman culture.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Heinze (1993), 23ff. on the climactic nature of this scene; also Kenney (1979), 117-8.

<sup>41</sup> On various logistical problems here, cf. Kenney (1979), 104-5.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Hornsby (1970), 24.

witness as the Greeks tear through Troy; both similes compare the Greek onslaught to a violent flood.<sup>43</sup> There are of course significant differences: by the time of 2.496-9, Aeneas is visually observing the destruction from close at hand, and the intensity and immediacy of the simile is correspondingly greater (no distant shepherd here); furthermore, the flood of 2.496-9 is if anything yet more violent than that in 2.305-7 (note the emphasis on the barriers unable to prevent its advance<sup>44</sup>). This greater violence in the later simile suits the escalation in the ferocity of the enemy now that they are assaulting Priam's palace itself. But this increased intensity should not obscure the fact that 2.496-9 make use of essentially the same intertexts as 2.305-7: that is, the Iliadic similes we considered earlier, Lucretius' river in spate from *DRN* 1<sup>45</sup> – and Vergil's own *Georgics*. For analysis of Vergil's use of Homer and Lucretius here, I refer the reader to Kenney's treatment;<sup>46</sup> we shall focus on the role of self-allusion in these lines. For lines 498-9 clearly borrow from Vergil's earlier poem: this time however he turns not to the storm of *Georgic* 1.316-34, but to a related passage from later in that book.<sup>47</sup> Among the series of portents following Julius Caesar's death which are described at *Geo.* 1.469-88 we find

'proluit insano contorquens vertice silvas  
fluviorum rex Eridanus *camposque per omnis*  
*cum stabulis armenta tulit.*' (*Geo.* 1.481-3)

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<sup>43</sup> This comparison is direct in 2.496-9; in 2.304-8, it is achieved by multiple-correspondence (cf. note 25 above).

<sup>44</sup> These barriers in the simile clearly correspond to the obstacles in the way of the Greeks in the narrative: that is, the Trojan defenders and the palace gates. Cf. West (1969), 430-1.

<sup>45</sup> *DRN* 1.271-97 contributes rather more to *Aen.* 2.496-9, esp. 496-7 (cf. Kenney (1979), 110-12), than I believe it does to *Aen.* 2.305-7; cf. note 19 above. Increased allusion to this powerful passage of Lucretius is one way in which *Aen.* 2.496-9 generate an intensity greater than that of 2.304-8.

<sup>46</sup> Kenney (1979), 109-12; cf. Hardie (1986), 207-8.

<sup>47</sup> See Thomas *ad Geo.* 1.481-3 and 325-6 for the relationship between these passages in *Georgic* 1.

The verbal overlap with *Aen.* 2.498-9 is clear;<sup>48</sup> the self-allusion serves a number of functions.<sup>49</sup> Very generally, it helps to lend the last night of Troy something of the dark, turbulent atmosphere which Vergil so memorably evokes at the conclusion of the first *Georgic*. More specifically, it serves to associate the Trojans, as victims of the Greeks' devastating assault, with the struggling farmer of the *Georgics*. For in *Georgic* 1 the flooding Po not only tears up 'silvas',<sup>50</sup> but also carries off 'cum stabulis armenta'. This loss to the farmer (which clearly links the portentous flood to the main thematic concern of the poem<sup>51</sup>) is significant in itself; moreover, the fact that it results from a portent hints at the disastrous effects of the coming war upon the world of agriculture (a theme taken up more explicitly in *Geo.* 1.506-8<sup>52</sup>). And so when *Aen.* 2.498-9 reuse the words from *Geo.* 1.482-3, we are reminded both of the immediate destructive power of the flooding Po in *Georgic* 1 and also of its larger significance in that context: and some of the sympathy we feel for the helpless farmer there is transferred to the Trojans here in *Aeneid* 2.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>48</sup> Cf. e.g. Austin *ad Aen.* 2.499, Kenney (1979), 111-2. *TLL* s.v. 'armentum' col. 612 ll. 17-20 and 38-40 finds no instances of the word in association with 'stabulum' before Vergil. Vergil has the words in close proximity at *Geo.* 1.355, 3.352 and *Aen.* 8.213-4, as well as at *Geo.* 1.483 and *Aen.* 2.499; thereafter this is found twice in Ovid, once in Iulius Montanus and twice in Claudian.

<sup>49</sup> Niehl (2002), 30 and 187-8 thinks that the context of the Po flood in *Georgic* 1, where it is a prodigy following Caesar's death, affects our response to the death of Priam at *Aen.* 2.547ff.; this is an interesting suggestion, but I am not entirely convinced.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. note 19 above.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Lyne (1974), 53, 55-56; Thomas *ad Geo.* 1.481-3 (cf. on 1.355) notes the dismaying verbal connection with *Geo.* 1.355.

<sup>52</sup> 'non ullus aratro/ dignus honos, squalent abductis arva colonis,/ et curvae rigidum falces conflantur in ensem': cf. Lyne (1974), 63-4.

<sup>53</sup> This reading of the self-allusion at *Aen.* 2.498-9 may be supported by further allusion to the *Georgics* in lines 496-7, where some have seen 'amnis/ exit' as recalling the troublesome flood mentioned at *Geo.* 1.115-16: 'amnis abundans/ exit'. According to the *TLL* s.v. 'exeo' col.1360 ll. 20-9, this usage of *exeo* to refer to rivers bursting their banks is not found before Vergil (who has it only in these two places); thereafter it is found just seven times in extant Latin, and never again with 'amnis' as subject. So it may be that the language of *Aen.* 2.498-9 is sufficiently marked to recall *Geo.* 1.115-16: if so, here too we find the Trojans associated with the struggling farmer by self-allusion.

On three separate occasions in *Aeneid* 2 (305-7, 617-18, 498-9), then, we have found verbal recollection of storm and flood descriptions from *Georgic* 1. As I have shown, these recollections can be read as functional allusions to the *Georgics*. Their consequences for our reading of *Aeneid* 2 are varied and complex, but one important feature which all three allusions share is the alignment of the Trojans with the struggling farmer of the earlier poem. The actual storm and flooding which bring disaster to the farmer's world in the *Georgics* become points of comparison for the disaster which overtakes Troy in the epic; and both farmer and Trojans appear to be subject to the same inscrutable Jupiter. We shall see in the next section that this is not the only contribution of the *Georgics* to Vergil's account of the fall of Troy.

### **[b] Troy: snakes (and plague?)**

We now turn to another important image in *Aeneid* 2: the snake. For snakes not only take a physical part in the action of *Aeneid* 2 (at lines 203ff.); they are also the subject of two of the book's nine<sup>54</sup> similes (2.379-82, 471-5 – there is only one more snake-simile in the epic<sup>55</sup>), and snake-metaphors feature in the narrative too.<sup>56</sup> It has long been recognized that much of this material owes something to Vergil's earlier treatments of snakes in the *Georgics*; but the contribution of the earlier poem has not always been clearly presented and explained. In this sub-section I shall endeavour to provide such a presentation and explanation.

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<sup>54</sup> The list in Rieks (1981), 1093-4 does not include 2.516.

<sup>55</sup> *Aen.* 5.273-81; but note also 11.751-58 (on which see Horsfall *ad Aen.* 11.751-6).

<sup>56</sup> The classic study is Knox (1950). Not all of Knox's identifications of snake-metaphor are equally convincing: cf. Horsfall (1995), 116-7; West (2000), 234-5.

The *Georgics* display a lively and sustained interest in the malignant presence of snakes in the countryside.<sup>57</sup> We learn of their acquisition of venom from Jupiter at *Geo.* 1.129; their supposed absence from Italy at *Geo.* 2.153-4; their homes in tufa and chalky soil at *Geo.* 2.214-16; their death from plague at *Geo.* 3.544-5; and we see the ‘immanem...hydram’ which is responsible for the death of Eurydice at *Geo.* 4.458-9. But it is at *Geo.* 3.414-39 that snakes briefly occupy centre stage (as it were). The emphasis in this passage is on the threat which snakes present to the farmer and to his livelihood. I quote the lines in full since we shall have cause to return to them a number of times:

‘disce et odoratam stabulis accendere cedrum  
galbaneoque agitare gravis nidore chelydros.  
saepe sub immotis praesepibus aut mala tactu  
vipera delituit caelumque exterrita fugit,  
aut tecto adsuetus coluber succedere et umbrae  
(pestis acerba boum) pecorique aspergere virus  
fovit humum. cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor,  
tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem  
deice! iamque fuga timidum caput abdidit alte,  
cum medii nexus extremaeque agmina caudae  
solvuntur, tardosque trahit sinus ultimus orbis.  
est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus anguis  
squamea convolvens sublato pectore terga  
atque notis longam maculosus grandibus alvum,  
qui, dum amnes ulli rumpuntur fontibus et dum  
vere madent udo terrae ac pluvialibus Austris,  
stagna colit ripisque habitans hic piscibus atram  
improbis ingluviem ranisque loquacibus explet;  
postquam exusta palus terraeque ardore dehiscunt,  
exsilit in siccum, et flammantia lumina torquens  
saevit agris asperque siti atque exterritus aestu.  
ne mihi tum mollis sub divo carpere somnos  
neu dorso nemoris libeat iacuisse per herbas,  
cum positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa  
volvitur, aut catulos tectis aut ova relinquens,  
arduus ad solem et linguis micat ore trisulcis.’ (*Geo.* 3.414-39)

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<sup>57</sup> Bibliography on this topic is limited: the major general studies of the poem offer rather cursory treatments, and specialized discussions are few.

Now some scholars have identified allusion to this passage at *Aen.* 2.203-19, in the description of the monstrous snakes which emerge from the sea to kill Laocoon and his sons.<sup>58</sup> But although we can identify various similarities of appearance and behaviour, some of these are hardly marked (for instance the snakes' tongues and their hissing) and most can be paralleled in other ancient descriptions of snakes (I discuss some examples in a footnote);<sup>59</sup> more significantly, there is very little (if any) precise verbal overlap between the passages.<sup>60</sup> Allusion to *Geo.* 3.414-39 in the account of these actual snakes in *Aeneid* 2 therefore seems rather unlikely. But in the two snake-similes later in the book, the third *Georgic* is recalled quite unmistakably. I shall look at the simile at 2.471-5 first.

In the battle for Priam's palace narrated by Aeneas at 2.438ff., the Trojans are struggling valiantly (445-50, 458-68) to hold off the Greek assault; but the Greeks, with Achilles' son Pyrrhus at their head, apply relentless pressure:

‘vestibulum ante ipsum primoque in limine Pyrrhus  
exsultat telis et luce coruscus aëna:  
qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,  
frigida sub terra tumidum quem bruma tegebat,  
nunc, positis novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa,

<sup>58</sup> See Briggs Jr. (1980), 63-4; Putnam (1965), 23.

<sup>59</sup> Briggs Jr. (1980), 63-4 lists similarities between the snakes in *Aeneid* 2 and those in *Georgic* 3. But many of the features he includes are found in other texts besides these; here I give some examples. Raised breasts (*Aen.* 2.206; *Geo.* 3.426): cf. e.g. *Batrachomyomachia* 83. Coils of body and tail (*Aen.* 2.204, 208, 217; *Geo.* 3.423-4): cf. e.g. *Il.* 22.95, *Nic. Ther.* 166. Flickering tongues (*Aen.* 2.211; *Geo.* 3.439): cf. e.g. *Nic. Ther.* 206, 228-9, *DRN* 3.657-8. Blazing eyes (*Aen.* 2.210; *Geo.* 3.433): cf. Gow *ad Theoc.* 24.18, Mynors *ad Geo.* 3.433.

<sup>60</sup> The most notable instance of this is the recurrence of the rare adjective *sibilus* from *Geo.* 3.421 at *Aen.* 2.211 ‘sibila...ora’; it is found elsewhere in extant Latin only at *Aen.* 5.277, Valerius Flaccus 3.50 and Silius 2.587: see Austin *ad Aen.* 2.211. Masson (1935), 636 suggests that ‘*immensis orbibus* angues’ at *Aen.* 2.204 derives from another passage on snakes in the *Georgics*: ‘*nec rapit immensos orbis per humum neque tanto/ squameus in spiram tractu se colligit anguis*’ (*Geo.* 2.153-4). This is plausible: *TLL* s.v. ‘orbis’ col. 910 ll.19ff. notes that ‘orbis’ is first found of snakes’ coils in Vergil; in this sense, the noun is found with ‘immensus’ only at Ovid *Met.* 3.77 besides these two Vergilian passages. There is a curious verbal relationship between *Aen.* 2.208 ‘*sinuatque immensa volumine terga*’ and the description of a cantering horse at *Geo.* 3.192 ‘*sinuetque alterna volumina crurum*’; *sinuare* is not attested before Vergil.

lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga  
 arduus ad solem et linguis micat ore trisulcis.  
 una ingens Periphas et equorum agitator Achillis,  
 armiger Automedon, una omnis Scyria pubes  
 succedunt tecto et flammas ad culmina iactant.' (*Aen.* 2.469-78)

Some of the effect of the simile in lines 471-5 here derives from recollection of the actual snakes of *Aen.* 2.203ff..<sup>61</sup> But its verbal details evoke a variety of texts outside the *Aeneid* also. For discussion of the use of Homer and Nicander here, I again refer the reader to Kenney.<sup>62</sup> We shall focus on allusion to *Georgic* 3, to which these lines owe a considerable debt.<sup>63</sup> I give a full text of *Geo.* 3.414-39 above: *Aen.* 2.475 here ('arduis ad solem et linguis micat ore trisulcis') repeats *Geo.* 3.439 *verbatim*; *Aen.* 2.473 ('nunc, positus novus exuviis nitidusque iuventa') repeats *Geo.* 3.437, replacing 'cum' with 'nunc'; and *Aen.* 2.474 ('lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga') only slightly alters *Geo.* 3.426 ('squamea convolvens sublato pectore terga').<sup>64</sup> The *coluber* of the epic simile is thus closely associated by self-allusion with the frightening Calabrian water-snake to which Vergil devotes fifteen lines at *Geo.* 3.425-39.<sup>65</sup> Note the details which Vergil has retained from *Georgic* 3, and those he has discarded: he keeps the detail of the fresh skin (*Geo.* 3.437), highly appropriate for the young and fresh Pyrrhus;<sup>66</sup> he replaces the line which follows this in *Georgic* 3 (with its inappropriate 'catulos...aut ova', *Geo.* 3.438) with the threatening picture of the upraised breast from *Geo.* 3.426; but he retains the

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<sup>61</sup> Cf. Knox (1950), 393.

<sup>62</sup> Kenney (1979), 106-9.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. e.g. Kenney (1979), 107-8; Briggs Jr. (1980), 66-7.

<sup>64</sup> At *Geo.* 3.426 one manuscript (the Palatinus) gives 'squamea convolvens sublato *corpore* terga'; this may be the true reading, corrupted elsewhere under the influence of *Aen.* 2.474: cf. Mynors *ad loc.*

<sup>65</sup> Some have suggested that – given this close association between 2.471-5 and *Geo.* 3.425-39 – the words used of Pyrrhus' fellow-attackers at *Aen.* 2.478 'succedunt tecto' may glance at the *coluber* of *Geo.* 3.418, who is 'tecto adsuetus...succedere et umbrae'. But *succedere* is a common verb (cf. Horsfall *ad Aen.* 7.214), found with forms of *tectum* at e.g. *Aen.* 1.627, 11.146, Cic. *dom.* 116.

<sup>66</sup> It is possible that 'novus' (2.473, cf. *Geo.* 3.437) glances at Pyrrhus' alternative name Neoptolemos: cf. Knox (1950), 394.

magnificent, menacing climax (*Geo.* 3.439) as the climax of the simile (*Aen.* 2.475). I discuss the relationship between these passages further in a footnote;<sup>67</sup> here let us observe two key points. The first is that the selection of these particular details from *Georgic* 3 produces a concentrated image of malevolent power in the *Aeneid* simile – one which is only too appropriate for the brutal Pyrrhus. The second is that in this simile a Greek attack is once again in *Aeneid* 2 associated with one of the threats to the world of the farmer from the *Georgics*. In sub-section [a] above, we saw how self-allusion helps to align the Greeks in *Aeneid* 2 with the forces of storm and flood which threaten the farmer's livelihood in *Georgic* 1; in this case, the menace of Pyrrhus is conveyed (in part) by means of allusion to a particularly unpleasant snake from *Georgic* 3.

But in Vergil's *Iliupersis* narrative it is not always only the Greeks who are the aggressors. Earlier in book 2, Aeneas' band of men head towards the palace, desperate (2.348-54) and (justifiably) angry (2.355); soon after a rather ambivalent simile comparing them to ravenous wolves (2.355-8),<sup>68</sup> they encounter the Greek Androgeos who mistakes them for friends (370-5), only to realise his error (376-8):

‘improvisum aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem  
pressit humi nitens trepidusque repente refugit  
attollentem iras et caerulea colla tumentem,  
haud secus Androgeos visu tremefactus abibat.’ (*Aen.* 2.379-82)

The main model for the simile in lines 379-81 here is Homer's simile describing Paris' retreat at the sight of Menelaus in *Iliad* 3.33-7:

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<sup>67</sup> It may be relevant that *Aen.* 2.473 and 475 pick up lines from the description of the Calabrian water-snake threatening a *sleeping* victim (*Geo.* 3.435-9): Pyrrhus, and the Greeks in general, have in *Aeneid* 2 taken advantage of the fact that the Trojans are asleep to attack (see esp. 2.250-67, where Neoptolemus is mentioned at 2.263). More generally, both snakes have been lying low in the colder months and come forth in warmer weather (*Geo.* 3.428-34, *Aen.* 2.472-3): the *coluber* of *Aen.* 2.471ff. seems rather happier about this than the Calabrian water-snake, who is forced from the marshes by the heat (*Geo.* 3.432ff.).

‘ὡς δ’ ὅτε τίς τε δράκοντα ἰδὼν παλίνορσος ἀπέστη  
 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, ὑπὸ τε τρόμος ἔλλαβε γυῖα,  
 ἄψ δ’ ἀνεχώρησεν, ὥχρός τε μιν εἶλε παρειάς,  
 ὡς αὐτίς καθ’ ὄμιλον ἔδυ Τρώων ἀγερώχων,  
 δείσας Ἀτρέος υἱὸν Ἀλέξανδρος θεοειδής.’

In Homer’s simile, the emphasis is very much on the man’s frightened reaction to the snake and the physical manifestations of his fear; the snake is not described in any detail whatsoever. In *Aen.* 2.379-82, although the ostensible function of the simile is to illustrate Androgeos’ fright at his recognition of the Trojans, this fright is in fact briefly indicated in the three words ‘trepidusque repente refugit’; the bulk of the simile is rather given over to the moment of physical contact with the snake (379-80) and the response of the snake itself (‘attollentem iras et caerulea colla tumentem’, 381). Vergil’s description of the snake’s reaction here clearly draws upon the *coluber* of *Georgic* 3.420-2 (I quote the passage in full above):

‘...cape saxa manu, cape robora, pastor,  
*tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem*  
 deice!’

In *Aen.* 2.381 Vergil replaces ‘sibila’ with ‘caerulea’,<sup>69</sup> and alters the already bold ‘tollentemque minas’ to the even bolder ‘attollentem iras’;<sup>70</sup> but the otherwise close similarity between the lines in terms of diction and rhythm encourages us to associate the Trojans at this point in *Aeneid* 2 with this malignant creature from the *Georgics*.<sup>71</sup>

As we have seen, later in the book the snakes of *Georgic* 3 will be associated rather with the Greeks (specifically Pyrrhus). But for a brief period here the Trojans have assumed the Greeks’ role as aggressors (as will shortly be confirmed by their donning of

<sup>68</sup> On this cf. Horsfall (1995), 113-14, citing further references.

<sup>69</sup> The change from an aural to a visual adjective may be motivated by the narrative context in *Aeneid* 2, where the Trojans are moving threateningly against Androgeos (2.383-5).

<sup>70</sup> See Austin *ad Aen.* 2.381 for discussion of ‘attollentem iras’.

the dead Greeks' armour, at 2.386ff.). The self-allusion is thus comprehensible; and it adds something to the effect of this scene. For we may be inclined to feel at least some pity for the hapless Androgeos and his men here, who are to be cut down by the Trojans at 2.383-5: and the allusion to *Georgic* 3 encourages this response, as (for once) it is the Greeks who are aligned with the struggling farmer of the earlier poem.

But the simile at 2.379-82 is the exception to a more general pattern which we can begin to identify in *Aeneid* 2. For with the single exception of this simile, those passages in this book where self-allusion is deployed seem consistently to associate the Greek attack on Troy with some major threats to the farmer's world in the *Georgics*: storms, floods, snakes. This contributes, at least in some small way, to our impression of the power of the Greek attack. It also helps to generate sympathy for the Trojans, who are implicitly associated with the farmer of the *Georgics* as he struggles to cope with these various threats. In the following sub-sections [c] and [d] I shall argue that we can detect similar patterns in the deployment of self-allusion in *Aeneid* 3. But before that, I wish briefly to consider a final candidate for inclusion in the group of self-allusions that we have been examining in *Aeneid* 2. This material is rather more speculative than that which we have been looking at so far, and I discuss it merely as a possibility: but it seems to me worth considering.

I observed earlier that there are few clear verbal correspondences between the monstrous snakes from the sea at *Aen.* 2.203ff. and the snakes of *Georgic* 3. However,

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<sup>71</sup> *Collum* is used of snakes for the first time in extant Latin at *Geo.* 3.421 (see *TLL* s.v. 'collum' col. 1661 ll.36-43), unless Aemilius Macer fr. 5 Courtney 'longo resonantia sibila collo' is earlier.

allusion to another part of *Georgic* 3 may contribute something to this passage. This is how Vergil describes the snakes' attack on Laocoon and his sons:

'illi agmine certo  
Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum  
corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque  
implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus...' (*Aen.* 2.212-15)

The diction used of the snakes' assault upon Laocoon's sons in line 215 here seems to pick up two passages from *Georgic* 3:

'quin etiam, ima dolor balantum lapsus ad ossa  
cum furit atque *artus depascitur* arida febris,  
profuit incensos aestus avertere et inter  
ima ferire pedis salientem sanguine venam...' (*Geo.* 3.457-60)

'nec via mortis erat simplex; sed ubi ignea venis  
omnibus acta sitis *miseros* adduxerat *artus*,  
rursus abundabat fluidus liquor omniaque in se  
ossa minutatim morbo conlapsa trahebat.' (*Geo.* 3.482-5)

The former passage, recommending precautions against the worsening of disease in sheep, contains in line 458 the first extant instance of *depasco* or *depascor* with *artus* as object. This combination is also found at *Aen.* 2.215, but thereafter in surviving Latin just once in Silius and twice in Claudian – all instances where the authors are clearly imitating Vergil.<sup>72</sup> Indeed, *depasco* or *depascor* are only rarely applied to the eating of anything other than plant matter: there is just one instance of this recorded before Vergil. (I give further details in a footnote.<sup>73</sup>) The language of *Aen.* 2.215 is therefore markedly

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<sup>72</sup> Silius 6.203 (of a monstrous snake); Claudian 3.302 in a description of disease, *carm. min.* 49.12 describing *torpedo* (in a context of abundant snake imagery). *TLL* s.v. 'depasco(r)' col. 562 ll.19-21 gives the references. (*TLL* s.v. 'pasco(r)' col. 598 ll.71-2 and col. 601 ll.72-5 gives three instances of the simple verb with *artus* – Ov. *Met.* 9.202, Sen. *Oed.* 188, *Anth. Lat.* 211.9 (202.9 ShB.); these look like imitations of Vergil too.)

<sup>73</sup> At *DRN* 3.12, Lucretius has 'omnia nos itidem *depascimur* aurea dicta'. Vergil uses *depasco(r)* of eating things other than plant matter elsewhere at *Aen.* 5.93. *TLL* s.v. 'depasco(r)' col. 561 l.63 and col. 562 ll.5ff. list instances in later authors: x5 in Senecan prose, x5 in Silius, but elsewhere just once in Pliny the Elder, twice in Statius and once in ps.-Quintilian before late antiquity.

similar to that of *Geo.* 3.458. I shall attempt to interpret this correspondence below; but before that, let us look at the second passage from *Georgic* 3 cited above.

*Geo.* 3.482-5 describe the onset of plague among the animals of Noricum. Again we shall focus here on a detail of the diction: the combination ‘miseros...artus’ in line 483. According to the *TLL*, the combination of *miser* and *artus* is found for the first time in extant Latin in this line of Vergil. Thereafter it recurs just twice in all of Latin literature: at *Aen.* 2.215 (as we saw above), and in a line of the late antique Christian poet Merobius.<sup>74</sup>

The single line *Aen.* 2.215 thus contains two linguistic peculiarities which seem to pick up passages from *Georgic* 3. The passages from *Georgic* 3 here glanced at are related: 3.458 describes ‘febris’ eating into the sheep’s limbs, 3.483 the withering effect of thirst upon the limbs of animals afflicted by the plague. Their recollection at *Aen.* 2.215 may therefore fleetingly suggest an association between the activity of the monstrous snakes in *Aeneid* 2 and the action of disease or plague. The plausibility of such an association is perhaps increased by the fact that Vergil has already in *Georgic* 3 established a close relationship between the threats presented to the farmer by snakes and by plague – as I explain in a footnote.<sup>75</sup> Certainly the suggestion that these horrible snakes batten upon Laocoon’s sons like a disease, or a plague, would be effective at this point – augmenting yet further our revulsion towards the snakes and our pity for the wretched children. Furthermore, if this self-allusion is accepted, we would once again

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<sup>74</sup> *TLL* ‘miser’ col. 1103, ll.65-66.

<sup>75</sup> The *coluber* is a ‘pestis’ at *Geo.* 3.419; at *Geo.* 3.469, ‘dira per incautum *serpant* contagia vulgus’. On both these lines, see Thomas *ad loc.*. On the snakes as a prelude to the plague, see Klingner (1963), 157; Wilkinson (1969), 99; Thomas *ad Geo.* 3.414-39; Otis (1964), 179; Ross (1987), 177.

find a threat to the Trojans in *Aeneid* 2 associated with a threat to the farmer of the *Georgics*.

Any such association of the Trojans (via self-allusion) with victims of a plague at this point would certainly be fleeting; but it would not be entirely isolated within *Aeneid* 2, nor indeed within the epic as a whole. For when Venus looks back despairingly to the fate of Troy during her speech at the council of the gods which opens *Aeneid* 10, she describes the war itself as a ‘plague’:<sup>76</sup>

‘quid pestem evadere belli  
iuvat et Argolicos medium fugisse per ignis...?’ (*Aen.* 10.55-56)

And elsewhere in *Aeneid* 2 Vergil’s *Iliupersis* narrative appears to allude on at least one occasion to Lucretius’ harrowing account of the devastation caused by the plague at Athens in *DRN* 6.<sup>77</sup> Such material may give further credibility to the suggestion that the monstrous snakes of *Aen.* 2.203ff. (whose activity ‘is seen in retrospect to contain all the violence of the sack of Troy’<sup>78</sup>) are associated by self-allusion with the plague of Noricum from *Georgic* 3.<sup>79</sup>

In sub-sections [a] and [b], then, we have looked at various allusions to the *Georgics* in *Aeneid* 2, and we have considered how they contribute to the effects of that

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<sup>76</sup> I discuss these lines at greater length in §3 [a] of this article, where I explain why ‘pestem...belli’ should be translated ‘the plague of war’ here.

<sup>77</sup> On the relationship between *Aen.* 2.364-6 and *DRN* 6.1264ff., see P. Fowler (1983), 594.

<sup>78</sup> Knox (1950), 383-4.

<sup>79</sup> There are other verbal correspondences between *Aeneid* 2 and this part of *Georgic* 3; but they do not seem very marked. I discuss two examples. Aeneas’ despairing line ‘una salus victis nullam sperare salutem’ (*Aen.* 2.354) finds a parallel of sorts at *Geo.* 3.510 ‘ea visa salus morientibus una’ – where ‘salus...una’ refers to wine given to plague-stricken horses; but although the phrase ‘una salus’ is less common than e.g. ‘una spes salutis’, it is already found at least three times before Vergil (*Cic. Phil.* 1.21, *Caesar BG* 5.29.6, *Catullus* 76.15). Later, at 2.758-9, fire consumes Aeneas’ home: ‘ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento/ volvitur’. ‘edax’ here is interesting as a colloquialism (cf. Lyne (1989), 51ff.); but the metaphor of ‘devouring’ fire itself is an old one (already at *Iliad* 23.182), and the parallel at *Geo.* 3.566 ‘contactos artus sacer ignis edebat’ does not seem marked.

book upon the reader. In the next two sub-sections, we shall examine how Vergil makes further use of allusion to the *Georgics* in two episodes in *Aeneid* 3.

### [c] Wanderings: Crete and plague

Having left Troy, the Trojan exiles under Aeneas soon come to Thrace, where they make their first, ill-fated attempt to settle (*Aen.* 3.13-68). They then make their way to Delos, where they receive from Apollo the ambiguous advice ‘antiquam exquirite matrem’ (3.96). Anchises (mis)interprets this as an instruction to head for the island of Crete (3.103-17). Arriving there, Aeneas sets about the task of founding a new city with alacrity (3.132-7) – only for disaster to strike:

‘iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes,  
 conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus,  
 iura domosque dabam, subito cum tabida membris  
 corrupto caeli tractu miserandaque venit  
 arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus.  
 linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant  
 corpora; tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros,  
 arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat.  
 rursus ad oraculum Ortygiae Phoebumque remenso  
 hortatur pater ire mari veniamque precari,  
 quam fessis finem rebus ferat, unde laborum  
 temptare auxilium iubeat, quo vertere cursus.’ (*Aen.* 3.135-46)

In this episode, Vergil moves beyond the traditions of the Aeneas-legend (so far as we can tell) and also beyond his main literary models in *Aeneid* 3, Homer and Apollonius. For although the appearance of Crete in the *Aeneid* here may owe something (not much) to Odysseus’ lying tales in the *Odyssey*,<sup>80</sup> or to the Argonauts’ brief stopover on the island at Apollonius 4.1689-93 (after Medea has overcome Talos), the motif of

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<sup>80</sup> Cf. West (2003), 302-5, with West (1981). At *Od.* 3.291ff. some of Menelaus’ ships are driven to Crete by a storm.

plague is wholly absent from the main narratives of both these poems;<sup>81</sup> and neither Crete nor plague feature in other extant versions of the Aeneas-legend.<sup>82</sup>

The basic narrative pattern of the episode – initial success of the foundation (following consultation of an oracle), setback, appeal to the gods – seems to draw on Greek colonization-narratives.<sup>83</sup> Drought and crop-failure (cf. *Aen.* 3.142-3) often occur in these narratives, and plague occasionally features too (I discuss some examples in a footnote<sup>84</sup>). The motif of plague also appears in the νόστοι of certain Greek contingents after Troy;<sup>85</sup> and it is likely that a version of the νόστος of Idomeneus, in which he was forced to abandon Crete because of a plague, has influenced this Vergilian episode in some way.<sup>86</sup>

For the details of the brief plague-narrative itself (3.137-42), however, Vergil's chief intertexts appear to be Lucretius' plague at Athens (in *DRN* 6) and the plague at

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<sup>81</sup> At *Arg.* 4.1280ff. the despair of the Argonauts, stuck on the Syrtes, is compared in a *simile* to men 'ἢ πολέμοιο/ ἢ λοιμοῖο τέλος ποτιδέγμενοι ἢε τιν' ὄμβρον/ ἄσπετον...' (4.1281-3); at *Arg.* 2.498ff., Apollonius digresses to give the *aition* of the Etesian winds, explaining how Aristaeus once brought relief to the plague-stricken Cyclades.

<sup>82</sup> Lloyd (1957), 395; Williams *ad Aen.* 3.121ff. (cf. his p11-12). Servius Auctus *ad Aen.* 3.133 does make the claim 'legitur sane in libris antiquioribus, Aeneam vere Cretam tempestate delatum locum Troiam nomine Pergamum appellavisse': but see Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.121-91.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Heinze (1993), 70; Horsfall (1991), 81; and now (for detailed discussion) Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.133, 135-46, 136, 137, 143 and 146. Nelis (2001), 27 finds a related pattern in Apollonius (though not in a ktistic context).

<sup>84</sup> Plague occasionally appears as the original motivation behind a colonizing expedition: for example, in the foundation of Syracuse (Plut. *Mor.* 772d-773b); cf. Malkin (1987), 41. I have not found any clear parallels for plague forcing the abandonment of a recent foundation: the closest seems to be the abandonment of Kirrha by the men of Ainos after a great *drought* (Plut. *Qu. Gr.* 26; cf. Heinze (1993), 70). Heinze (1993), 70 also compares the severe drought on Thera (after an oracle is ignored) prior to the foundation of Cyrene (Hdt. 4.150-51). Further interesting material in Parker (1983), 272 n.70, and more generally in 272ff..

<sup>85</sup> Besides that of Idomeneus (see next note), cf. Apollodorus 6.20 on the νόστος of the Locrians.

<sup>86</sup> Servius *ad Aen.* 3.121 tells the story (cf. Williams *ad Aen.* 3.122, 137-39; Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.121-91, 135-46); see also Hdt. 7.171. At *Aen.* 3.121-3, Aeneas knows that Idomeneus has been forced to leave Crete; he does not know why. We should not necessarily assume that a plague lies in the background here: as West (2003), 305-6 shows, there was at least one other explanation for Idomeneus' absence available in Greek poetry (cf. Lyc. *Alex.* 1216ff.). But the plague which afflicts the Trojans on Crete is probably influenced by the version of Idomeneus' story which does involve plague.

Noricum in his own *Georgic* 3.<sup>87</sup> Servius already detects a Lucretian pattern in the *ordo* of this Cretan plague;<sup>88</sup> and modern scholars have examined the verbal debts to the *DRN* here.<sup>89</sup> We shall focus on allusion to the *Georgics*.

There is a basic similarity between the opening lines on the Cretan plague and those on the Noric plague.<sup>90</sup> With *Aen.* 3.137-39 ('subito cum tabida membris/ corrupto caeli tractu miserandaque venit/ arboribusque satisque lues et letifer annus') compare *Geo.* 3.478-81:<sup>91</sup>

'hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est  
tempestas totoque autumnu incanduit aestu  
et genus omne neci pecudum dedit, omne ferarum,  
corruitque lacus, infecit pabula tabo.'

This should perhaps be considered primarily a parallel of ideas rather than of diction. For the verbal overlap between the passages is limited and not especially marked;<sup>92</sup> and indeed even the ideas are hardly unique to these two Vergilian passages: for example, the motif of 'corrupto caeli tractu' and 'morbo caeli' goes back to Lucretius and beyond.<sup>93</sup> Rather more marked however is the correspondence between *Aen.* 3.140-1 ('linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant/ corpora') and *Geo.* 3.494-95:

'hinc laetis vituli vulgo moriuntur in herbis

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.135-46; Williams *ad Aen.* 3.137-39; Carter (2004), 84ff.; Armstrong (2002), 324.

<sup>88</sup> Servius *ad Aen.* 3.138 (note however Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.141); cf. Armstrong (2002), 324 n.17.

<sup>89</sup> Williams *ad Aen.* 3.137-9, 138, 139; Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.135-46, 139, 141.

<sup>90</sup> Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.122 also suggests a link between the passages leading into these plague-narratives. At *Geo.* 3.474-7, Vergil introduces Noricum as an example of the total destruction wrought by plague: all that remains there, even now, are the 'desertaque regna/ pastorum et longe saltus lateque vacantis' (476-7). When the Trojans set out for Crete, 'fama volat pulsum *regnis* cecis paternis/ Idomeneia ducem, *desertaque* litora Cretae,/ hoste *vacare* domum sedesque astare relictas' (*Aen.* 3.121-3): these lines of course refer to Crete before the Trojans' arrival (and the plague that afflicts them), but any reminiscence of *Georgic* 3 here may help to prepare us for what will happen to Aeneas and his men on the island. (Note also that, in some versions at least, Idomeneus was forced to leave Crete because of a plague: see note 86 above; reminiscence of *Georgic* 3 may remind us of this background.)

<sup>91</sup> Cf. now Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.138, 139.

<sup>92</sup> On 'miseranda', cf. Horsfall *ad Aen.* 11.259.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Mynors *ad Geo.* 3.478; Freudenberg (1987), 65.

et *dulcis animas* plena ad praesepia reddunt...' (*Geo.* 3.494-5)

I focus here upon the combination 'dulcis animas' (*Aen.* 3.140, *Geo.* 3.495).<sup>94</sup>

The *TLL* knows no parallel for *dulcis* used of *anima* (= 'life, spirit') beyond these two Vergilian instances, except for a single late, Christian inscription.<sup>95</sup> The reappearance of this combination from *Geo.* 3.495 at *Aen.* 3.140 may therefore catch our attention; and given the more general similarities of context mentioned above, allusion to *Georgic* 3 seems plausible here.<sup>96</sup>

Moreover any such self-allusion would have a clear function – just as does the association with *DRN* 6. For by associating this Cretan plague with the fearsome and extended set-pieces of the plagues at Athens and at Noricum, allusion enables Vergil to generate real menace at this point in *Aeneid* 3. We remember the terrible power of those plagues and the suffering they caused: and we feel deep sympathy for the Trojans here. In the event, of course, total disaster on Crete is avoided as a result of the intervention of the Penates (3.147ff.);<sup>97</sup> but the destruction wrought by the plague is still considerable, and allusion suggests that total disaster was (as at Athens and Noricum) a genuine possibility. Note how allusion allows this to be conveyed with the utmost economy. The plague is

<sup>94</sup> Servius is fascinated by '*linquebant dulcis animas*' (*Aen.* 3.140), asking 'quare anima dicitur relinqui et non magis relinquere?'. He concludes that this must be a reference to a transmigration of souls. This is unlikely. The construction is not particularly remarkable, and is clearly paralleled elsewhere (see Horsfall *ad loc.*): indeed Servius Auctus *ad loc.* already cites Ter. *Adelph.* 498: but the most important parallels are in Lucretius. In the plague-narrative of *DRN* 6, the victims 'reddebant...vitam' (6.1198) or 'animam amittebat' (6.1234); but *DRN* 5.988-9, from his account of primitive man, are even closer to Vergil: 'nec nimio tum plus quam nunc mortalia saecula/ *dulcia linquebant* lamentis lumina vitae'. At *Geo.* 3.547, the birds 'praecipites alta vitam sub nube relinquunt'.

<sup>95</sup> *TLL* s.v. 'dulcis' col. 2194, ll.2-6. The use of 'dulcis' with 'anima' as a term of affection is first attested in Statius: *TLL* s.v. 'dulcis' col. 2195 ll.45ff.

<sup>96</sup> Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.140 cites *Geo.* 3.484-5 'omniaque in se/ ossa minutatim morbo conlapsa *trahebat*' as a further parallel for *Aen.* 3.140-1 ('aegra trahebant/ corpora'). But the usages of *traho* in the two passages are rather different: in the epic, the men 'drag' their diseased bodies around; in *Georgic* 3, a 'fluidus liquor' (3.484) within the body 'drags' the diseased bones down into itself.

<sup>97</sup> For some differences between the *Georgic* 3 and *Aeneid* 3 plagues, see *EV* s.v. 'lues'.

described in just six lines; rather than elaborating the episode further, Vergil uses reminiscence of other texts to invite the reader to fill out his narrative.

We can, therefore, make a plausible case for allusion to *Georgic* 3 in the Cretan plague. And this case may be strengthened by the observation of further allusion to the *Georgics* in the close vicinity. For with *Aen.* 3.138-9 ('miserandaque venit/ arboribusque satusque lues et letifer annus'), compare the following lines from *Georgic* 1:

'ille [i.e. Sol] ubi nascentem maculis variaverit ortum  
conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe,  
suspecti tibi sint imbres: namque urget ab alto  
*arboribusque satusque* Notus pecorique sinister.' (*Geo.* 1.441-4)

Vergil tells the farmer to watch for signs of rain, emphasizing the threat that the stormy south wind presents to trees, sown crops and livestock.<sup>98</sup> In line 144, as in *Aen.* 3.139, the pairing 'arboribusque satusque' at the opening of the line denote the objects of nature's attack. The pairing of *arbores* and *sata* thrice in the elder Pliny might suggest that the phrasing was traditional.<sup>99</sup> But there is little indication of this elsewhere in extant Latin poetry or prose;<sup>100</sup> and it may well be that 'arboribusque satusque' at *Aen.* 3.139 glances back in particular to *Geo.* 1.444. Such a recollection would serve a purpose; for it would associate the effect of the Cretan plague with that threatened by storm-rains in *Georgic* 1.<sup>101</sup> (A similar comparison is also invoked, only to be rejected as insufficient, in *Georgic* 3.470-1: 'non tam creber agens hiemem ruit aequore turbo/ quam multae

<sup>98</sup> These are 'the subject matter of [*Georgics*] Books 2, 1 and 3 respectively' as Thomas *ad Geo.* 1.444 points out: the entire world of the farmer is threatened. Mynors *ad Geo.* 1.444 notes the linguistic debt to Arat. *Phaen.* 1087.

<sup>99</sup> Pliny *NH* 10.92, 11.8, 16.74.

<sup>100</sup> The pair appear in proximity at Livy 6.31.8 and in the Vulgate translation of Judith (2.17). These are the only parallels I could find using computer word-searches; *TLL* s.v. 'arbor' offers no help here.

<sup>101</sup> If Horsfall (*ad Aen.* 3.139) is right to identify the stormy south wind of *Geo.* 1.443-4 as the unhealthy *scirocco*, then recollection of this wind during a narrative of plague gains all the more conviction.

pecudum pestes...'.<sup>102</sup>) Again therefore the brief description of the plague on Crete would be given a further dimension by means of allusion to the *Georgics*.

At *Aen.* 3.137-42, then, we have identified allusion to the Noric plague of *Georgic* 3 and to the bad weather-signs of *Georgic* 1. Self-allusion suggests that the disaster on Crete combines and concentrates the forces of storm and plague with which the farmer had to contend in the *Georgics*. If at this point we think back to our discussion of *Aeneid* 2, we will notice a certain continuity. For once again the *Aeneid* associates forces which threaten the farmer's world in the *Georgics* (plague, storm) with those threatening the Trojans in the epic. And again the effect is the same: our pity for the Trojans' plight is augmented through their association with the struggling farmer of Vergil's earlier poem. There is one important difference this time: the phenomena in *Aeneid* and *Georgics* associated by self-allusion are here very similar (Cretan plague/ Noric plague), in contrast to those associated in *Aeneid* 2 (typically, attack on Troy/ violent forces of the natural world). I shall return to this point in sub-section [e] below.

There may indeed be further allusion to the *Georgics* in the Cretan episode. Consider the correspondence between *Aen.* 3.142 ('arebant herbae et victum seges aegra negabat') and the following lines from *Georgic* 1, in which Ceres intervenes to help man after Jupiter has compelled him to work for a living:<sup>103</sup>

'prima Ceres ferro mortalis vertere terram  
instituit, cum iam glandes atque arbuta sacrae  
deficerent silvae et victum Dodona negaret.' (*Geo.* 1.147-49)

<sup>102</sup> Cf. Thomas *ad Geo.* 3.470-71.

<sup>103</sup> The phrase 'arebant herbae' (*Aen.* 3.142) is also found at *Geo.* 4.427, in a description of the setting for Aristaeus' ambush of Proteus; there too Sirius is mentioned (*Geo.* 4.425, cf. *Aen.* 3.140). But these correspondences between the texts do not seem to perform any particular function, so far as I can see.

The phrase *victum nego* does not seem to occur anywhere in extant Latin besides *Aen.* 3.142 and *Geo.* 1.149;<sup>104</sup> the personification of ‘seges aegra’ (*Aen.* 3.142) and ‘Dodona’ (*Geo.* 1.149) as subjects of *nego* is also noteworthy. I am not sure how far to press the verbal overlap here for meaning; but an interpretation which is at least worth considering is proposed by Rebecca Armstrong. She argues that the verbal correspondence prompts us to recall the situation in *Georgic* 1, and thus hints that Jupiter lies behind the Cretan plague in *Aeneid* 3.<sup>105</sup> Certainly, the Penates later tell Aeneas ‘Dictaea negat tibi Iuppiter arva’ (*Aen.* 3.171). If Jupiter has indeed sent this plague, it need not necessarily shock us: in some Greek foundation-stories, plague (or more often drought) is sent by the gods as a warning to men of an error<sup>106</sup> – and so too perhaps here. But if we are encouraged by self-allusion to think particularly of the Jupiter of *Georgic* 1’s ‘Theodicy’, certain question-marks begin to appear. For that Jupiter is a notoriously ambivalent figure, bringing progress and industry to man but also hardship and pain.<sup>107</sup> We recognize his goal in *Georgic* 1 (1.124 ‘nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno’), but it is difficult to understand the means he adopts to achieve this end (1.123 ‘curis acuens mortalia corda’: cf. for example 1.129-30). If we are prompted to recall such a Jupiter at this point in *Aeneid* 3, a similar ambivalence may become visible here in the epic. As in *Georgic* 1, we recognize the goal; the Penates tell Aeneas:

‘mutandae sedes. non haec tibi litora suasit  
Delius aut Cretae iussit considerare Apollo.  
est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt...’ (*Aen.* 3.161-63)

<sup>104</sup> The nearest parallels given by computer word-searches are Tac. *Ann.* 6.25 ‘alimentis negatis’ and Lucan 4.314 ‘lacte negato’; the absence of the *TLL* is felt here.

<sup>105</sup> Armstrong (2002), 324-5.

<sup>106</sup> As Parker (1983), 272 points out, such afflictions generally constitute ‘an admonition rather than a punishment’. Cf. Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.135-46.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. note 37 above.

The Trojans must reach Italy. But why the plague as a warning?<sup>108</sup> Haven't they suffered enough already? Couldn't they have been shown their error in a less unpleasant way? The *Aeneid* does not attempt to answer these questions; but it is possible that self-allusion here helps to raise them.

#### [d] Wanderings: Etna

When the Trojans finally reach Italian soil at *Castrum Minervae* (*Aen.* 3.533ff.), they do not remain there long. Pausing only to witness the 'primum omen' (3.537) of the four white horses, then to pray to Pallas and Juno, they quickly set off: 'Graiugenumque domos suspectaque linquimus arva' (3.550). Heading south-west (551-3), they reach the toe of Italy, where (having been warned by Helenus in advance) they just manage to steer clear of Charybdis (554-67). Exhausted, they put in to land on the East coast of Sicily:

'interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,  
ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.  
portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens  
ipse: sed horrificis iuxta tonat Aetna ruinis,  
interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem  
turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla,  
attollitque globos flammaram et sidera lambit;  
interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis  
erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras  
cum gemitu glomerat fundoque exaestuat imo.  
fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus  
urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam  
impositam ruptis flammam exspirare caminis,  
et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem  
murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo.  
noctem illam tecti silvis immania monstra  
perferimus, nec quae sonitum det causa videmus.

<sup>108</sup> It is not sufficient simply to answer 'because this is typical of Greek colonization-narratives'. Within the narrative context in the *Aeneid*, and especially coming as it does so soon after *Aeneid* 2, the Trojans' suffering here may seem excessive.

nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra  
 siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo,  
 et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat.’ (*Aen.* 3.568-87)

A stop in Eastern Sicily does not appear to have featured in the Aeneas-legend before Vergil – so far as we can tell.<sup>109</sup> The poet’s main motivations in bringing the Trojans to land here are no doubt to allow Aeneas to pick up Achaemenides (and thus to outdo Odysseus, by saving a man the Greek hero lost), and to engineer for himself the chance to present the fantastic Cyclopes;<sup>110</sup> for post-Homeric tradition had agreed that Polyphemus and his brothers should be sited in the vicinity of Etna.<sup>111</sup> But although the main interest of this stop is indeed the meeting with Achaemenides and the escape from the Cyclopes, here we shall focus upon the extended description of Etna which Vergil presents immediately before that episode begins.

The sources for *Aen.* 3.568-87 are many and varied. Although neither of Vergil’s main literary models for book 3 – Homer and Apollonius – themselves present an Etna, both have some input into the passage. The *Odyssey* contributes certain narrative details not directly concerned with the volcano itself (I give these in a footnote<sup>112</sup>), and – more importantly – provides the structural model for the passage. For the account of Etna prefaces Aeneas’ encounter with Achaemenides just as the *ekphrasis* of the goats’ island at *Od.* 9.116-51 prefaces Odysseus’ encounter with the Cyclopes. (Note how the Latin poet transforms his model: whereas the goats’ island in the *Odyssey* provides a

<sup>109</sup> Lloyd (1957), 383, 387; cf. Dion. Hal. I.51-2.

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Williams *ad Aen.* 3.588ff.

<sup>111</sup> Already in Euripides’ *Cyclops*; placed by Thucydides 6.2 somewhere on Sicily (cf. Gomme *ad loc.*). Cf. Williams *ad Aen.* 3.569.

<sup>112</sup> With *Aen.* 3.568-9, cf. *Od.* 9.142-3; with *Aen.* 3.570-1, cf. *Od.* 9.136-9; with *Aen.* 3.583-7, cf. *Od.* 9.142-51.

disconcertingly idyllic prelude to the monstrous scenes which follow,<sup>113</sup> *Aen.* 3.568-87 present a landscape of awesome power and massive, present menace.) Apollonius' account of the Argonauts' uneasy night spent in the vicinity of Phaethon's smouldering corpse (*Arg.* 4.619-25) has also influenced Vergil here.<sup>114</sup> However, neither Apollonius nor Homer contribute much to Vergil's description of the volcano itself: the main models for this are to be found in other poets' accounts of Etna.

The Sicilian volcano had long been a subject favoured by poets.<sup>115</sup> Impressive descriptions in Greek by Pindar (*Pythian* 1.19-28) and by the author of the *PV* (351ff.) survive; no doubt there were many others. In Latin, Lucretius' treatment (6.639-702, cf. 1.722-5, 2.593) is the earliest still extant; it is likely that he had predecessors. Seneca in a fascinating letter calls Etna 'hunc sollemnem omnibus poetis locum' (*Epist.* 79.5):<sup>116</sup> and certainly the topic had been handled by a number of Augustan authors.<sup>117</sup> Among extant treatments, we can see that Vergil has made use of Pindar and Lucretius in particular: I give the references in a footnote.<sup>118</sup> But debts to other accounts are also visible<sup>119</sup> – and one of these is of particular significance for us.

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<sup>113</sup> Cf. Heubeck *ad Od.* 9.116-36; and esp. Reinhardt (1996), 77-9 on the island as 'foreground and foil' to Polyphemus' cave – 'the idyll comes before the adventure' (77).

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Nelis (2001), 50-1, who also suggests that Enceladus under Etna (*Aen.* 3.578-82) may recall Apollonius' Typhaon in Lake Serbonis (*Arg.* 2.1208-15).

<sup>115</sup> Rizzo (1985) gives an overview of the tradition. Etna had also been treated by prose writers: cf. Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.570-87 for brief discussion.

<sup>116</sup> Regarding it however as 'subactam' (i.e. 'pre-ploughed') rather than 'consumptam materiam', he encourages Lucilius to try his hand also.

<sup>117</sup> We hear of accounts by Messala (*Seneca Epist.* 51.1) and Valgius Rufus (fr. 7 Courtney: Courtney thinks this work was 'no doubt prose', but Nisbet and Hubbard (1978), 135 think it 'may have been a didactic poem'). Ovid's variation on the theme survives (*Met.* 15.340ff.); that of Cornelius Severus is lost (*Seneca Epist.* 79.5; cf. Courtney (1993), 320). We do not know the subject of Augustus' own hexameter poem entitled 'Sicilia', which survived for Suetonius to read (*Aug.* 85.2); but Nisbet and Rudd (*ad Hor. Od.* 3.4.75-6) speculate that Etna may have been mentioned.

<sup>118</sup> On the debt to Pindar, see Williams *ad Aen.* 3.571f., 573, 576, 577, 578f.; and cf. Favorinus *ap.* Aulus Gellius 17.10, with Holford-Strevens (1988), 89. Horsfall (*ad Aen.* 3.570-87) plays down the importance of *Pythian* 1 here. On the debt to Lucretius, cf. Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.570-87 (with references) and Williams *ad Aen.* 3.571f., 572, 573, 580, 582; also Sullivan (1972), 188.

<sup>119</sup> For references and discussion, see Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.570-87.

Towards the end of *Georgic* 1, Vergil moves from describing weather-signs into an account of the ‘signa’ visible (or audible) after the assassination of Julius Caesar.<sup>120</sup>

‘solem quis dicere falsum  
 audeat? ille etiam caecos instare tumultus  
 saepe monet fraudemque et operta tumescere bella;  
 ille etiam extincto miseratus Caesare Romam,  
 cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine textit  
 impiaque aeternam timuerunt saecula noctem.  
 tempore quamquam illo tellus quoque et aequora ponti,  
 obscenaeque canes importunaeque volucres  
 signa dabant. quotiens Cyclopum effervere in agros  
 vidimus undantem *ruptis* fornacibus *Aetnam*,  
*flammarumque globos liquefactaque* volvere saxa!  
 armorum sonitum toto Germania caelo  
 audiit, insolitis tremuerunt motibus Alpes.  
 vox quoque per lucos vulgo exaudita silentis  
 ingens...  
 ergo inter sese paribus concurrere telis  
 Romanas acies iterum videre Philippi;  
 nec fuit indignum superis bis sanguine nostro  
 Emathiam et latos Haemi pinguescere campos.’ (*Geo.* 1.463-77, 489-92)

These ‘signa’ threaten the onset of ‘caecos...tumultus’ and ‘operta...bella’; among them we find an eruption of Etna, at lines 471-3. These lines are of special interest to us because (as scholars have often noted<sup>121</sup>) various verbal details from this short description of Etna erupting are also found in Aeneas’ account of the volcano in *Aeneid* 3.

Some of the parallels are not perhaps very remarkable: for example, that between ‘ruptis...caminis’ of *Aen.* 3.580 and ‘ruptis fornacibus’ at *Geo.* 1.472, where both passages draw on traditional imagery.<sup>122</sup> But two correspondences are very precise. At *Geo.* 1.473, Etna rolls forth ‘flammarumque globos liquefactaque...saxa’. Compare *Aen.* 3.574, ‘attollitque *globos flammarum* et sidera lambit’ – and *Aen.* 3.576-7, ‘*liquefactaque*

<sup>120</sup> On the structure of this part of *Georgic* 1, cf. Wilkinson (1969), 84.

<sup>121</sup> E.g. Williams *ad Aen.* 3.574, 576, 580.

*saxa sub auras/ cum gemitu glomerat*'. These correspondences cannot be explained as coincidences resulting from Vergil drawing on stock diction. For (according to the *TLL*) *liquefacio* is not applied to rock outside Vergil in surviving texts;<sup>123</sup> and *globus* of flames or fire is first found in Vergil (the usage had a very limited afterlife, of which I give details in a footnote<sup>124</sup>). That 'globos...flammarum' in particular struck the Roman reader as remarkable may be indicated by the adverse reaction to the phrase of the second-century critic Favorinus, who in the course of a more general tirade against *Aen.* 3.570-87 singles it out as especially harsh.<sup>125</sup> At any rate, the lexical overlap between *Georgic* 1 and *Aeneid* 3 here seems pretty marked. Yet I know of no scholar who has considered whether these close correspondences might be in some way meaningful. Of course, it may simply be that Vergil was pleased with the striking and original diction of his vignette in *Georgic* 1, and decided to incorporate it in his larger picture in *Aeneid* 3. But it is worth at least entertaining the possibility that Vergil is here in *Aeneid* 3 not only borrowing some impressive diction from his earlier work, but in fact alluding to the Etna of *Georgic* 1, in order that his reader might recall the context in that poem.

In *Georgic* 1, the eruption of Etna is a sign of impending civil war – a war which will prove disastrous for the farmer (*Geo.* 1.505-8). The volcano is also itself a direct threat to the farmer's world: 'quotiens Cyclopum effervere in *agros/* vidimus undantem

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<sup>122</sup> Cf. e.g. *DRN* 6.682 'vastis Aetnae fornacibus' (with Godwin *ad* 6.680).

<sup>123</sup> *TLL* s.v. 'liquefacio' col. 1476 ll.44ff. (Vergil at ll.66-8). Perhaps nearest to Vergil is Pliny's description of Cleopatra's 'unionem liquefactum' (*NH* 9.121); but note the use of *liquesco* in Plaut. *Bacch.* fr. viii: 'quom liquescent petrae'.

<sup>124</sup> See *TLL* s.v. 'globus' col. 2056 ll.55-74; Sen. *Phoen.* 315 has 'igneos...globos', Pliny *NH* 2.234 'flammarum globo', Silius 5.514 'globos flammarum': thereafter only 'coeuntis incendii...globis' in ps.-Quintilian (2.2) before late antiquity.

<sup>125</sup> His criticisms are preserved in Aulus Gellius 17.10.15. Favorinus' distaste for 'globos...flammarum' may stem from his determination to regard the phrase as an attempt to translate Pindar's 'κρουνοῦς' at *Pyth.* 1.25: on this see now Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.574.

ruptis fornacibus Aetnam' (*Geo.* 1.471-2: I discuss these lines briefly in a footnote<sup>126</sup>). The allusions to this Etna in *Aeneid* 3 thus once again see one of the phenomena which menace the farmer's world in the *Georgics* recalled in the epic – and again it is the Trojans who are brought into contact with this threat.<sup>127</sup> Of course, in the end the Trojans do not suffer anything more serious beneath the volcano than a night of incomprehending terror (*Aen.* 3.583-4);<sup>128</sup> but the allusion to *Georgic* 1 reminds us of the destructive potential of Etna and the considerable threat it poses. Self-allusion once more helps to win our pity for the Trojans' plight.<sup>129</sup>

### [e] *Aeneid* 2 and 3: some conclusions

The Etna episode is then another instance in a series that we have traced throughout *Aeneid* 2 and 3. For – to recap – we have seen how self-allusion has associated the Greek attack on Troy in book 2 with the disastrous floods and storms, and

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<sup>126</sup> Lyne (1974), 54: 'The significance of *in agros* is intense. Built up by the narrative of Book 1, *agri* are by now in effect symbolic: they are after all the ground of the World of the *Georgics*...Hence emotive recipients of violence; and the portent as a whole deepens'. Vergil may owe something to Lucretius' description of the eruption in 122BC, which destroyed Catania: 'neque enim mediocri clade coorta/ flammea tempestas Siculum dominata *per agros/* finitimis ad se convertit gentibus ora' (*DRN* 6.641-3). Nor is 'in agros' simply a poetic conceit at *Geo.* 1.471; Livy (fr. 47) is cited by Servius *ad Geo.* 1.472: 'tanta flamma ante mortem Caesaris ex Aetna monte defluxit, ut non tantum vicinae urbes, sed etiam Regina civitas afflaretur'.

<sup>127</sup> It is possible that Etna in *Aeneid* 3 is also associated by allusion with another threat to the farmer's world in the *Georgics*. For as scholars have noted (e.g. Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.572, Thomas *ad Geo.* 2.308-9 and 311), there is some lexical overlap between the portrayal of the volcano erupting in the epic and the description of the conflagration in the olive-grove at *Geo.* 2.303-11. Note esp. how the fire there 'totum involvit flammis nemus et ruit atram/ ad caelum picea crassus caligine nubem' (2.308-9): compare *Aen.* 3.572-3, where Etna '*atram* prorumpit ad aethera nubem/ turbine fumantem *piceo* et candente favilla'.

<sup>128</sup> On the Trojans' fear here, see briefly Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.583 and 584, and Williams *ad Aen.* 3.587.

<sup>129</sup> The allusions to the Etna of *Georgic* 1 here in *Aeneid* 3 may also have a further point. In *Georgic* 1, as we observed above, the eruption of Etna is a sign of impending war; and it may be that allusion to this Etna in *Aeneid* 3 helps to suggest a similar portentous significance for the volcano in the epic – as a sign of the coming war in Italy. Such a warning of future war would not be out of place in the *Aeneid*. When the Trojans land at Castrum Minervae shortly before this, Anchises interprets the four horses that they see there as an omen of war to come (*Aen.* 3.537-43); if I am right about the allusion to *Georgic* 1 in the Etna episode, this warning would be picked up at the Trojans' very next landing. Other arguments in support of

the malignant snakes, of the *Georgics*; and how the plague which afflicts the Trojans on Crete in book 3 draws on the *Georgics*' portrayal of plague and of storm-rains. We can now add the contribution of *Georgic* 1 to the description of Etna in *Aeneid* 3.

Taken individually, Vergil's allusions to the *Georgics* in books 2 and 3 of his epic can be seen to make a range of significant contributions to the *Aeneid*: some of these we have explored above. But when they are taken as a group, we can recognize a consistent strategy in the poet's deployment of self-allusion. For with one readily comprehensible exception (*Aen.* 2.379-82: discussed in §1 [b] above), all the allusions to the *Georgics* that we have looked at share the following feature: they associate the dangers and setbacks endured by the Trojans with those faced by the farmer of the *Georgics*. The nature of this association varies: whereas *Aeneid* 3 recalls a literal plague and a literal Etna from the *Georgics* in portraying its own literal plague and Etna, *Aeneid* 2 by contrast typically associates literal threats from the *Georgics* (storms, floods, snakes) with very different phenomena in the *Aeneid* (a military assault, the terrifying Pyrrhus).<sup>130</sup> But the crucial point to note is the continuity in the function performed by these allusions to the *Georgics*: as we have demonstrated, in passage after passage they have the effect of generating sympathy for the Trojans in an audience familiar with Vergil's earlier poem.

Now this attempt to read the allusions to the *Georgics* in *Aeneid* 2 and 3 as a unified group should not obscure the variety of other different functions that these self-allusions perform, in local and larger contexts. But to take them as a related series enables us to see how self-allusion contributes to the larger achievement of books 2 and

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this reading of the self-allusion are also available; unfortunately there is not space to present them in detail here, but I hope to return to this topic in a future publication.

3: as mentioned at the very beginning of this section, the creation of pity for Aeneas and his men is a major aim of this part of the poem. We have to be made to see why Aeneas could remain in Troy no longer, why he had to leave;<sup>131</sup> and we have to be made to understand why Dido (the ‘internal audience’ of these books) should be so moved by Aeneas’ plight.<sup>132</sup> And indeed, as Heinze convincingly argues, the creation of πάθος is frequently an aim of Vergilian narrative in and of itself, quite independent of the need to justify or explain the actions of characters in the poem.<sup>133</sup>

I shall conclude this section with a brief glance back to some lines quoted, but not discussed, in sub-section [d] above:

‘interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,  
ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.’ (*Aen.* 3.568-9)

Exhausted by their journey, and unsure of their route, the Trojans put in to land on Sicily.<sup>134</sup> I quote in full Richard Jenkyns’ discussion of these lines:

“‘Ignari viae’ is yet another of those passing phrases that leave a larger reverberance behind. Significantly, Virgil had used the very same expression at the climax of the proem to the *Georgics*, in a context where it is clear that a symbolic meaning lies behind the literal sense. He summons Caesar to his aid:

“da facilem cursum atque audacibus adnue coeptis,  
ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis  
ingredere et votis iam nunc adsuesce vocari.” (*Geo.* 1.40-2)

...Just as the “way” that the farmer needs to learn is more than a matter of agricultural technique, so the “way” that Aeneas must seek is more than a route across the sea: it is the path of duty and destiny, a path

<sup>130</sup> Partly as a consequence of this, allusion to the *Georgics* in *Aeneid* 2 is often found within similes (contrast *Aeneid* 3, which only has one simile of any kind: 3.679-81). ‘Narrative in the *Georgics* used for similes in the *Aeneid*’ is the subject of Briggs Jr. (1980), 30-96.

<sup>131</sup> See esp. Heinze (1993), 3-67 on this.

<sup>132</sup> Dido’s response to Aeneas’ story is one of pity (‘heu, quibus ille/ iactatus fatis!’, 4.13-14) as well as admiration.

<sup>133</sup> Heinze (1993), 370-90, esp. 370-73; also his index s.v. ‘pathos’ and ‘pity’.

<sup>134</sup> On the (repeatedly mentioned) tiredness of the Trojans in *Aeneid* 3, see Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.78. On their ignorance and uncertainty in the book – about their route, and about other matters – see Horsfall *ad Aen.* 3.7, 37 and 338, and pxxix-xxxii of his commentary (2006).

only gradually revealed, and easily lost amid temptations and discouragements. “Ignarique viae” – the pathos, and the excitement, of Aeneas’ situation flower in that pair of lonely words.’<sup>135</sup>

I have just one point to add – which is the simple suggestion that this similarity between Aeneas and the farmer may not be accidental. Given the coherent pattern of self-allusion which we have observed throughout books 2 and 3 of the *Aeneid*, it would not be an enormous surprise to find allusion to this description of the struggling farmers in *Georgic* 1 here in *Aeneid* 3.<sup>136</sup> Certainly, the *TLL* cites no instance of the coupling of *ignarus* and *via* beyond these two Vergilian passages.<sup>137</sup> And if the identification of self-allusion here is accepted, then our general argument is reinforced. For at *Geo.* 1.41, Vergil asks Octavian to pity the farmers: ‘ignarosque viae mecum miseratus agrestis’; the allusion at *Aen.* 3.569 implies (once again) that the Trojans deserve our pity.

## **§2 and 3 The struggling farmer in *Aeneid* 5-12: continuity and change**

In §1 above, we have observed a consistent strategy in the deployment of allusion to the *Georgics* during *Aeneid* 2 and 3. We have seen how Vergil evokes our pity for the Trojans at various points in these books by associating them with the figure of the struggling farmer from his own earlier poem. In the remainder of this article, I shall demonstrate that recollections of this figure from the *Georgics* are also to be found later in the *Aeneid* – but that they tend increasingly to be applied to individuals and groups other than the Trojans. I shall trace this development over the course of books 5-12 –

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<sup>135</sup> Jenkyns (1998), 444. On the metaphor of the ‘path’ of life, see Fowler *ad DRN* 2.10.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Carter (2004), 187.

<sup>137</sup> *TLL* s.v. ‘ignarus’ col. 273 ll.25-6.

looking in particular at evocations of the storms of *Georgic* 1 (in §2 below) and of the Noric plague of *Georgic* 3 (in §3).

## §2 Storms (real and figurative)

We have seen in §1 [a] above that allusion to the *Georgics* plays a small but significant part in presenting the Greek attack on Troy in *Aeneid* 2 as a kind of ‘storm’. In this section we shall examine the contribution of self-allusion to various storms which occur later in the epic: a series of real storms at sea, which at first hinder but later help the Trojans as they attempt to reach Latium (§2 [a]); and the ‘storm’ of war which affects both Trojans and Italians in the second half of the poem (§2 [b] and [c]).

### [a] Storms at sea and the burning ships

The contribution of self-allusion to the series of three real storms at sea endured by the Trojans in books 1, 3 and 5 seems in fact to be minimal. The first storm – chronologically – which the Trojans encounter appears soon after they leave Crete in *Aeneid* 3 (192-204). Input from the *Georgics* here is very limited;<sup>138</sup> and to my knowledge no scholar has claimed otherwise. The second storm – again, chronologically – is the grand set-piece with which Vergil’s epic opens (1.81-130). Critics have

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<sup>138</sup> The most marked correspondence is that between *Aen.* 3.199 ‘*ingeminant abruptis nubibus ignes*’ and *Geo.* 1.333 ‘*ingeminant Austri et densissimus imber*’. According to the *TLL* s.v. ‘*ingemino*’, the verb is not attested before Vergil. It remains fairly rare after him (and exclusively poetic, until Tertullian); the intransitive usage seen here at *Aen.* 3.199 and *Geo.* 1.333 is found just five times elsewhere in extant Latin (*Aen.* 4.531 and 5.227; *Aetna* 322 and 493; Val. Flacc. 7.195): see *TLL* s.v. ‘*ingemino*’ col. 1518 ll.23-8. Other parallels between this scene in *Aeneid* 3 and *Georgic* 1 are less marked: ‘*inhorruit*’ is shared by *Aen.* 3.195 and *Geo.* 1.314, but *inhorresco* in storm-contexts goes back at least to Pacuvius fr. 409-16R., which probably come from his famous account in *Teucer* of the storm which afflicted the Greeks after Troy (cf. *TLL* s.v. ‘*inhorresco*’ col. 1601 ll.6ff.).

occasionally identified some input here from the *Georgics* (among many other texts<sup>139</sup>); but the evidence for this is limited and doubtful, and I relegate discussion to a footnote.<sup>140</sup>

As the Trojans set sail from Carthage, a third storm threatens (5.8-11), which is described in similar terms to that of *Aen.* 3.192-5; but Aeneas manages to reach Sicily before the storm breaks. Again, self-allusion makes no discernible contribution here.

This is the last of the literal storms to deflect the Trojans from their goal in Latium. To Juno's disgust, they arrive safely in *Aeneid* 7:

‘quin etiam patria excussos infesta per undas  
 ausa sequi et profugis toto me opponere ponto.  
 absumptae in Teucros vires caelique marisque.  
 quid Syrtes aut Scylla mihi, quid vasta Charybdis  
 profuit? optato conduntur Thybridis alveo  
 securi pelagi atque mei.’ (*Aen.* 7.299-304)

The opportunity for literal storms to harm the Trojans has now passed. Indeed, by this point in the epic the Trojans have come to experience the storm as a source of help as much as of hindrance. As we shall now see, self-allusion may help to draw our attention to this change.

For Juno has already attempted to derail the Trojans by another means. While the Trojan menfolk are attending the anniversary games for Anchises in Sicily, Iris (at Juno's bidding) rouses the Trojan women to set fire to the ships in which they have sailed (5.604-63). When Ascanius arrives, the women regret their actions (5.678-9), but the fires burn on:

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<sup>139</sup> Input from the *Odyssey*, esp. book 5: Knauer (1964a), 372-3; from Latin tragedy, esp. Pacuvius' *Teucer* (see previous note): Wigodsky (1972), 85-6, Austin *ad Aen.* 1.87, 88 and 90; from the *DRN*: Hardie (1986), 180-3. Input from the *Nostoi*-stories also seems likely.

<sup>140</sup> Briggs Jr. (1980), 84 sees a link between *Aen.* 1.129 'caelique ruina' and *Geo.* 1.324 'ruit arduus aether'. There may be something in this (Servius *ad Geo.* 1.324 gives *Aen.* 1.129 as a parallel): but note that *ruo* is

‘sed non idcirco flamma atque incendia viris  
indomitas posuere; udo sub robore vivit  
stuppa vomens tardum fumum, lentusque carinas  
est vapor et toto descendit corpore pestis,  
nec vires heroum infusaque flumina prosunt.’ (*Aen.* 5.680-4)

The fire is described as a ‘pestis’ in line 683. The idea of a ‘plague’ here is reinforced by the metaphor of the ‘body’ of a ship (‘toto...corpore’)<sup>141</sup> in the same line and by the medical flavour of ‘prosunt’ in line 684;<sup>142</sup> the fire is again a ‘pestis’ at 5.699, quoted below.<sup>143</sup> But this is a ‘plague’ from which the Trojans manage to escape. For Aeneas prays to Jupiter for help (5.685-92); then

‘vix haec ediderat cum effusis *imbribus atra*  
tempestas sine more furit tonitruque tremescunt  
ardua terrarum et campi; *ruit aethere* toto  
turbidus imber aqua densisque nigerrimus Austris,  
*implenturque* super puppes, semusta madescunt  
robora, restinctus donec vapor omnis et omnes  
quattor amissis servatae a peste carinae.’ (*Aen.* 5.693-9)

These lines are sometimes compared with the account of the great storm in *Georgic* 1;<sup>144</sup> my emphases highlight the parallels with the following lines, *Geo.* 1.322-34:<sup>145</sup>

‘saepe etiam immensum caelo venit agmen aquarum  
et foedam glomerant tempestatem *imbribus atris*  
collectae ex alto nubes; *ruit arduus aether*  
et pluvia ingenti sata laeta boumque labores  
diluit; *implentur* fossae et cava flumina crescunt  
cum sonitu fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor.  
ipse pater media nimborum in nocte corusca  
fulmina molitur dextra, quo maxima motu  
terra tremit, fugere ferae et mortalia corda  
per gentis humilis stravit pavor; ille flagranti

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already used of *caelum* at Ter. *Heaut.* 719 (in a proverbial expression) and at *DRN* 1.1105 (*OLD* s.v. ‘ruo’ 6b).

<sup>141</sup> Cf. Conington *ad Aen.* 5.683.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. Williams *ad Aen.* 5.683.

<sup>143</sup> ‘Pestis’ is also used of fire at *Aen.* 9.540.

<sup>144</sup> E.g. Williams *ad Aen.* 5.693ff.; Hardie (1986), 325.

<sup>145</sup> I quote the whole passage *Geo.* 1.316-34 in §1 [a] above.

aut Atho aut Rhodopen aut alta Ceraunia telo  
deicit; ingeminant Austri et densissimus imber;  
nunc nemora ingenti vento, nunc litora plangunt.’

The case for self-allusion at *Aen.* 5.693-9 relies not so much on a single decisive lexical correspondence with *Georgic* 1 as on an accumulation of more generally similar language. The parallels highlighted in italics are perhaps the most interesting ones; although none of them seems to me sufficient in itself to guarantee allusion to *Georgic* 1 in *Aeneid* 5 (I discuss them further in a footnote<sup>146</sup>), this accumulation of similarities of diction may carry some weight. At any rate, if we do see this storm which helps the Trojans as alluding to the storm which threatens the farmer in the *Georgics*, we can notice a change from what we observed in §1 [a] above. In *Aeneid* 2, allusion to the great storm at *Geo.* 1.316-34 is deployed in order to convey the power of the Greek attack, the ambivalence of Jupiter, and the pitiable plight of the Trojans. Here in *Aeneid* 5, that storm is rather associated with a real storm which brings help to the Trojans, extinguishing the fires which threaten to destroy their fleet. And this ‘con un conspicuo rovesciamento (da distruttore a salvatore) nel ruolo di Giove’, by comparison with *Georgic* 1 and *Aeneid* 2;<sup>147</sup> for the storm arrives in response to Aeneas’ prayer to Jupiter (5.687-92), and the following night Anchises’ ghost tells Aeneas

‘...imperio Iovis huc venio, qui classibus ignem  
depulit, et caelo tandem miseratus ab alto est.’ (*Aen.* 5.726-7)

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<sup>146</sup> ‘impletur’ at *Aen.* 5.697 may attract our attention, partly because the verb *impleo* is much less common than other *-pleo* compounds before Vergil (see *TLL* s.v. ‘impleo’ col. 628: the exceptions are the technical writers Cato and Varro), but mainly because *Geo.* 1.326 and *Aen.* 5.697 are the only extant examples of *impleo* being used of filling something with rain (according to *TLL* col. 630 ll.40ff.). ‘ruit’ at *Aen.* 5.695 is perhaps less striking with ‘imber’ as subject (cf. *OLD* s.v. ‘ruo’ 3b) than it is with ‘aether’ (at *Geo.* 1.324, on which cf. note 140 above). ‘effusis imbribus atra/ tempestas’ at *Aen.* 5.693-4 looks like a variation upon ‘foedam glomerant *tempestatem imbribus atris/ collectae ex alto nubes*’ at *Geo.* 1.323-4, with the adjective *ater* transferred from ‘imbribus’ in *Georgic* 1 to ‘tempestas’ in *Aeneid* 5.

<sup>147</sup> Labate (1990), 495.

In *Georgic* 1 and *Aeneid* 2, Jupiter overwhelms the farmer and the Trojans with his terrifying storms – and we pity them both (cf. §1 [a] above). But the god himself now pities the Trojans, and employs the power of the storm to their advantage.

From their position as victims of the storm for much of the first half of the *Aeneid*, the Trojans here become its beneficiaries for the first time. This is an important pointer towards the changed relationship with the storm that the Trojans will enjoy later in the epic.

### **[b] The storm of war**

For ‘storms’, albeit metaphorical ones, remain important in the second half of the *Aeneid*.<sup>148</sup> Frustrated at the failure of her literal storms earlier in the poem, Juno (with Allecto’s help) raises instead storms of war and of civil discord.<sup>149</sup> The ‘storm’ of civil discord primarily affects the Latins: Latinus at first holds out against the ‘waves’ (*Aen.* 7.586-90), but he is soon overwhelmed (‘frangimur heu fatis...ferimurque procella!’, 7.594).<sup>150</sup> The ‘storm’ of war, on the other hand, affects both Latins and Trojans; but not perhaps equally. We shall now briefly explore how this image is developed in the second half of the poem.

At the council of the Latins in *Aeneid* 11, Turnus insists that all is not yet lost: ‘sunt illis sua funera’, he says of the Trojans, ‘parque per omnis/ tempestas’ (11.422-3).

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<sup>148</sup> There is some (not entirely satisfactory) material on this in Hornsby (1970), 28ff. and 138ff., and Briggs Jr. (1980), 81ff.

<sup>149</sup> Pöschl (1962), 30-3 discusses the relationship between these ‘storms’ in *Aeneid* 7 and the literal storm of *Aeneid* 1.

<sup>150</sup> Cf. later *Aen.* 11.297-9, with Horsfall’s note *ad loc.*

The Italians have of course suffered a severe reverse (narrated in *Aeneid* 10); but the first part of Turnus' statement seems indisputable: *Aeneid* 11 begins with Pallas' funeral. Turnus' second claim, however, is more suspect – at least, if we compare it with the distribution of storm-imagery in Vergil's narrative of the war in Italy. For although there are at least two passages where both Trojans and Italians are threatened by the same 'storm' (I discuss them in a footnote<sup>151</sup>), in general Vergil tends either to portray one side, or one individual on one side, as the victim(s) of the 'storm' – or to align one side, or one individual on one side, with the storm itself. And even a summary presentation will clearly demonstrate that it is much more frequently the Latins and their allies who find themselves in the position of victims of the 'storm' of war; this summary I provide in a footnote.<sup>152</sup>

Now this fact is significant in itself: to a great degree (although not entirely) the Italians in the final third of the *Aeneid* come to inherit the position occupied by the Trojans earlier in the poem, as victims of the storm. To this we shall return below. But first I would like to look a little more closely at one of the passages in which the Italians

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<sup>151</sup> In *Aen.* 11.610-11, at the beginning of the cavalry battle, both sides 'fundunt simul undique tela/ crebra nivis ritu, caelumque obtexitur umbra'. At 12.283-4, in the chaos following Tolumnius' truce-breaking spear-cast, both sides hurl weapons: 'it toto turbida caelo/ tempestas telorum ac ferreus ingruit imber'. In the simile at 10.356-9, both the Trojans and the Italians are themselves compared to battling winds.

<sup>152</sup> Instances where *either* the Italians are the victims of a 'storm' *or* the Trojans are aligned with the power of the storm: 9.441-2 (Nisus' 'ensem/ fulmineum'); 9.509-11 (the Trojans 'effundere' missiles at the besieging Italians, cf. Hardie *ad loc.*); 9.666-71 (Trojan missiles fall like 'imber', again cf. Hardie *ad loc.*); 9.811-12 ('fulmineus Mnestheus'); 10.602-4 (Aeneas rages in combat 'turbinis atri/ more'); 10.693-6 (Mezentius like a rock 'obvia ventorum furiis'); 11.742 (Tarchon 'turbidus', cf. Horsfall *ad loc.*); 12.450-8 (Aeneas like a storm-cloud: I discuss this in the main text above); 12.654 ('fulminat Aeneas'); 12.700 (Aeneas 'horrendum...intonat armis'); 12.921-5 (Aeneas' spear 'volat atri turbinis instar'). By contrast, instances where *either* the Trojans are the victims of a 'storm' *or* the Italians are aligned with the power of the storm: 9.705-6 (Turnus' *phalarica* 'fulminis acta modo'); 10.763 (Mezentius 'turbidus', cf. Harrison *ad loc.*); 10.802-10 (Aeneas takes cover from missiles as from a storm: see §2 [c] above); 12.365-7 (Turnus like the North wind). This list is to the best of my knowledge complete; but I may have missed some metaphors. The existing secondary material on figurative 'storms' in *Aeneid* 7-12 (see note 148) focusses on similes, and largely ignores metaphors; this gives only a partial picture of storm-imagery in these books. The best study of the storm-metaphors is Hardie (1986): he does not give lists, but see his index s.v. 'storm'.

are menaced by a ‘storm’. Aeneas is returning to battle in *Aeneid* 12, after his wound has been treated:

‘ille volat campoque atrum rapit agmen aperto.  
 qualis ubi ad terras abrupto sidere nimbus  
 it mare per medium (miseris, heu, praescia longe  
 horrescunt corda agricolis: dabit ille ruinas  
 arboribus stragemque satis, ruet omnia late),  
 ante volant sonitumque ferunt ad litora venti:  
 talis in adversos ductor Rhoeteius hostis  
 agmen agit...’ (*Aen.* 12.450-7)

Aeneas comes on like a threatening storm-cloud (451-5); the frightened Italians (cf. 12.447-8) are compared, by multiple-correspondence, to ‘miseris.../...agricolis’. In the model for this simile, *Il.* 4.275-82, Homer compares the advance of the Aiantes and their troops to the movement of a storm-cloud witnessed by an ‘αἰπόλος ἀνήρ’ – who then drives his flock into a cave for safety. Vergil makes two key alterations to this model.<sup>153</sup> Firstly, there is no mention of safety in the *Aeneid*’s simile: destruction of the crops seems inevitable (‘dabit ille ruinas/ arboribus stragemque satis, ruet omnia late’). Secondly, Homer’s goatherd is replaced by ‘miseris.../...agricolis’, and his flock by the concerns of the farmer (‘arboribus’ and ‘satis’). Oliver Lyne has suggested that ‘The language and associations of the simile, the “agricolae”, “sata” and so on, recall the *Georgics*; and Vergil is alluding to and building upon what he had established in that poem...for Vergil and for the readers of the *Georgics*, the “agricola” with his crops was a significant and sympathetic figure...’.<sup>154</sup> The appeal of this reading is significantly

<sup>153</sup> See Lyne (1987), 4-8; also Nelis (2001), 371-2, drawing attention to Apollonius *Arg.* 3.1399-403 as a possible source for the farmers in Vergil’s simile.

<sup>154</sup> Lyne (1987), 7; Lyne goes on to suggest that ‘While...the drama, the epic voice, simply presents the return of our respected and imminently victorious hero, a further voice, operating now by allusion (to the *Georgics*), calls attention to the fact that his imminent victims are potentially valuable citizens...’ (1987: 8; the argument is presented on p7).

increased by the presence (not mentioned by Lyne) of a specific verbal connection to the earlier poem. For with *Aen.* 12.452-4 compare the following passage from *Georgic* 1:

‘ille [i.e. Sol] ubi nascentem maculis variaverit ortum  
conditus in nubem medioque refugerit orbe,  
suspecti tibi sint imbres: namque urget ab alto  
*arboribusque satisque Notus pecorique sinister.*’ (*Geo.* 1.441-4)

I quoted and discussed this passage in §1 [c] of this chapter, where we saw that the pairing of *arbores* and *sata* is by no means common in surviving Latin texts. The pairing appears in *Aeneid* 12 in a context where, on Lyne’s reading, we already have the *Georgics* at least vaguely in mind;<sup>155</sup> and in a context – the description of a weather-sign threatening a storm – which is close to that found here in *Georgic* 1.<sup>156</sup> It seems likely that we are dealing with self-allusion here;<sup>157</sup> and if so, the consequences would be significant. For here we would find the Italians associated by self-allusion with the struggling farmer of the *Georgics*. Their inheritance of the Trojans’ position as victims of the storm extends in this case even to the inheritance of the Trojans’ former association with that figure from Vergil’s earlier poetry (which we have explored in §1 above).

Now the use of self-allusion to suggest the Italians’ inheritance of the Trojans’ position as victims of the storm is not found in the *Aeneid* outside of this simile, so far as I can see. But although fleeting, this moment is significant. For the transfer to the Italians (in *Aeneid* 12) of the Trojans’ association (in *Aeneid* 2) with the farmer threatened by the

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<sup>155</sup> Nor is Lyne the only critic to read the simile thus; Traina *ad Aen.* 12.452 says: ‘dietro il poeta degli eroi affiora il poeta dei contadini’.

<sup>156</sup> Traina *ad Aen.* 12.453-4 notes the verbal parallel with the comment ‘medesimo accostamento in *medesimo contesto* in *G* 1,444’ (my italics).

<sup>157</sup> Less convincing is the suggestion that Vergil here in *Aeneid* 12 recalls the great storm at *Geo.* 1.311ff., which is oddly regarded as the ‘crucial parallel’ by Briggs Jr. (1980), 90-1 (cf. Thomas (1998), 296). The only parallel (besides the basic situation) seems to be the mention of the frightened ‘corda’ of men (*Geo.* 1.330, cf. *Aen.* 12.453). More convincing verbal parallels for the epic simile are found at *Geo.* 4.69-70 ‘continuoque animos vulgi et trepidantia bello/ corda licet longe praesciscere’ (cf. *Aen.* 12.452-3) and *Geo.*

storm in the *Georgics* forms part of a larger dynamic within the *Aeneid* whereby the war in Italy comes to seem in many respects a replay of the Trojan war – with the role of the Trojans in that conflict typically taken by the Italians in this one.<sup>158</sup> This development sees the Trojans ‘go from being losers to winners’,<sup>159</sup> and sees them pass the role of losers on to the Italians. But this is not the Italians’ only inheritance from the Trojans. We have seen in §1 above how the generation of pity for the defeated Trojans is one of the key features of *Aeneid* 2 and 3; and as the Italians take on various aspects of those defeated Trojans, so too they inherit much of the sympathy which we felt for the Trojans earlier in the poem. This is certainly the case in the simile we have been examining: ‘*miseris, heu, praescia longe/ horrescunt corda agricolis*’ (*Aeneid* 12.452-3). And the allusion to the pitiable figure of the struggling farmer from the *Georgics* in the following words (‘*dabit ille ruinas/ arboribus stragemque satis, ruet omnia late*’) only reinforces the point that the Italians here deserve our pity.

### [c] The Trojans and the storm

The Trojans’ relationship to the storm, then, changes considerably over the course of the epic. At first battered by literal storms (in books 1, 3 and 5) and by the storm of war (in book 2), their situation gradually improves: their burning ships are extinguished by storm-rains in book 5, and in the second half of the *Aeneid* the Trojans suffer appreciably less than do the Italians from the storm of war. As we have seen, self-allusion plays a small (but not insignificant) role in the articulation of this changing relationship.

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1. 361-2 ‘*clamoremque ferunt ad litora*’ (cf. *Aen.* 12.455 ‘*sonitumque ferunt ad litora venti*’); but neither correspondence seems to have a literary function.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Quint (1993), ch.2 *passim*; Anderson (1957).

<sup>159</sup> Quint (1993), 50.

Before leaving this topic, I would like to look at one last passage. In *Aeneid* 10, Aeneas has wounded Mezentius, but he is prevented from moving in for the kill – firstly by Lausus, and secondly by Mezentius’ *socii* who ‘tela...coniciunt perturbantque eminus hostem/ missilibus’ (10.801-2):

‘furit Aeneas tectusque tenet se.  
ac velut effusa si quando grandine nimbi  
praecipitant, omnis campis diffugit arator  
omnis et agricola, et tuta latet arce viator  
aut amnis ripis aut alti fornice saxi,  
dum pluit in terris, ut possint sole reducto  
exercere diem: sic obrutus undique telis  
Aeneas nubem belli, dum detonet omnis,  
sustinet...’ (*Aen.* 10.802-10)

The simile in lines 803-8 is an important reminder that the Trojans too must occasionally experience the ‘storm’ of war in the second half of the *Aeneid*. But let us look at how the simile develops. From this hailstorm (‘effusa...grandine’) the ploughman, the farmer and the traveller are able to take shelter ‘dum pluit in terris, ut possint sole reducto/ exercere diem’; likewise Aeneas is able to take cover from the ‘storm’ of missiles (808-10). Now there is no single Homeric source for this simile;<sup>160</sup> but the element of ‘shelter from the storm’ may derive from the goatherd in the cave at *Il.* 4.275-9 – that is, from the Homeric passage to which the simile at *Aen.* 12.451-5 also looks. But where that simile in *Aeneid* 12 allowed the Italians no shelter (cf. §2 [b] above), here in *Aeneid* 10 Aeneas is able to take cover from the storm – and to emerge

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<sup>160</sup> Knauer (1964a), 419 gives as parallels *Il.* 12.156-8 (stones like snowstorm), 12.278-86 (ditto), 16.384-92 (Hector’s horses make noise like flood-waters) – but none of these contributes much to *Aen.* 10.802-10. Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.803-8 gives no Homeric parallels for the simile as a whole, but finds convincing Homeric sources for details in his notes on lines 803-4, 804-5 and 809: he rightly concludes that Vergil here makes ‘creative use of traditional elements’.

victorious. Aeneas is thus contrasted with the Italians;<sup>161</sup> his endurance of this storm also contrasts with his own (and the Trojans') battering by storms, real and metaphorical, earlier in the epic. We have already seen how both these struggles of the Trojans with storms, and those of the Italians in *Aen.* 12.451-5, are associated with the struggles of the farmer in the *Georgics*. And it is possible that the appearance of the 'arator' and the 'agricola' in this simile in *Aeneid* 10 indicate how Aeneas' fortunes have changed since then:<sup>162</sup> no longer simply overwhelmed by the storm, he is now able to take cover ('tectus' 802, 'tuta latet arce viator/ aut amnis ripis aut alti fornice saxi' 805-6), to see it through ('dum pluit in terris' 806, 'dum detonet omnis' 808), and emerge to get on with the job ('ut possint sole reducto/ exercere diem' 806-7). This final, implicit correspondence between Aeneas' grim 'work' and that of the countrymen of the simile has disturbed some readers;<sup>163</sup> but it also suggests how far Aeneas' relationship with the storm has changed: what was once a terrifying ordeal which drove the hero to exile and despair has now become a temporary inconvenience, something which retains some threat and must be endured, but something which will soon pass, allowing him to continue on his way.

### §3 The plague of war

In the previous section we have looked at one of Vergil's main sustained images for war in the *Aeneid* – the storm. As we have seen, the metaphor of the 'storm' of war recurs explicitly throughout the second half of the epic. In this section, I shall explore

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<sup>161</sup> Note also how in *Aen.* 10.802-10 Aeneas takes cover from the 'nubem belli' (809), just as the countrymen take cover from the 'nimbi' bringing hail (803) – whereas in 12.450-7, Aeneas is himself compared to a menacing storm-cloud ('nimbus' 451).

<sup>162</sup> Lyne (1989), 144 sees 'agricola' as a glance towards the *Georgics*.

another image for war found in the poem: that of the plague. The image of the ‘plague’ of war is much less explicit and much less widespread than that of the ‘storm’ of war. But whereas self-allusion plays a relatively small rôle in Vergil’s presentation of the ‘storm’ of war, I shall argue in sub-sections [b] to [d] below that allusion to *Georgic* 3 is the central means by which the image of the ‘plague’ of war is established. I shall begin, however, by looking at what seems to be the only explicit occurrence of the metaphor of the ‘plague’ of war in the *Aeneid*.

### **[a] Plague as a metaphor for war**

At the council of the gods which opens *Aeneid* 10, Venus expresses her dismay at the developments that have occurred since the Trojans’ arrival in Latium (10.18ff.). She now despairs of *imperium*, and even of any hope for Aeneas; she only begs that her grandson Ascanius may be saved from the war (42-55). She asks why it has been necessary for the Trojans<sup>164</sup> to come all the way to Italy, if they are to face yet more suffering:

‘quid pestem evadere belli  
iuvat et Argolicos medium fugisse per ignis  
totque maris vastaeque exhausta pericula terrae,  
dum Latium Teucrici recidivaque Pergama quaerunt?’ (55-8)

Venus goes on to suggest, in a bitter parting shot (59-62), that the Trojans would have been better off settling among the ashes of their *patria* Troy than in Latium. But here we shall focus on a phrase found in the lines quoted above, which is used by Venus to describe the Trojans’ escape from Troy: ‘quid *pestem evadere belli*/ iuvat...?’ (55-6).

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<sup>163</sup> Cf. Lyne (1989), 143-6.

What we make of the phrase ‘pestem evadere belli’ depends primarily upon our interpretation of the word ‘pestem’. The noun *pestis* has two main fields of meaning. One is fairly narrow: ‘a plague, pestilence, or disease’.<sup>165</sup> The other is rather broad: ‘any kind of bad thing’.<sup>166</sup> At *Aen.* 10.55, either meaning could be operative. Venus could be saying simply ‘what use was it to escape the evil of war?’;<sup>167</sup> or she may employ a metaphor: ‘what use was it to escape the plague of war?’. It may be that there is a genuine ambiguity here, and that both meanings are available to the reader. But there is at least some reason to believe that Venus’ ‘pestem...belli’ means rather more than ‘the evil of war’. This is partly because even when *pestis* has its broader sense (‘any kind of bad thing’), according to the *TLL* ‘saepe subluget color morbi’ – often the idea of disease is present somewhere in the background.<sup>168</sup> But more significant is the presence here of the verb ‘evadere’. This verb has something of a medical flavour: it can be used of ‘escaping’ from sickness or disease.<sup>169</sup> Therefore although the combination ‘pestem evadere’ could mean simply ‘to escape evil’, it is more likely (as Harrison notes) that it ‘suggests literal escape from a disease’.<sup>170</sup> This would result in rather a striking metaphor: Venus would be suggesting that in leaving Troy Aeneas and the Trojans escaped a ‘plague of war’. But Venus is a forceful speaker throughout the *Aeneid*, and one who is not averse to using

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<sup>164</sup> Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.55-6 takes Ascanius to be focus of 55-8; this seems unlikely to me. Page (*ad* 10.56) more convincingly sees *medium* as referring to Aeneas.

<sup>165</sup> *TLL* s.v. ‘pestis’ I (col. 1927 ll. 69ff.); *OLD* s.v. ‘pestis’ 2. The *TLL* (col. 1927 l.69) thinks that this *usus strictior* may also be the *usus originarius*.

<sup>166</sup> *TLL* s.v. ‘pestis’ II (col. 1928 ll.74ff.); this covers the usages given by *OLD* s.v. ‘pestis’ 1 and 3-5.

<sup>167</sup> She may use ‘pestem’ to mean more specifically ‘death or destruction (in war)’ here; examples of *pestis* with this meaning are given in *TLL* s.v. *pestis* col. 1929, ll.10-14 and 53-9 (already in Ennius).

<sup>168</sup> *TLL* s.v. ‘pestis’ col. 1928, l.75.

<sup>169</sup> For *evadere* of ‘escaping’ from sickness or disease, see *TLL* s.v. ‘evadere’: intransitive at col. 987, ll.30-41 *e morbo*; transitive at col. 990, ll.45ff. and col. 991, ll.16ff. Note that the transitive use of *evadere* which we see in *Aen.* 10.55 occurs just twice in extant Latin before Vergil (in Lucilius fr. 313 and 640 Marx).

<sup>170</sup> Harrison (1986) *ad Aen.* 10.55-6.

unexpected imagery.<sup>171</sup> So we should probably regard ‘to escape the plague of war’ as the most likely interpretation of her words ‘pestem evadere belli’.

The field of sickness and disease was in ancient as in modern literature a favoured source for figurative language:<sup>172</sup> the ‘sickness’ of love,<sup>173</sup> the ‘diseased’ body politic,<sup>174</sup> and moral ‘health’<sup>175</sup> are some familiar examples.<sup>176</sup> However, the image of the ‘plague’ of war does not seem to have been at all a common one in antiquity. Those commentators who recognize the metaphor at *Aen.* 10.55 struggle to find parallels; Harrison’s sole example – the phrase ‘ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν Ἐνυαλίου’ at Pindar, *Nemean* 9.37 – does not convince (as I explain in a footnote<sup>177</sup>). In fact, I have not been able to find any certain instances of plague or disease imagery used to describe war itself in Greek literature.<sup>178</sup> In Latin, we find a clear instance in Lucan’s *Bellum Civile*; at 3.369-72, Caesar responds to the Massilians’ plea to be left alone with scorn:

‘...at enim *contagia belli*

<sup>171</sup> For discussion of Venus’ speech at *Aen.* 10.14-62, see Harrison’s commentary. Venus has more lines of speech than any other divinity in the poem (eleven speeches, 216 lines in total: Hight (1972), 27). On Venus’ use of striking diction and imagery in her speech to Neptune at *Aen.* 5.781ff., see Lyne (1989), 174-6.

<sup>172</sup> For a range of examples from a modern author, see Spurgeon (1966), 129-36 on Shakespeare’s use of sickness and disease imagery (esp. 130-2 on plague imagery); further references via her index s.v. ‘sickness and medicine’.

<sup>173</sup> See the material in Brown *ad DRN* 4.1068-72; Barrett *ad Eur. Hipp.* 476-7; Fantham (1972), 84-5; Pichon (1902), s.v. ‘morbus’; Lyne *ad Ciris* 182; Maltby *ad Tib.* 2.5.110; Lightfoot (1999), 260, 367-8.

<sup>174</sup> Some examples are collected in Janne (1936), 281-4.

<sup>175</sup> See esp. Nussbaum (1994), *passim*.

<sup>176</sup> For further bibliography on the imagery of sickness and disease in ancient literature, see the *Bibliographie zur antiken Bildersprache* s.v. ‘Krankheit’.

<sup>177</sup> λοιγός seems to mean simply ‘destruction’ or ‘death’ (see LSJ s.v. ‘λοιγός’); and while it can sometimes mean ‘destruction/death by plague’, this meaning is established by the context in which λοιγός appears (as at e.g. *Iliad* 1.67) rather than by anything inherent in the word itself. *Pestis*, on the other hand, can mean ‘plague’ or ‘disease’ on its own. The Pindaric parallel is therefore rather doubtful: there is nothing in the context in *Nemean* 9 to suggest that ‘λοιγὸν’ in line 37 means anything other than ‘destruction’; Pindar’s phrase ‘ἀμύνειν λοιγὸν Ἐνυαλίου’ may be regarded as a twist upon the Homeric hexameter clausula ‘λοιγὸν ἀμύν-’ (e.g. *Iliad* 1.341, 1.456, 5.603, 15.736, 16.80), which means simply ‘to ward off destruction’.

<sup>178</sup> Disease was however a familiar image for *civil* war: see note 185 below. At Soph. *OT* 190 the war-god Ares is linked with plague: but cf. Parker (1983), 244-5 on this.

*dira* fugant. dabit poenas pro pace petita,  
et nihil esse meo discetis tutius aevo  
quam duce me bellum.’<sup>179</sup>

The idea of war as a contagious disease (Lat. *contagium*, *contagio*) appears elsewhere in extant Latin twice in Cicero’s *Verrines*,<sup>180</sup> and twice in Livy;<sup>181</sup> thereafter the only ancient authors to exploit the image are Florus and Orosius.<sup>182</sup> Beyond these instances, there appear to be few if any clear examples of plague or disease imagery applied to war in Latin literature.<sup>183</sup> (Cicero’s occasional description of the civil wars as *pestifer*<sup>184</sup> need not mean anything more than ‘destructive’ – although the old Greek image of *στάσις* as a *νόσος* may add a little colour to the adjective.<sup>185</sup>)

Thus at *Aen.* 10.55 Venus uses an image which is rather unusual within the ancient literary tradition: ‘pestem...belli’, the ‘plague’ of war. The image is also a very powerful one. Although the ancient Mediterranean world seems not to have experienced any plague on the scale of the appalling pandemics of the Middle Ages,<sup>186</sup> nevertheless the indiscriminating, rapid and widespread devastation which could result from plague, and the horrifying degree of physical pain it could cause its victims, render it a chillingly

<sup>179</sup> Caesar’s image here picks up the Massilians’ claim that they will not be needed in the civil war, since everyone else is so keen to fight (‘nec sic horret iners *scelerum contagia* mundus,/ ut gladiis egeant civilia bella coactis’, 3.322-23).

<sup>180</sup> Twice in quick succession, at II.v.6 ‘contagionem imitandi belli periculosam’ and II.v.7 ‘contagio... servilis belli’; Cicero is mocking Verres’ claim that the slave war could have spread (like a disease) to Sicily. It is worth noting that in these examples, as in Lucan 3.369-70, we are dealing with wars that have at least some relation to civil war: a slave war in Cicero, and in Lucan a war which is related to the conflict between Caesar and Pompey. Disease was a familiar image for civil war: see note 185 below.

<sup>181</sup> 1.15.1 ‘belli *Fidenatis contagione* iritati Veientium animi’; 10.18.2 ‘Tusci fere omnes consciverant bellum; traxerat *contagio* proximos Umbriae populos...’.

<sup>182</sup> Florus 2.13.1, 2.18.4, Orosius 5.9.4: cf. *TLL* s.v. ‘contagium’, col. 626 ll.24-5. *TLL* s.v. ‘contagium’ cites only the instance from Lucan book 3.

<sup>183</sup> Tacitus’ remarkable description of Vitellius’ auxiliaries as ‘immensam belli luem’ (*Hist.* 3.15) may be one; but it is unclear exactly what this phrase means. Some have suggested textual corruption here: ‘so harsh an expression that...it can hardly stand’ (Spooner *ad loc.*); Faernus suggested ‘molem’ for ‘luem’.

<sup>184</sup> *De off.* 1.86; *ad Att.* 8.14.2, 9.13.3; *ad fam.* 4.3.1.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. LSJ s.v. ‘νόσος’ 3 (already in Hdt. 5.28); ‘νόσημα’ 3; ‘νόσος’ II.3.

appropriate point of comparison for war.<sup>187</sup> (That the phenomena were indeed regarded as comparable in antiquity is also suggested by the fact that we occasionally find the terms of our analogy reversed, with war as an image for plague: for example, in Lucretius' account of the plague at Athens in *DRN* 6.<sup>188</sup>)

So the image of the 'plague' of war is an unusual one, but also an appropriate and a powerful one. Its only explicit occurrence in the *Aeneid* is at 10.55, where Venus uses the image to describe the war at Troy.<sup>189</sup> But I shall argue in this section that the image may be a little more widespread in the poem. For images and metaphors need not always be explicit: they can also be hinted at indirectly. As Christopher Ricks points out, 'allusion is one form that metaphor may take (as the illuminating perception of similitude in dissimilitude, and as a relation between two things that then creates a new imaginative entity)'.<sup>190</sup> In the following sub-sections, I shall argue that allusion (primarily to Vergil's own *Georgic* 3) encourages us at least on occasion to observe a relationship between the war in Italy in the *Aeneid* and the phenomenon of plague. The allusions which I identify

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<sup>186</sup> On plagues in antiquity, see conveniently *OCD*<sup>3</sup> s.v. 'plague', with bibliography.

<sup>187</sup> Comparisons between war and plague are found in various modern authors. In *Antony and Cleopatra* 3.10.8-10 (at Actium), Shakespeare has Scarus respond to Enobarbus' question 'How appears the fight?' with 'On our side like the tokened pestilence./ Where death is sure'. More recently, in his second inauguration speech in 1937 President Roosevelt compared the spread of war to that of disease: 'It seems to be unfortunately true that the epidemic of world lawlessness is spreading. When an epidemic of physical disease starts to spread, the community approves and joins in a quarantine of the patients in order to protect the health of the community against the spread of the disease... War is a contagion...'. See also e.g. Burns' description of wars as 'the plagues of human life' ('Nature's law', 3-4), Wordsworth's 'the plague of war' ('The Ruined Cottage', 136) or Wilfred Owen's line 'One dies of war like any old disease' ('A terre', 6).

<sup>188</sup> In *DRN* 6, by means of imagery and allusion, the onset of plague is compared to the attack of an invading army (see P. Fowler (1983), 348-9; Godwin *ad* 6.1139) or to a military siege (P. Fowler (1983), 362-3, 372, 375-6), and the results of the plague are compared to battlefield carnage or the sack of a city (P. Fowler (1983), 257-8, 358, 592-4). The comparison with war is occasionally glimpsed in *Georgic* 3: at 3.508, '*obsessas fauces premit aspera lingua*'; and Tisiphone at 3.551ff. behaves like Mars at 1.511 (see Thomas *ad Geo.* 1.511, Mynors *ad Geo.* 3.551-2).

<sup>189</sup> As we saw in §1 [b] above, there may be further, less explicit suggestions during the course of the *Iliupersis* narrative itself in *Aeneid* 2 that the disaster which overtakes Troy is akin to a plague.

<sup>190</sup> Ricks (2002), 1. On the relationship between metaphor and allusion, see also Conte (1986), 52-7.

are distributed throughout the second half of the epic: they are generally very subtle, and easily missed. But I hope to show that they perform a distinctive function in the epic: I shall discuss this in sub-section [e], after first presenting and discussing individual cases in sub-sections [b] to [d].

### [b] Dryops and Sulmo

When Aeneas returns by sea with his Etruscan allies to the aid of the beleaguered Trojans in *Aeneid* 10, he meets some stern resistance from Turnus and his Italian allies stationed on the shore (10.308-9, 354-61 esp.). In particular, Vergil at this point brings to the fore the figure of Clausus, the leader of the Sabine contingent, whom he had introduced in the Italian catalogue (7.706ff.); he has not appeared since, and after this cameo will not appear again in the poem.<sup>191</sup> Clausus kills seven of the enemy; six anonymous Thracians ‘per varios...casus’ (10.350-2), but firstly the named (Trojan?)

Dryops:

‘hic Curibus fidens primaevæ corpore Clausus  
advenit et rigida Dryopem ferit eminus hasta  
sub mentum graviter pressa, pariterque loquentis  
vocem animamque rapit trajecto gutture; at ille  
fronte ferit terram et crassum vomit ore cruorem.’ (10.345-49)

We shall focus here on the final words of this description: ‘crassum vomit ore cruorem’ (349). Both Dryops’ wound and his death have Homeric precedents;<sup>192</sup> and the diction of line 349 owes something to the *Iliad*: ‘vomit...cruorem’ renders the Homeric ‘ἀίμα ἄπεμεσεν’ (*Il.* 14.437),<sup>193</sup> ‘crassum...cruorem’ the Homeric ‘αἷμα παχύ’ (*Il.*

<sup>191</sup> This is typical of Vergil’s treatment of ‘minor heroes’: cf. Horsfall (1987), 50-1.

<sup>192</sup> See Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.347-8, 348-9.

<sup>193</sup> Cf. also *Il.* 16.162 ‘ἐρευγόμενοι φόνον αἷματος’, imitated more closely at *Aen.* 11.668 ‘sanguinis ille [i.e. Eunæus] vomens rivos cadit’ (see Horsfall *ad loc.*).

23.697).<sup>194</sup> But the combination ‘vomit ore cruorem’ seems to glance at a Latin model also – Vergil’s own description of a bull dying of plague at Noricum, in *Georgic* 3.515-17:

‘ecce autem duro fumans sub vomere taurus  
concidit et mixtum spumis vomit ore cruorem  
extremosque ciet gemitus.’

The combination ‘vomit ore cruorem’ is found elsewhere in surviving Latin just once – at *Ilias Latina* 382-3 (‘calidumque cruorem/ ore vomit’), where the poet may be imitating Vergil. Besides this, the closest we come are two instances in Ovid:<sup>195</sup> at *Met.* 5.83, Erytus dies beneath a blow from a *crater* in Perseus’ hands, ‘rutilum vomit ille cruorem’; and in the (probably spurious) *Haleutica*, the cuttle-fish ‘nigrum vomit illa cruorem’ (21)! Both these instances have some element of (presumably deliberate) bathos, after Vergil.<sup>196</sup> At any rate, let us note for now that the language used of Dryops’ death in *Aeneid* 10.349 repeats that used of the dying bull in *Georgic* 3; but before drawing any conclusions from this, let us look at another passage.

In the previous book of the *Aeneid*, Euryalus and Nisus flee from Volcens’ cavalry force; Euryalus gets lost and is surrounded. Nisus is unsure what to do (9.399-401). Praying to Diana, he hurls a spear at the enemy from his hidden position (402-11), which hits Sulmo in the back (411-13):

‘volvitur ille vomens calidum de pectore flumen  
frigidus et longis singultibus ilia pulsat.’ (9.414-15)

<sup>194</sup> ‘crassum...cruorem’ is also found at *Aen.* 5.469, of the blood spat out by Dares after being battered by Entellus in the games for Anchises.

<sup>195</sup> See *TLL* s.v. ‘cruor’ col. 1246, ll.49-50. Bömer *ad Met.* 4.729 lists some Ovidian instances of ‘vomeo with ore’. Val. Flacc. 1.822 has ‘revomentes...cruorem’; Manilius 5.671-2 ‘floreque cruoris/ evomit’.

<sup>196</sup> Ovid certainly seems to have *Aen.* 10.349 in mind at *Met.* 5.83-4, for line 84 (‘et resupinus humum moribundo vertice pulsat’) picks up the first part of Vergil’s line too (‘fronte ferit terram’).

The language of line 414 owes something to Homer,<sup>197</sup> but rather more to Lucretius' picture of the sacrificial calf slaughtered at *DRN* 2.354 ('sanguinis expirans *calidum de pectore flumen*'): Sulmo's death gains considerable pathos from its association with the latter passage. This pathos may be further increased by another allusion in line 415, this time to Vergil's own account of the champion racehorse racked by plague in *Georgic* 3.505-8:

'tum vero ardentis oculi atque attractus ab alto  
spiritus, interdum gemitu gravis, imaque *longo*  
*ilia singultu* tendunt, it naribus ater  
sanguis, et obsessas fauces premit aspera lingua.'

*Geo.* 3.506-7 and *Aen.* 9.415 contain the first extant instances of the application of *longus* to *singultus*, according to the *TLL*; after Vergil it is found just three times in surviving texts, and all three instances are imitations of Vergil.<sup>198</sup> The association of *ilia* with *singultus* is also very rare; again it does not appear before Vergil, and the two instances found after Vergil (much later) are clearly imitations of our poet.<sup>199</sup> So it looks here as if – as with Dryops at *Aeneid* 10.349 – the death-throes of a victim of the war in Italy pick up those of a helpless victim of the plague in *Georgic* 3. In the cases of both Dryops and Sulmo, this association with the grim scene at Noricum serves to lend greater pathos and greater interest to the death of an apparently minor figure.<sup>200</sup>

### [c] Tisiphone on the battlefield

<sup>197</sup> Cf. note 193 above; but note that the image of 'rivers' of blood is not Homeric: see Horsfall *ad Aen.* 11.668.

<sup>198</sup> *Stat. Theb.* 7.682, Val. Flacc. 6.511 and Silius 4.593: see *TLL* s.v. 'longus' col. 1637 ll.58-60. *Singultus* occurs only in these two places in Vergil (although the verb *singulto* is found at *Aen.* 9.333).

<sup>199</sup> Apuleius *Met.* 4.24, Ammianus 30.6.6: see *TLL* s.v. 'ile' col. 325, ll.64-7.

The clearest instance of allusion to the plague at Noricum comes during an especially savage period of fighting in *Aeneid* 10. After Juno has lured Turnus away from the battlefield (10.636-88), Mezentius comes to the fore, fighting ferociously (10.689-746). At 10.747-54, we find one of Vergil's very few ἀνδροκτασίαι;<sup>201</sup> and the poet continues:

‘iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors  
 funera; caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant  
 victores victique, neque his fuga nota neque illis.  
 di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem  
 amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores;  
 hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia Iuno.  
 pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit.’ (10.755-61)

The last line here comes as something of a shock. For the preceding details in 755-60 confirm things we already know, or things we might have suspected. (Even before we read lines 755-7 we know that the fighting is intense, and that neither side is wholly dominant – for the ἀνδροκτασία in 10.747-54 has just shown us this.<sup>202</sup> And lines 758-60 recall Olympian scenes earlier in the book: ‘di Iovis in tectis’ at 758, and particularly the opposition of Venus and Juno at 760, recall the opening *concilium deorum* of 10.1-117; and ‘miserantur’ perhaps recalls Hercules’ feelings for Pallas in 10.464-73.) But we have not been prepared for the appearance of Tisiphone on the battlefield (761) at all.

Tisiphone has appeared previously in the *Aeneid* as the sleepless gatekeeper of Tartarus (6.555-6, cf. 574-5), the vengeful Fury who scourges the wicked (6.570-2) before they enter the pit (6.577ff.). And this is where we expect to find Tisiphone: from

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<sup>200</sup> Vergil's use of allusion here is a very economical method of generating a considerable emotional charge. Mainly as a result of its association with the passages from *DRN* 2 and *Georgic* 3, the death of Sulmo evokes unexpectedly powerful feelings in the reader – and this is achieved in just two lines.

our earliest sources, the Erinyes are goddesses ‘αἴ θ’ ὑπὸ γαῖαν/ ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται’ (*Il.* 19.259-60).<sup>203</sup> Of course, they occasionally emerge into the world above, as famously they do in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*; but even there they are emphatically ‘κατὰ χθονὸς θεαί’ (*Eum.* 115; cf. 417, 1007). And this is where, in the post-classical tradition in which the Furies are individually named, we always find Tisiphone in extant literature before Vergil: I collect the evidence in a footnote.<sup>204</sup>

So there is a double surprise in *Aen.* 10.761. Firstly, that Tisiphone has appeared, unheralded, in the world above at all: contrast the elaborate summoning and dismissal of her sister Allecto by Juno in *Aeneid* 7 (323-40, 540-71). And secondly, that she is raging (‘saevit’) on the battlefield itself (‘media inter milia’). Now Harrison is right to point out that there is a Homeric model for this passage, in the appearance of Eris at *Il.* 11.70ff..<sup>205</sup> Homer has just compared the Greeks and Trojans advancing to battle to reapers moving towards each other across a field:

‘ὥς Τρῶες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ’ ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες  
 δῆρουν, οὐδ’ ἕτεροι μνώοντ’ ὀλοοιο φόβοιο.  
 ἴσας δ’ ὑσμίνη κεφαλᾶς ἔχεν, οἳ δὲ λύκοι ὥς  
 θῦνον. Ἔρις δ’ ἄρα χαῖρε πολύστονος εἰσορόωσα·  
 οἴη γάρ ῥα θεῶν παρετύγχανε μαρναμένοισιν,  
 οἳ δ’ ἄλλοι οὐ σφιν πάρεσαν θεοί, ἀλλὰ ἔκηλοι  
 οἴσιν ἐνὶ μεγάροισι καθήατο, ἦχι ἐκάστῳ  
 δῶματα καλὰ τέτυκτο κατὰ πτύχας Οὐλύμποιο.’ (*Il.* 11.70-7)

<sup>201</sup> Cf. Heinze (1993), 157; Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.747-54. This instance is the object of some perceptive criticism from Willcock (1983), 87, 96-7.

<sup>202</sup> But cf. Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.747-54.

<sup>203</sup> Bömer *ad Met.* 4.473-511 collects the evidence.

<sup>204</sup> This is clearly the case in Tibullus 1.3.69-70 and Propertius 3.5.40. In Lucilius fr.169-70 Marx, ‘Tisiphone Tityi e pulmonibus atque adipe unguen/ excocutum attulit, Eumenidum sanctissima Erinyes’: the reference to Tityos suggests that Tisiphone is coming from the underworld. In Horace *Sat.* 1.8.33-4, Tisiphone is invoked by either Canidia or Sagana; the other invokes Hecate, and the whole context (cf. 35 ‘infernās...canis’) implies that Tisiphone is being called up from the underworld.

<sup>205</sup> Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.755-61, 756-7, 758-9, 761.

But Eris' appearance at 11.73-4 has been prepared for by Homer, at *Il.* 11.3-14: Zeus has sent Eris to the Greek ships, and she rouses the Greeks to battle with a terrible cry. Furthermore, Eris as the personification of Strife clearly belongs here in the *Iliad*:<sup>206</sup> in this way Homer marks the beginning of the crucial day of battle in his epic. But the appearance of Tisiphone at *Aen.* 10.761 is neither prepared in advance, nor is the Fury (unlike Eris in the *Iliad*) doing something that we expect her to be doing. We expect her to be punishing the wicked in the underworld: what is she doing raging on the battlefield in *Aeneid* 10?

Vergil does not give us an answer. With the next line (10.762), we return to Mezentius' ἀριστεία, and Tisiphone does not appear again in the *Aeneid*.<sup>207</sup> However, the poet does seem to offer us a point of reference here – albeit one which is hardly reassuring. For *Aen.* 10.761, 'pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit', very probably recalls the climactic appearance of this same Fury at the height of the plague at Noricum in *Georgic* 3:

'praeterea iam nec mutari pabula refert,  
 quaesitaeque nocent artes; cessere magistri,  
 Phillyrides Chiron Amythaoniusque Melampus.  
 saevit et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris  
 pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque,  
 inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert.  
 balatu pecorum et crebris mugitibus amnes  
 arentesque sonant ripae collesque supini.  
 iamque catervatim dat stragem atque aggerat ipsis  
 in stabulis turpi dilapsa cadavera tabo,  
 donec humo tegere ac foveis abscondere discut.' (*Geo.* 3.548-58)

<sup>206</sup> Cf. Hainsworth *ad Il.* 11.3 and 73-5.

<sup>207</sup> Unless one takes the *Dirae* of *Aen.* 12.845ff. to be Allecto and Tisiphone, which is a position rejected by most modern scholars: cf. note 216 below.

Allusion to this passage at *Aen.* 10.761 is likely. Tisiphone does not occur frequently in surviving literature before Vergil, and very rarely outside of the underworld.<sup>208</sup> That she does so in both *Aeneid* 10 and *Georgic* 3 may therefore be sufficient in itself to encourage us to link the passages; that Vergil furthermore gives her the same adjective ‘pallida’ and the same verb ‘saevit’ in both cases, with ‘pallida Tisiphone’ in the same position in the hexameter, reinforces the association between the scenes.

This allusion renders *Aen.* 10.761 if anything even more unsettling than it previously seemed. As in the *Aeneid*, Tisiphone’s appearance in *Georgic* 3 is wholly unprepared. The irruption of the Fury from Stygian darkness is Vergil’s most significant (and most disturbing) alteration to his Lucretian model in the plague-narrative;<sup>209</sup> and, as in *Aeneid* 10, it is far from clear why Tisiphone appears in this context. She should be punishing dead sinners: why is she killing live innocents?<sup>210</sup> Again, there is no explanation: the remaining eight lines of *Georgic* 3 (559-66) merely narrate the plague’s grim advance from animals to humans. By alluding to this singularly dismaying passage from *Georgic* 3 at *Aen.* 10.761, Vergil is able not only to evoke something of the indiscriminate savagery of battle but also to prompt questions about the inscrutable activities of the divine in the *Aeneid*.

Some critics have argued that the portrayal of Tisiphone in *Georgic* 3 has affected other parts of the *Aeneid*, too: above all, Vergil’s presentation of Allecto and her activity

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<sup>208</sup> In Lucilius fr.169-70 Marx, Tisiphone seems to be coming from the underworld; in Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.33-4, she is called up from the underworld. On these texts, see note 204 above.

<sup>209</sup> Cf. West (1979), 87-88; Harrison (1979), 33. At *Geo.* 3.551ff. Vergil reintroduces the supernatural element (which Lucretius had excluded) into a plague-narrative.

in book 7. If valid, this would bolster the case I am presenting: Allecto would thus foster the war in Latium as Tisiphone drove the plague at Noricum. But the evidence for clear verbal recollection of the *Georgics*' Tisiphone in *Aeneid* 7 does not really stand up; I discuss it in a footnote.<sup>211</sup> Instead we shall move on to consider a clutch of passages involving Turnus.

### [d] Turnus and plague

The scene involving Turnus in which plague-material plays the largest part does not in fact feature self-allusion at all; but it will serve as a useful introduction to the two scenes I shall discuss afterwards, which may involve allusion to *Georgic* 3.

At the climax of the *Aeneid*, as Aeneas and Turnus fight in single combat, Jupiter and Juno come together to talk (12.791-842). Juno agrees to abandon Turnus, after Jupiter accepts her conditions. Jupiter now turns his attention to Turnus and Iuturna (12.843-4):

‘dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae,  
 quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram  
 uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit  
 serpentum spiris ventosasque addidit alas.  
 hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis  
 apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris,

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<sup>210</sup> E.L. Harrison's (1979: 34ff.) suggestion that the Noric farmers have brought divine anger on themselves by their own negligence does not convince me any more than it does Mynors (*ad Geo.* 3.474-566).

<sup>211</sup> Allecto is a 'pestis' at *Aen.* 7.505. The evidence linking her with Tisiphone in *Georgic* 3 is conveniently gathered by E.L. Harrison (1979), 51ff. (with note 143). Harrison finds the 'lues' which afflicts Amata at *Aen.* 7.354ff. reminiscent of *Geo.* 3.482ff.; but there is no verbal overlap, and the motifs shared by the passages find many parallels elsewhere (see Horsfall on the *Aeneid* 7 passage). Again, the links between Turnus' physical symptoms at *Aen.* 7.447 ('deriguere oculi') and *Aen.* 7.458-9 ('ossaque et artus/ perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor') and those of the plague-victims at *Geo.* 3.523 ('oculos stupor urget inertis'), and *Geo.* 3.500-1 ('incertus.../ sudor et ille quidem moriturus frigidus') involve no lexical overlap, and the shared motifs are not especially striking. Nor is the appearance of *rabies* in the dogs at *Geo.* 3.496 and *Aen.* 7.479. Thomas (1992), 143 thinks that Venus' reference to Allecto at 10.39-40 ('superis immissa repente/ Allecto') recalls *Geo.* 3.551-2 ('Stygiis *emissa* tenebris/ pallida Tisiphone'); this does not seem to me compelling.

si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex  
 molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes.  
 harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo  
 Iuppiter inque omen Iturnae occurrere iussit:  
 illa volat celerique ad terram turbine fertur.  
 non secus ac nervo per nubem impulsa sagitta,  
 armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni,  
 Parthus sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit,  
 stridens et celeris incognita transilit umbras:  
 talis se sata Nocte tulit terrasque petivit.’ (12.845-60)

At line 845 here the *Dirae* are described as ‘pestes’. Now these creatures are closely associated with sickness and disease: ‘acuuntque metum *mortalibus aegris*’ (851: I discuss this phrase in a footnote<sup>212</sup>); ‘si quando letum horrificum *morbosque* deum rex/molitur’ (852-3).<sup>213</sup> Such associations (which are further reinforced by the simile comparing the *Dira*’s flight to that of a Parthian arrow tipped with poison, a ‘telum *immedicabile*’: 858<sup>214</sup>) suggest that there is more than a little ‘color morbi’<sup>215</sup> in the use of *pestis* at 12.845. And when the word recurs shortly afterwards in the account of the *Dira*’s attack on Turnus –

‘hanc versa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora  
 fertque refertque sonans clipeumque everberat alis’ (12.865-66)

<sup>212</sup> The phrase ‘mortalibus aegris’ is first found in surviving Latin at *DRN* 6.1: Athens gave agriculture to ‘mortalibus aegris’. This means rather more than ‘wretched mortals’; as I note overleaf in my discussion of *Aen.* 12.910 ‘aegri’, *aeger* before Vergil always seems to refer to sickness of mind or body (rather than mere weariness or feebleness). It is probable that Lucretius’ use of ‘aegris’ at 6.1 glances forward to the plague at the end of *DRN* 6 (cf. Commager (1957), 116 n.17, and M.F. Smith’s note on *DRN* 6.1-2). *TLL* s.v. ‘aeger’ col. 940 ll.83-4 and col. 941 l.1 list instances of ‘mortalibus aegris’ in extant texts: *DRN* 6.1; in Vergil here at *Aen.* 12.850, at 10.274 – where the meaning ‘sick’ is again primary (I consider this passage briefly in sub-section [e] below) – and also 2.268 and *Geo.* 1.237, both instances where the idea of sickness seems less relevant; after Vergil, the phrase is found just twice: Columella 10.399 and Silius 4.792.

<sup>213</sup> Putnam (1965), 194-5 notes the parallel between the ‘metum’ and ‘morbos’ of these lines and the description of Tisiphone at *Geo.* 3.552: ‘pallida Tisiphone *Morbos* agit ante *Metumque*’. He regards Tisiphone as one of the *Dirae* in *Aeneid* 12, a view most scholars reject (cf. note 216 below); but even if the figures are not identical, the parallel suggests their similarity.

<sup>214</sup> On this simile, cf. Traina *ad Aen.* 12.857-8: ‘la similitudine riguarda sia la velocità della *Dira* che l’effetto del suo intervento, un dolore “insanabile” (*immedicabile*, prima attestazione in latino, probabile neoformazione v.)’; if *immedicabile* was indeed a Vergilian coinage, this would have drawn particular attention to the word. Putnam (1965), 194 and 228 n.18 links the simile with the imagery used of Turnus in *Aen.* 12.46 (‘aegrescitque medendo’).

<sup>215</sup> Cf. §3 [a] above.

– it is hard to avoid the impression that Jupiter is sending a ‘plague’, of sorts, against the hero.<sup>216</sup>

In this scene, then, we find a fairly explicit association between the *Dirae* and disease or plague achieved by means of imagery and diction. It is possible that this association is continued, by less direct means, in the account which follows of the effect that the *Dira* seems to have upon Turnus. When Turnus tries to hurl a great rock at Aeneas, he struggles to manage it, and the rock falls short:

‘sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem  
tollentemve manu saxumve immane moventem;  
genua labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis.  
tum lapis ipse viri vacuum per inane volutus  
nec spatium evasit totum nec pertulit ictum.  
ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit  
nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus  
velle videmur et in mediis conatibus aegri  
succidimus; non lingua valet, non corpore notae  
sufficiunt vires nec vox aut verba sequuntur:  
sic Turno, quacumque viam virtute petivit,  
successum dea dira negat.’ (*Aen.* 12.903-14)

The *Dira* frustrates Turnus’ efforts (913-14), so that he is like us (908ff.) when, in our dreams, we try to run ahead but fall down in the attempt, ‘aegri’ (910). The significance of this latter word should not be underplayed. Although *aeger* comes to mean ‘weary, feeble, weak’ on occasion in Vergil and more often after him, this extension of the adjective’s meaning is not attested before our poet.<sup>217</sup> Traditionally the word meant ‘physically unwell, ailing’:<sup>218</sup> and there must be at least some hint of this

<sup>216</sup> Fortunately, in order to establish this we do not need to become entangled in the vexed question of exactly who or what the *Dira* is in *Aen.* 12. On this notorious problem, see Hübner (1970), 12-34, 38, 110; Edgeworth (1986); Feeney (1991), 151-2 with n.93; Horsfall (1995), 211 n.129 and *ad Aen.* 7.324. Most modern scholars reject the identification of the *Dirae* with the Furies; Lyne (1987), 90-3 and (1989), 192-4 dissents.

<sup>217</sup> *TLL* s.v. ‘aeger’ col. 938 ll.56ff., col. 939 ll.26ff. and ll.43ff. find no instances of this meaning before Vergil; *OLD* s.v. ‘aeger’ 2 concurs.

<sup>218</sup> *OLD* s.v. ‘aeger’ 1.

meaning at 12.910. (This hint may be reinforced by the quasi-medical (?) list of symptoms of this ‘sickness’ at 12.911-12.) ‘aegri’ therefore continues the association of the *Dira* with sickness and disease.<sup>219</sup>

So there are a number of indications in the final scenes of the poem that Turnus, under attack from the *Dira*, is afflicted by a ‘plague’ of sorts.<sup>220</sup> This may not be the only time in the poem that we gain this impression. Towards the end of *Aeneid* 9, Turnus enters the gates of the Trojan camp alone and kills many of their men. But Mnestheus and Serestus rally the frightened Trojans, and Turnus is forced back under heavy fire:

‘...strepit adsiduo cava tempora circum  
tinnitu galea et saxis solida aera fatiscunt  
discussaeque iubae, capiti nec sufficit umbo  
ictibus; ingeminant hastis et Troes et ipse  
fulmineus Mnestheus. tum toto corpore sudor  
liquitur et piceum (nec respirare potestas)  
flumen agit, fessos quatit aeger anhelitus artus.  
tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis  
in fluvium dedit.’ (9.808-816)

These lines allude both to Homer’s picture of the retreating Ajax (*Il.* 16.102-11) and to Ennius’ portrayal of a Roman tribune under fire in the Aetolian war (*Ann.* 391-8 Sk.).<sup>221</sup> Here we shall focus on the physical effects of Turnus’ exertions, as described in 9.812-14: (very!) heavy sweating, and an inability to catch his breath (‘nec respirare

<sup>219</sup> This is achieved indirectly, insofar as the ‘aegri’ here are in the simile. Turnus is implicitly *aeger* because he corresponds to the dreamers in the simile.

<sup>220</sup> It may be that this is also suggested by means of allusion to Lucretius. At *Aen.* 12.903-4, Turnus ‘neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem/ tollentemve manu saxumve immane moventem’. Commentators note the parallel with Lucretius’ description of plague-victims at *DRN* 6.1213-14: ‘atque etiam quosdam cepere obliviam rerum/ cunctarum, neque se possent cognoscere ut ipsi.’ As Traina *ad Aen.* 12.903-4 observes, these two uses of *se cognoscere* are rather different. But instances of *cognosco* used reflexively seem to be very rare indeed, to judge from *TLL* s.v. ‘cognosco’; so the reader may pick up the correspondence with *DRN* 6 here. If so, the association of Turnus with these plague-victims would be another subtle indication of a connection between the *Dira* and plague.

potestas'), which is re-emphasized in the mention of the 'aeger anhelitus' which shakes his exhausted limbs. This description corresponds closely to that of the Homeric Ajax at *Il.* 16.109-11. 'αἰεὶ δ' ἀργαλέω ἔχετ' ἄσθματι, καὶ δέ οἱ ἰδρῶς/ πάντοθεν ἐκ μελέων πολὺς ἔρρεεν, οὐδέ πη εἶχεν/ ἀμπνεῦσαι...': difficult, painful breathing, streams of sweat, and an inability to catch his breath. Ennius' picture is less elaborate: 'totum sudor habet corpus, multumque laborat,/ nec respirandi fit copia' (*Ann.* 396-7 Sk.).

But while Vergil's description here does draw very heavily on Homer, some of the details of his diction may glance in another direction. The language used of Turnus in *Aen.* 9.814, 'fessos *quatit aeger anhelitus* artus', has little precedent in extant Latin before the *Aeneid*, except in Vergil's own account of the pigs afflicted by plague at Noricum in *Georgic* 3.496-7: '*quatit aegros/ tussis anhele* sues ac faucibus angit obesis'. This use of *quatio* – of an affliction which causes the body to tremble – is not found in extant texts before Vergil, according to the *OLD*.<sup>222</sup> Its combination with *aeger* and *anhel-* words in both *Aeneid* 9 and *Georgic* 3 may encourage us to connect these passages.<sup>223</sup> Now it is true that there are two further passages in the *Aeneid* in which this nexus of words is found, and that neither of these seems to gain anything from the association with *Geo.* 3.496-7.<sup>224</sup> But the suggestion that *Aen.* 9.814 glances at these lines on the plague-stricken pigs may gain some support from the presence in this description of Turnus of two possible evocations of Lucretius' plague-narrative in *DRN* 6. Merrill

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<sup>221</sup> Ennius already alludes to Homer, as Macrobius in his discussion of these passages (6.3.2) points out. Hardie quotes and discusses both passages *ad Aen.* 9.806-14; cf. his note on 9.672-755, and also Skutsch (1985), 556-9.

<sup>222</sup> *OLD* s.v. 'quatio' 2c.

<sup>223</sup> *TLL* s.v. 'aeger' col. 938 ll.57-8, col. 939 ll.43-4 and col. 941 ll.64-5 list instances of the combination of *aeger* with *anhel-* words: in Vergil at *Geo.* 3.496-7, *Aen.* 5.199-200 and 432 (see next note), 9.814 and 10.837; thereafter only at Val. Flacc. 1.777 and Stat. *Theb.* 11.546.

and Hardie note that the phrase ‘cava tempora’ at *Aen.* 9.808 seems to be borrowed from Lucretius’ account of the symptoms of doomed plague-victims, among which are ‘cava tempora’ (*DRN* 6.1194).<sup>225</sup> It is also possible that the description of Turnus’ leap into the Tiber at 9.815-6 (‘tum demum praeceps saltu sese omnibus armis/ in fluvium dedit’) picks up Lucretius’ account of the plague-victims throwing themselves headlong into rivers and wells, in their desperation to relieve their heat and thirst.<sup>226</sup>

‘*in fluvios partim gelidos ardentia morbo  
membra dabant nudum iacentes corpus in undas.  
multi praecipites nymphis putealibus alte  
inciderunt...*’ (*DRN* 6.1172-5)

It must be admitted that the diction which these lines share with *Aen.* 9.815-6 is not particularly marked; and one would certainly not insist on allusion here. But if either of these glances to *DRN* 6 is accepted, then this is some support for the identification of allusion to *Georgic* 3 at *Aen.* 9.814: Turnus’ struggles would briefly be associated with those of the plague victims.<sup>227</sup>

There may conceivably be a further hint at such an association in another passage of *Aeneid* 12. When Turnus and Aeneas at last come together in single combat towards the end of *Aeneid* 12 (710ff.), they are compared to two bulls clashing in the woods or mountains of southern Italy:

‘ac velut ingenti Sila summove Taburno  
cum duo conversis inimica in proelia tauri

<sup>224</sup> Both occur in book 5, describing the exertions of competitors in the games: Mnesteus’ oarsmen at 5.199-200 (‘creber *anhelitus artus*/ aridaque ora *quatit*’), and Entellus in the boxing at 5.432 (‘vastos *quatit aeger anhelitus artus*’); the latter is particularly close to 9.814.

<sup>225</sup> Merrill (1918), 217; Hardie *ad Aen.* 9.633.

<sup>226</sup> Conington *ad Aen.* 9.815 suggests that in these lines ‘Virg[il] may have followed some description of Horatius Cocles’. This idea is briefly explored by Hardie *ad Aen.* 9.816 (who tentatively proposes a possible Ennian model). Certainly such an association seems plausible; but the connection with *DRN* 6 may be valid as well.

<sup>227</sup> This in turn might encourage us to see in ‘aeger’ at 9.814 a suggestion of disease, as well as tiredness (which must be its primary signification, given ‘fessos’ in the same line).

frontibus incurrunt, pavidī cessere magistri,  
 stat pecus omne metu mutum, mussantque iuvencae  
 quis nemori imperitet, quem tota armenta sequantur;  
 illi inter sese multa vi vulnera miscent  
 cornuaque obnīxi infingunt et sanguine largo  
 colla armosque lavant, gemitu nemus omne remugit:  
 non aliter Tros Aeneas et Daunius heros  
 concurrunt clipeis, ingens fragor aethera complet.’ (12.715-24)

As has often been noted, there is sustained allusion in these lines to the *Georgics*: the account of two bulls fighting over a heifer from *Georgic* 3 (219ff.) is repeatedly recalled.<sup>228</sup> But there may also be another evocation of that book here, one which is less immediately visible but for our purposes more significant. For in the detail at *Aen.* 12.717 ‘pavidī cessere magistri’, Vergil repeats a clausula from a later passage of *Georgic* 3 – the climax of the Noric plague. As we saw earlier, shortly before Tisiphone’s terrible entry Vergil describes the failure of medicine to help the victims of plague:

‘praeterea iam nec mutari pabula refert,  
 quaesitaeque nocent artes; cessere magistri,  
 Philyrides Chiron Amythaoniusque Melampus.’ (*Geo.* 3.548-50)

The ‘experts’ (‘magistri’) make way: even the skills of renowned Greek healers cannot halt the advance of the plague. Now it is clear enough that the ‘magistri’ in *Aen.* 12.717 are not ‘medical experts’,<sup>229</sup> but herdsmen of some kind;<sup>230</sup> they are therefore different from the ‘magistri’ of *Geo.* 3.549. However, it is possible that in spite of this basic difference the repetition of the clausula ‘cessere magistri’ from *Geo.* 3.549 at *Aen.* 12.717 serves to evoke memories (almost subliminally) of that bitter scene from the

<sup>228</sup> For presentation and interpretation of the correspondences, see esp. Knauer (1981), 914-18 (esp. 916); Putnam (1965), 182-6; Lyne (1987), 237-8; Gale (1997), 183-5; Nelis (2001), 368-9. Also Briggs Jr. (1980), 49-50; Niehl (2002), 116 and 192-4.

<sup>229</sup> See *TLL* s.v. ‘magister’ I.A.2.c; *OLD* s.v. ‘magister’ 7.

<sup>230</sup> See *TLL* s.v. ‘magister’ I.A.2.f; *OLD* s.v. ‘magister’ 6.

plague-narrative. If so, then the hard fighting between Aeneas and Turnus here would seem to be associated with the plague itself.<sup>231</sup>

In this sub-section we have looked at three scenes (the two in *Aeneid* 12 closely related) in which fighting involving Turnus seems to be associated with plague or disease. The means by which this association is suggested (in two of the scenes, self-allusion) are certainly subtle, and easily missed; but the association does seem to be made. On two occasions (at 12.845ff. and 9.808ff.), Turnus is associated with victims of plague: this generates a certain sympathy for him in the reader, especially at 12.845ff. But the self-allusions we have been considering here, and those examined in sub-sections [b] and [c] above, may also serve a larger function in the *Aeneid* – as we shall now see.

### **[e] War and plague in *Aeneid* 7-12**

In sub-sections [b], [c] and [d] above, we have investigated a series of passages (in books 9, 10 and 12 of the *Aeneid*) in which Vergil seems to glance back to his narrative of the Noric plague towards the end of *Georgic* 3. The individual allusions which we have identified perform a variety of functions in their local contexts: some add pathos to the death-scenes of minor characters (10.349, 9.415); others raise questions about the role of the supernatural in the war (10.761); others still may generate a certain sympathy for Turnus (9.814, perhaps 12.717).<sup>232</sup> But when read as a group, these allusions may take on a larger significance also. For their appearance during the battle-

<sup>231</sup> In *Geo.* 3.549 the ‘magistri’ make way, unable to prevent the plague from spreading; in *Aen.* 12.717 the ‘magistri’ make way, unable to prevent the bulls from fighting.

<sup>232</sup> Lucan’s *BC* also makes occasional use of allusion to the plague-narrative of *Georgic* 3: see Bramble (1982), 53-5. However, the allusions there may have rather a different effect to those we have been

scenes of books 9-12 may hint (no more, perhaps) at an analogy between the war in Italy and a plague – an analogy of the sort employed briefly by Venus at *Aen.* 10.55, when speaking of the Trojan war (as we saw in sub-section [a]). Now this association between the war in Italy and a plague is certainly not laboured by Vergil, nor are the precise terms of any analogy clarified. The reader is left to ponder the allusions to *Georgic* 3, and to consider in what respects the war in Italy is like a plague. Different readers will have different responses: but to me the analogy seems particularly appropriate in light of the war's rapid spread (in *Aeneid* 7 and 8) and of the indiscriminate and often brutal destruction it brings.

It may be that scenes elsewhere in *Aeneid* 7-12 which do not feature allusion to *Georgic* 3 nevertheless also contribute to an association between the war in Italy and the phenomenon of plague. We have already discussed one such scene – the account of the *Dirae* in book 12 – in sub-section [d] above. Another possibility is the account of Aeneas' return by sea to the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 10. Aeneas stands 'celsa in puppi', and raises aloft his 'clipeum.../...ardentem' (10.260-2); the Trojans, and then the Italians, catch sight of him:

'ardet apex capiti tristisque<sup>233</sup> a vertice flamma  
funditur et vastos umbo vomit aureus ignis:  
non secus ac liquida si quando nocte cometae  
sanguinei lugubre rubent, aut Sirius ardor  
ille sitim morbosque ferens mortalibus aegris  
nascitur et laevo contristat lumine caelum.' (*Aen.* 10.270-5)

Aeneas is here associated with an ominous comet (272-3) and with the sickness-bringing Dog-star (273-5). Lines 273-5 here are indebted to Homer's simile at *Il.* 22.26-

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studying: Bramble at any rate sees them as contributing to the unheroic, ignoble and abnormal nature of Lucan's civil war battle-narrative.

31 comparing the gleam of Achilles' armour with that of the Dog-star. Homer says of this star 'λαμπρότατος μὲν ὁ γ' ἐστί, κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται, / καί τε φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν' (*Il.* 22.30-1). Vergil retains and adds to the mention of disease in line 31 here: 'sitim morbosque ferens' (10.274) picks up 'φέρει πολλὸν πυρετὸν', and 'mortalibus aegris' (10.274) carries a suggestion of sickness not present in Homer's 'δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν'.<sup>234</sup> So at lines 273-5 here Aeneas himself as he enters battle is associated pretty explicitly with the plague-bringer Sirius: an unpleasant, and rather unsettling, association for the hero.<sup>235</sup>

There may indeed be further moments in *Aeneid* 7-12 where imagery, diction or allusion hint at an association between the war in Italy and plague or disease;<sup>236</sup> but for our purposes it will suffice to observe that allusion to *Georgic* 3 plays a significant and perhaps primary role in suggesting this association. For here we see the *Aeneid* once again glancing back to one of the major afflictions which beset the farmer in the *Georgics*. Allusion to the Noric plague from *Georgic* 3 is employed to help suggest an analogy between the war in Italy and plague: and one of the effects of this allusion is to

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<sup>233</sup> Harrison *ad loc.* points out the problems with the transmitted 'cristisque' here, and argues convincingly for 'tristisque' – found in two medieval manuscripts (Harrison (1997), 303) and conjectured by Faernus.

<sup>234</sup> On 'mortalibus aegris' and *aeger* in general, see sub-section [d] above and esp. note 212.

<sup>235</sup> It is of course true that Achilles in *Iliad* 22 is also associated with Sirius. But this does not make *Aen.* 10.273-5 any less disconcerting: for Achilles himself is in many respects an unsettling figure. (On the association of Aeneas with Achilles in the *Aeneid*, see briefly Mackay (1957).) It is sometimes suggested that the association of Aeneas with the plague-bringing star is due to the simile being focalized through the Italians (Harrison *ad Aen.* 10.270-5 and 268; West (1993), 14); but this is not certain, and even if true it does not entirely alter the effect of the simile. (Aeneas may be associated with a plague-bringer of rather a different kind in *Aeneid* 4: see Lyne (1987), 123-5.)

<sup>236</sup> An interesting possibility is the scene in book 9 when Ascanius shoots Numanus Remulus, and is then congratulated (but warned to take no further active part in the war) by Apollo (9.638-63). There are clear allusions in this scene to the plague-bringing Apollo of *Iliad* 1: see Hardie *ad Aen.* 9.660, 632, 650-1 (also *ad* 9.633 for a possible allusion to the plague-narrative of *DRN* 6). It may be suggested that Numanus falls victim to a 'plague' of sorts. (Conceivably, *Il.* 1.46 may also be recalled later in the portrayal of Camilla at 11.652, 'aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae'; note that Arruns terms Camilla 'haec dira...pestis' at 11.792: cf. Horsfall *ad loc.*)

evoke our pity for those caught up in the war, as we recall the pity we felt for the struggling farmer at the end of *Georgic* 3. The distribution of the allusions we have identified would seem to suggest that both Trojans and Italians fall victim to this ‘plague’; but it is the suffering of the Italians, and particularly Turnus, which seems more often to be associated with disease or plague – just as it is the Italians who seem to suffer more from the ‘storm’ of war in *Aeneid* 7-12, as we have seen in §2 above.

### **Conclusion**

We have then seen in the three sections above that a number of allusions to the *Georgics* in the *Aeneid* have a similar literary function. Reminders of the farmer’s struggles in the *Georgics* consistently serve to affect our emotional response to the epic narrative of the *Aeneid*, above all by evoking (or enhancing) our pity for various figures or groups in the poem. As I have emphasized throughout, individual allusions to the *Georgics* may also serve other local and larger purposes in the epic: but I hope to have drawn out a significant continuity in the function of these allusions which other scholars seem not to have observed.

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