

A STRUCTURAL ANALYSIS AND VISUAL ABSTRACTION  
OF THE PICTORIAL IN THE AENEID, I-VI

by

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Summary:

The pictorial elements of the first six books of the *Aeneid* can be evidenced through an examination of its structural components. With commentaries on such literary devices as parallels and antipodes, interwoven themes, cyclic patterns, and strategic placement of words in the text, three genres of painting are treated individually in Chapter 1 to illustrate the poet's consistency of design and to prove him a craftsman of the visual arts.

In the first division, "Cinematic progression," attention is directed to the language which conveys movement and frequentative action, with special emphasis placed on specific passages whose verbal components possess sculptural or third-dimensional traits and contribute to the "spiral" and "circle" motifs, the appropriate visual agents for animation.

Depiction of mythological subjects comprises the second division entitled "Cameos and snapshots." Three selections, dubbed *monstra*, are explicated with such cross references as to illustrate the poet's use of epithets which he distributes *passim* to elicit verbal echoes of other passages.

The final division, "The Vergilian landscape," addresses two major themes, antithetical in nature, the martial and the pastoral. Their sequential juxtaposition in the text renders a marked contrast in mood which is manifested pictorially in the transition from darkness to light. A panoramic chiaroscuro emerges which is the tapestry against which Aeneas makes his sojourn through the Underworld. It is the perfect backdrop to accompany the overriding theme of "things hidden," *res latentes*, which encompasses a greater part of the epic and becomes the culminant motif of the paintings which comprise the visual presentation.

Chapter 2 functions as a *catalogue raisonné* for art inspired by the *Aeneid* from early antiquity up to the present day. Such examples of artistic expression provide a continuum with which to appropriate Horace's maxim, *ut pictura poesis*, in their evaluation.

The verbal exegeses in Chapter 1 have been programmed to comport with the thematic content of the visual presentation in Chapter 3, a critique exemplifying the transposition of the verbal to the pictorial. With these canvases I have attempted to render a new perspective of Vergil's epic in the genre of abstract expressionism.

List of key terms:

*Aeneid* cycles; Apollonio (di Giovanni); Cameos and snapshots; Cinematic progression; Claude (Lorrain); Cyclops; *Fama*; Flight from Troy; History painters; Laocoon; Perino (del Vaga); Poussin (Nicolas); Symbolic imagery; Turner (JMW); Vergilian landscape; Vrancx (Sebastiaen); Wooden horse.

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## PREFACE

The liberal arts are not contained by specific boundaries, and with this assertion the artist is free to extract material from other idioms and reap inspirations from literary antecedents outside his immediate domain. Consequently, literature and music have long spurred the interpretive process from which I have derived the mass of my creative productivity. Such is the basis for this research in Vergil's poetic style and the visual images emerging from his verses. Specific excerpts have been selected for their pictorial content to provide the vehicle for their visual presentations which manifest themselves in the form of abstract expressionism. The thematic and compositional structure of the paintings reflects the explications of the text, and the commentaries accompanying these works further substantiate the thesis on which this interdisciplinary project is founded.

Since similar classical themes have been treated by traditional artists, composers of opera, and literary figures after Vergil, an intermediary chapter presenting

a survey of the plastic arts inspired by the *Aeneid* spans the verbal exegeses of Chapter 1 and my concrete presentation of visual abstractions in Chapter 3. The purpose for this format is to provide a continuum for the tradition of art stemming from the themes of Vergil's epic with examples ranging from early antiquity up to the present day. It is an attempt to shed light on the evolutionary process of the artists' interpretations and their productivity which have continued to flourish for subsequent generations.

I wish to extend sincere gratitude, in particular, to my colleagues in the Department of Foreign Languages, Drs Eliza Ghil, Victor Santi, John Perret, George Wolf, and Beatriz Varela. Their encouragement during the nascent stage of my undertaking emboldened my efforts to continue. To Debra Berthelot and Ernest Mackey, my indebtedness for guiding me through this "dot-com" world of technology and for increasing my recently acquired skill at that *machina fatalis*, the computer. To Professor Estelle Maré and Dr Sira Dambe, my deep appreciation for their continued support in my research and their shared confidence in my academic and creative

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## INTRODUCTION

In the article entitled "Vergil: painter with words," Pauline Turnbull<sup>1</sup> stated that Vergil's painter-like quality was manifested in the descriptions of the actual and the metaphor. It is with this premise that further examination of the poet's words could broaden and more fully extend support for this thesis with specific regard to the pictorial elements of the *Aeneid*. Such structural and chromatic characteristics to achieve this purpose can be addressed under the rubrics of parallels and antipodes, interwoven themes, cyclic patterns, and strategic positions of words and passages to frame and anchor the poet's architectural and compositional blueprint. With commentaries on these literary devices, three genres of painting are treated individually which attempt to illustrate the poet's artistry and prove him a craftsman of the visual arts.

Chapter 1 analyzes these genres through the exegeses of specific lines from the *Aeneid* to reveal the poet's visual rhetoric and to appropriate to his poetry an evaluation based on Horace's famous doctrine, *ut pictura poesis*. The first division, "Cinematic progression,"



details the cinematic genre as it is particularly indigenous to three selected passages. Attention is directed to the poet's choice of words to convey movement and frequentative action wherever the exigency occurs. Instances of alliteration complement the progression of events and are pertinent to the concurrent thematic content. Special emphasis is also placed on those passages whose verbal components depict sculptural or third-dimensional traits and contribute to the "spiral" and "circle" motifs. These particular shapes are conducive to the kind of visual animation required to describe the pattern of destruction germane to the poet's martial themes.

The second division is devoted to those purely descriptive portrayals of mythological subjects as they appear intermittently engraved in the framework of the first six books. Because many seem to possess a delineated quality in their execution and wax retrospectively as frozen reliefs in the narrative, this section is entitled "Cameos and snapshots." Cross references are made to Vergil's epithets which are transferred to other similar scenarios and thus function

as pictorial antecedents. With these repeated "legomena" the reader can view the epic synoptically and better comprehend the poet's use of words as a painter would use the same colors from his palette to balance his composition and achieve a sense of continuity and cohesiveness. Most of the passages in this category are self-contained, and because of their absolute nature they could accurately be dubbed *picturae* in the strictest etymological sense.

Two major themes, antithetical in nature, the martial and the pastoral, occupy the third division of painting, "The Vergilian landscape." Although these themes are evident in all three genres of the pictorial in the *Aeneid*, they become, in and of themselves, the principal subject of the poet's creation. The martial theme appears at a greater frequency than its counterpart and dominates the entire poem, especially in Aeneas's account of the Trojan war in Bk ii. In the pastoral passages focus is directed to the vocabulary signifying light and brightness with due attention to the actual colors which achieve the same results. The martial themes are so explicated with discussion on words

pertaining to the absence of light with only a slight contrast of colors connoting fire and blood to alleviate the darkness and heighten the dramatic effect. It is in the Underworld in Bk vi that the two major themes culminate in their sequential juxtaposition: Tartarus and the Elysian Fields, the one exemplifying the martial, the other exemplifying the pastoral. An in-depth look at these two realms reaps yet another perspective of Vergil's art which could position him as a visual precursor to the principles of surrealism.

Chapter 2 functions as a *catalogue raisonné* for art inspired by the *Aeneid* dating from early antiquity and continuing up through the twentieth century. This survey of the visual arts is accompanied by commentaries on the artists' interpretive process and the motivating factors which spurred their productivity. Continuing with the application of Horace's doctrine from the *Ars poetica* which suggests an association between poetry and painting, I have explicated those works of art adhering to this humanistic maxim, and I have categorized them with headings modified to comport respectively with the pictorial genres discussed in Chapter 1.

The first division, "Illustrations: the *Aeneid* cycles," exemplifies those works which depicted a sequence of events in the story and provided a didactic aid for the viewer to experience each episode in its narrative format. In the Italian Renaissance this cinematic presentation manifested itself in cassone panels and tapestries, but also continued in the illustrations for various editions of the *Aeneid* in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

The second division, "The Trojan war: symbolic imagery," unlike the narrative multiscenic format of the *Aeneid* cycles, focuses on those isolated images which are frozen in time and in space, and through their symbolism represent such human conceits as deception, pain, and loyalty. Each of these motifs is exemplified with imagery restricted to passages from Bk ii, and all achieve their mission to depict a single moment in the narrative which elicits the memory of that event and the significance it bears for posterity.

The third division, "Landscapes: the history painters," is concerned primarily with the evolution of landscape painting which emerged in the early seventeenth

century and gradually acquired a higher status when the "historical" or "literary" element was added to the composition and given "academic" purpose. Some artists chose to use the idiom as a vehicle for propagating their own political convictions, while others incorporated themes from the *Aeneid* to link the exploits of the Trojan hero with the personal agenda of the patrons who commissioned the works. Three painters spanning a two-hundred year period, from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, exemplify the reliance of landscape painting to verbal discourse: Poussin, Claude, and Turner.

Chapter 3, "*Res latentes*: visual abstractions," contains a different format because of the nature of its content. It consists of a transposition of the exegeses in the first chapter to a visual critique dealing with the pictorial genres introduced therein. The premise is that it is possible to render a new perspective of Vergil's epic that would mirror his painter-like and sculptural qualities in the genre of abstract expressionism. It is merely a suggestion of reality and only the essence of Vergil that is attempted in the

execution of these canvases.

## CHAPTER 1

An analytical study of pictorial genres in the *Aeneid*

Vergil's pictorial imagery emerges from a close examination of his visual rhetoric which seems to remove the barriers traditionally imposed on poetry and the literary arts. Through verbal discourse the poet has employed all the descriptive elements indigenous to painting and sculpture, among which are movement, form, dimension, and color. Such pictorial characteristics are achieved by a palette of words carefully chosen and strategically placed in the text to convey visually the images in his narrative format. This observation is the premise on which I have based my commentaries in the following exegeses of selected passages from the *Aeneid* exemplifying these verbal roles as they appear in three separate genres of the plastic arts: cinema, sculpture, and painting. To each of these genres are assigned respectively the characteristics of frequentative action, delineation, and chiaroscuro. With additional emphasis placed on such literary devices as parallels and

antipodes, cyclic patterns, and interwoven themes, the pictorial genres found in the *Aeneid* apply specifically and methodically to those passages which I have selected for explication, and ultimately, for the presentation of the visual abstractions in the final chapter, *Res latentes*.

### Cinematic progression

If cinema is the visual representation of a sequence of events carried out in motion, a close scrutiny of Vergil's verses proves its existence in a literary format. Three passages have been selected which attempt to illustrate the poet's *modus operandi* with such literary devices mentioned in the introduction. First, the "storm and shipwreck" passage (i.81-123) and the "twin serpent" passage (ii.201-227) will be addressed with a comparative analysis which links the two with reference to their similarities of structure and thematic content. Second, the "twin dove" passage (vi.190-211) will be treated as derivative of the "twin serpent" passage with emphasis on the parallels and antipodes



relating to both. A possible argument is raised that the "twin serpent" passage is the pivotal source from which the other two originate. At the bid of Juno, Aeolus, whom the goddess has bribed with an offering of her most beautiful nymph, unleashes the captivated winds from the hollow mountain:

Haec ubi dicta, cavum conversa cuspidem  
impulit in latus: ac venti velut agmine facto,  
qua data porta, ruunt et terris turbine perflant.  
(i.81-83)

The immediate observation is that Aeneas's fate is in the hands of the immortals whose appearances preface the actual storm in the sequence of the narrative.<sup>2</sup> The simile, *velut agmine facto*<sup>3</sup> (as if they had formed a marching column), reveals the martial theme which represents the winds as soldiers. Their fury is expressed in the verbs *ruunt* and *perflant*, their shape is rendered with *turbine*, but their identity is not revealed until:

Incubere mari totumque a sedibus imis una  
Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis  
Africus et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus  
(i.84-86)

Three in number are Eurus, Notus, and Africus as they have fallen over the sea and continue to overturn it and unroll enormous waves to the shores. The anaphoric<sup>4</sup> *ruunt*

coupled with the same device in the polysyndeton, -que, -que, -que, contribute to the frequentative action which is only heightened by the alliteration of the t in line 83, and the v in line 86. The chaotic result is described appropriately by the following onomatopoeic line:

insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum  
(i.87)

There ensues the shouting of men and the creaking of ropes. The clouds suddenly take away the daylight as they move across the sky, and black night<sup>5</sup> broods over the sea. The darkness is alleviated only by the flashes of lightning and thunder:

Eripiunt subito nubes caelumque diemque  
Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.  
Intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether  
(i.88-90)

The two verbs, *incubere*, line 84, and *intonuere*, line 90, each follow verbs which appeared in the present tense. The change to perfect tense implies rapid or instantaneous action indicating that the winds instantly fell over the sea, and that the heavens resounded forthwith.

Aeneas, in the form of apostrophe,<sup>6</sup> turns to the heavens and addresses Diomedes from whom he was rescued by

his goddess mother, Venus. He laments not having succumbed to the enemy in war on his native soil, but he is stopped by the north wind, Aquilo, whose gale plows directly into his sails and wreaks havoc on his ship:

Talia jactanti stridens Aquilone procella  
velum adversa ferit, fluctusque ad sidera tollit.  
Franguntur remi, tum prora avertit et undis  
dat latus, insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons  
(i.102-105)

The frequentative, *jactanti*, reflects the frustration in Aeneas's dilemma as he continues his relentless prayer. It is reminiscent of the language used in *et terris jactatus et alto* in line 3. *Stridens*, depicting the sound of the gale, mirrors *stridorque rudentum* in the initial onslaught to the ships. At this point, Vergil's range of words to designate the sea includes *fluctus*, *undis*, and *aquae*. These references continue as the Trojan sailors witness, hanging precariously on a wave, these unbridled forces:

Hi summo in fluctu pendent; his unda dehiscens  
terram inter fluctus aperit, furit aestus harenis.  
(i.106-107)

In the previous two passages cited, the verbs function in tandem to deliver cinematically the forceful impact of the storm and to reveal vividly its destructive

nature. With the phrases *ad sidera* and *aquae mons* hyperbole is at work to paint the magnitude of the storm's course. The monosyllabic close<sup>7</sup> of line 105 brings this frame of action to an abrupt halt. Particularly descriptive are the last two lines to render the parting of the waves and mixture of sand and surf. The remaining lines depicting the destructive path of the storm resume with the rhetorical *Tris Notus*<sup>8</sup>. . .*tris Euris*:

*Tris Notus abreptas in saxa latentia torquet  
(saxa vocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras  
dorsum immane mari summo), tris Euris ab alto  
in brevia et syrtis urget, miserabile visu,  
inliditque vadis atque aggere cingit harenae.  
(i.108-112)*

The anaphoric adjective begins the countdown of the ships to be ravaged by wind and water. With the same device in *saxa*. . .*saxa*<sup>9</sup> and *harenis*. . .*harenae*, the pounding effect of the natural forces is achieved. With the poet's use of words connoting rocks, reefs, shoals, and sand, the reader is aware of the cinematic progression which results in a shipwreck. One fatality occurs as Aeneas is witness to the tragic outcome of his faithful companion, Orontes:

Unam, quae Lycios fidumque vehebat Oronten,  
 ipsius ante oculos ingens a vertice pontus  
 in puppim ferit; excutitur pronusque magister  
 volvitur in caput; ast illam ter fluctus ibidem  
 torquet agens circum et rapidus vorat aequore  
 vertex.

(i.113-117)

Vergil continues to use similar rhetoric in the position of *Unam* to correlate with the double occurrence of *tris* earlier. This passage is fraught with words that both epitomize and summarize the sequence of tempestuous events which has preceded. The occurrence of the number three, having originated by numerical count in the introduction of the winds, resumes with *tris*, the equal number of ships Notus and Eurus overturned. *Ter* in line 116 reflects *terque quaterque* in line 94, and finally the symmetrical structure in the above passage is revealed in three separate assaults on Orontes's ship: (1) *pontus. . .ferit*, (2) *fluctus. . .torquet*, and (3) *vorat. . .vertex*. If one acknowledges the pattern of items or actions appearing in threes, and subsequently, fours, further observation can be made in the number of things floating in the waves:<sup>10</sup> (1) *rari nantes*, (2) *arma virum*, (3) *tabulae*, and (4) *Troia gaza* (lines 118-119). Also four additional ships are overcome in the final

lines of this episode:

Jam validam Ilionei navem, jam fortis Achatae,  
 et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes,  
 vicit hiems; laxis laterum compagibus omnes  
 accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt.  
 (i.120-123)

It is not until *validam Ilionei navem* that the actual word for "ship" appears.<sup>11</sup> Since line 108, there has been an increasing employment of elipsis which has contributed to the fragmented structure of this passage. After the storm overcomes the ships of Ilioneus and Achates, the elliptical device continues with the anaphora of *et qua. . . et qua*. The devastation is consummated in the appropriate sibilants of *remisque fatiscunt*, thus terminating the destructive rampage of the storm and avenging Juno's wrath on the Trojans. As an epilogue following the storm, Neptune, disturbed by what has occurred, emerges from the crest of a wave, and aware that Juno's malice and ill temperament were the cause of the Trojans' bad fortune, chides the winds, sets them to flight, and now begins to ameliorate the circumstances for the Trojans:<sup>12</sup>

Sic ait et dicto citius tumida aequora placat  
 Collectasque fugat nubes solemque reducat.  
 (i.142-143)

Just as the dialogue between Juno and Aeolus prefaced the storm and foretold the ill fate of the Trojan ships, so does the god of the sea make his appearance at the end to reverse the course of action and assist the Trojans. As topical landmarks,<sup>13</sup> the appearance of the deities flanking the cinematic episode of the storm seems to frame and secure the passage within its own confines. It also serves as a continual reminder that the gods are in control of human destiny. With the aid of Cymothoe and Triton who dislodge the ships from a pointed cliff, Neptune adds his assistance in disclosing the huge reefs with his trident and calming the seas. In his swift chariot he glides over the sea's surface, and the episode reaches its end.

The second selection to exemplify cinematic progression in the *Aeneid* is the "twin serpent" or "Laocoon" passage which shares similarities with the one previously discussed. The first likeness is the reference to Neptune, as Laocoon, a priest for the god, performs the ritualistic sacrifice of a bull (lines 201-202). Twin serpents emerge from the sea and head for the shore:

Ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta  
 (horresco referens) immensis orbibus angues  
 incumbunt pelago pariterque ad litora tendunt;  
 (ii.203-205)

The minor parenthetical *horresco referens*, (I shudder to recall), is emotive and is the first compelling indication that a tragic outcome is imminent. Donald Mills<sup>14</sup> states that Vergil presents events "in such a way that it appears as if they are determined or inevitable," and he calls the device "the deterministic perspective." This process is increasingly evident as the action unfolds.

The next foreboding reference to disaster, *angues*,<sup>15</sup> is positioned at the end of the line, and, by virtue of its strategic placement, affords a shockingly dramatic close for the introduction of this portentous duo. Equally effective was the monosyllabic close, *aquae mons*, previously cited in i.105. Size and form are revealed in *immanis orbibus* (with huge coils), a descriptive phrase which is compounded and strengthened with synonyms as the action continues. The occurrence of the sibilants in *horresco. . .angues* further contributes to the audio-visual effect and is pertinent to the thematic content.



The symmetrical placement of *incumbunt pelago*<sup>16</sup> (they lean upon the sea) and *ad litore tendunt* (they stretch to the shores) bears a close resemblance to *incubuerunt mari* (they lay upon the sea) and *vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus* (they roll vast waves to the shores) in i.84-86.

Parallels in the two passages are drawn from a comparison of the dual number *gemini* and the prevalent number of three, cataloguing the winds and the same number of ships which they destroyed in i.108-110. Further analogy is found in the comparative use of *una* in i.85 with *pariter* in ii.205.

As the serpents approach the shore in view of the Trojans the description becomes more vivid:

pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta jubaeque  
 sanguineae superant undas; pars cetera pontum  
 pone legit sinuatque immensa volumine terga.  
 (ii.206-208)

*Pectora*. . . *arrecta* (their chests raised above the waves) with *jubaeque sanguineae*<sup>17</sup> (their blood-red crests) again reflect their enormous size with an introduction to the foreboding color of slaughter. The alliterative sibilants are resumed in the following lines:

Fit sonitus spumante salo; jamque arva tenebant  
 ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni

(ii.209-210)

With the earlier use of onomatopoeia to render the hissing of the serpents, the same sounds are employed by the poet to depict the roaring of the foaming sea; yet alternately following are again the hissing serpents, their eyes suffused with blood and fire.<sup>18</sup> Because of the juxtaposition of the two lines cited above there becomes a subtle blending of the foaming sea and the hissing serpents.

The final dramatic occurrence of alliteration closes this frame of cinematic progression with a vivid display of serpentine behavior:

Sibila lambebant linguis vibrantibus ora  
(ii.211)

After licking their hissing mouths with quivering tongues<sup>19</sup> the serpents have ended their journey by water. At this juncture Vergil has made six references to the sea within seven lines. Confined to lines 203-209 they are: (1) *alta*, (2) *pelago*, (3) *fluctus*, (4) *undas*, (5) *pontum*, and (6) *salu*. In the "storm and shipwreck" passage, comprising forty-three lines (81-123), there are nineteen references to the sea, but with multiple usage

of the same word in different case and number. The various forms of *fluctus* are the most abundant with six occurrences; *unda* has four; *pontus*, three; the remaining words occur only once in their specific forms: *aquae*, *aestus*, *alto*, *vades*, *aequore*, and *gurgite*. Vergil's choice of words to depict the same subjects, as they are strategically placed throughout a passage, reflects his ability to achieve a sense of consistency and balance with a lack of repetition and monotony.

After landfall the pair follows a route straight to Laocoon and his two sons:

. . . Illi agmine certo  
 Laocoonta petunt; et primum parva duorum  
 corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque  
 implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus  
 (ii.212-215)

The serpents make a straight line to Laocoon, and each one embracing the small bodies of the two sons entwines them and feeds on their wretched limbs with their fangs. Of particular significance is the poet's use of *agmine*<sup>20</sup> which occurred earlier in the simile of the winds. The onslaught in both passages is described in military terms. Also suitable to the context the interlocked word order of *parva. . .natorum* is well

documented. The choice of words, *amplexus* and *implicat*,<sup>21</sup> complements the synchysis, and *serpens. . .uterque* conveniently provides a more vivid and pictorial account for the demise of Laocoon's two sons.

It is fitting that the interlocked motif continue as Laocoon becomes the target for the serpents' path of destruction:

Post ipsum auxilio subeuntem et tela ferentem  
 corripiunt spirisque ligant ingentibus; et jam  
 bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum  
 terga dati superant capite et cervicibus altis  
 (ii.216-219)

Afterwards they seize Laocoon himself as he goes for help carrying his weapons. They bind him with their huge coils, and embracing his waist twice, and twice encircling his neck with their scaly bodies, they overcome him with their head and lofty necks. The entire passage is structurally interlocked with:

*ipsum...ferentem; corripiunt. . .ingentibus; and squamea . . .dati.* Moreover the tmesis in *circum. . .dati* further stresses the multiple grip with which the assailants hold their prey. *Ingentibus* and *altis* continue to remind the reader of size. Already we have witnessed the poet's use of words connoting or alluding

to the dual number: *gemini, pariter, uterque,* and *duorum*. The anaphoric *bis*. . .*bis* contributes to the frequentative action which is only logical in echoing the twice performed deeds of the nefarious pair. The same device can also be manifested in the use of conjunctions:

Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos,  
 perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno,  
 clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit.  
 (ii.220-222)

At the same time that Laocoon strives to tear apart the knots with his hands, his fillets soaked with blood and black poison, he, at the same time, raises horrendous shouts to the stars. To compound the pathos, the correlative *simul*. . .*simul* introduces two clauses each of which depicts the victim in his futile attempts to extricate himself from the foe. The repetition of these conjunctions serves in the same capacity as the correlative adverbs in the previous passage. When the action is doubled, it arrests the attention of the reader with its impact. The middle voice in *perfusus*. . .*veneno* (line 221) recalls *ardentibus*. . .*igni* (line 210). Each line contains the same grammatical structure with the ablatives, *sanguine, igni, sanie,* and *atro*,<sup>22</sup> referent to

the only appearance of color in this passage, with the exception of *sanguineae* previously cited. Although three of these are merely the metonymous allusions to the color of red, their juxtaposition is conducive to the depiction of a martial theme.

The composition and the content of the last five lines follow the cyclical course to bring the passage to its conclusion:

Qualis mugitus, fugit cum saucius aram  
 taurus et incertam excussit cervice securim:  
 (ii.223-224)

In the simile of the bull,<sup>23</sup> the situation is reversed. Laocoon, who was performing the sacrifice for Neptune (lines 201-202), is now indeed the sacrificial victim. With this reversal of circumstances the reader is now pulled back to the beginning of the passage, as the viewer of a painting or sculpture follows with his eye the structural movement of the work of art to keep him within its confines.<sup>24</sup> The first four feet of line 223 are spondees which achieve an onomatopoeic effect in *mugitus*, and which recall the reversed scenario in line 202 which also begins with four spondees and waxes onomatopoeic in the elision of *taurum ingentem*.

With their mission accomplished, the dual protagonists flee the scene:

At gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones  
 effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem  
 sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur.  
 (ii.225-227)

The twin dragons, in a swoop *lapsu*<sup>25</sup> flee to the top of the shrine, seek the citadel of savage Minerva, and hide themselves under the feet of the goddess and under the circle of her shield.<sup>26</sup> *Gemini angues* has yielded to *gemini dracones*,<sup>27</sup> and this final reference to the dual number closes the passage and directs the audience back to the beginning.<sup>28</sup> One final source of thematic unity is the reference made to the serpents' place of refuge, *Tritonidis arcem*. The despicable creatures hide *sub pedibus* and *sub orbe*. Minerva is the maiden goddess of war and wisdom, and under her auspices, as goddess of wisdom, the Greeks take Troy. Neptune, for whom Laocoon was performing his sacrifices, and to whom the priest had forfeited his divine favor, is also apparently hostile to the Trojans. Mention of the two deities, one at the beginning, and the other at the end, completes the thematic cycle and thus confirms and frames the martial

theme of these twenty-seven lines.

In summary, the unifying factor of the two selections used to illustrate cinematic progression is thematic content. Both passages share a pelagic venue and are fashioned in a style depicting military and war-like activity. Each unfolds in a prescribed sequence of events with a systematic determination to fulfill a destructive goal. Once this mission is accomplished the respective agents return to their source of command. In the "twin dove" passage there are strong parallels and antipodes that link it with the "twin serpents." The structural composition is derivative of its predecessor, if not almost identical, but the thematic content has changed from the frenetic and violent agenda of destructive forces to a more peaceful and serene venue.

The first striking resemblance is in the appearance of *geminae columbae*<sup>29</sup> as they make their descent before the face of Aeneas:

Vix ea fatus erat geminae cum forte columbae  
 ipsa sub ora viri caelo venere volantes,  
 et viridi sedere solo.

(vi.190-192)

This is by far a more welcomed sight to Aeneas's



eyes than the *gemini angues* from Tenedos. Even more significant is the fact that these are the birds of Venus whose more favorable auspices replace those of the hostile Minerva in Bk ii. The parallels continue to mount from the outset. *Sorte* (by lot, ii.201) has been replaced by *forte* (by chance, vi.190); a *Tenedo* (from Tenedos, ii.203) becomes *caelo* (from the sky, vi.191); *incumbunt pelago* (they lean over the sea, ii.205) has yielded to *venere volantes* (they came flying, vi.191). Venus's doves have landed *viridi solo*<sup>30</sup> (on the green earth, vi.192), the first chromatic reference indigenous to a pastoral theme. Upon recognition of his mother's birds the mighty hero joyfully makes his entreaty:

Este duces, O, si qua via est, cursumque per auras  
derigite in lucos ubi pinguem dives opacat  
ramus humum.

(vi.194-196)

His plea is that the doves will direct him into the sacred groves where the rich bough shades the fertile soil. The poet's language further paints an idyllic setting which by contrast to the martial passage is another prophetic indication of a more auspicious outcome. After his invocation to Venus that she not

desert him in such exigent circumstances, Aeneas halts his step and observes the path of his avian missionaries:

. . .Sic effatus vestigia pressit  
 observans quae signa ferant, quo tendere pergant.  
 Pascentes illae tantum prodire volando  
 quantum acie possent oculi servare sequentum.  
 (vi.197-200)

The less intensive *quo tendere pergant* (where they are proceeding to head, vi.198) has replaced *ad litora tendunt* (they stretch to the shores, ii.205). With the accusative phrase one sees the determined path of the serpents as opposed to the more casual *quo* (where). The birds are simply feeding *pascentes* as they make their way by flight; on the other hand, the serpents devour the wretched limbs of Laocoon's sons with their fangs *miseros morsu depascitur artus* ii.215). The correlatives, *simul. . .simul* in Bk ii have their counterpart in *tantum. . .quantum* in Bk vi. Even the military term, *agmine*, occurring in both the "storm" and the "serpent" verses has mellowed to *acie*, indicating Aeneas's line of vision. Finally, the spondees that are prevalent in line 191 above depict vividly the hopping of birds; conversely, those employed in ii.223 are the appropriate meter to pound out the bellowing of the bull in the

simile to describe Laocoon's painful ordeal.

The final leg of the flight brings the *geminae* to the entrance of foul smelling Avernus where they quickly lift themselves up, and floating on the liquid air, they settle on their chosen perch at the top of a tree:

Inde ubi venere ad fauces grave olentis Avernii,  
tollunt se celeres liquidumque per aera lapsae  
sedibus optatis geminae super arbore sidunt  
(vi.201-203)

In the context of cinematic progression it is appropriate at this juncture to rechart the course of the doves from their introduction to the end of their journey. They first come flying down from the sky *venere volantes*; they light on the green earth *sedere*; they feed *pascentes*; they proceed by flying *prodire volando*; they approach Lake Avernus *venere*; they lift themselves up *tollunt se*; they glide *lapsae*; and they perch themselves at the top of a tree *sidunt*.

By comparison to the last of the itinerary of the twin serpents they perform three final acts: they escape to the top of the shrine *effugiunt*; they seek the citadel of Minerva *petunt*; and they hide themselves under the feet of the goddess and under the circle of her shield

*teguntur*. Both pairs reach their destination in a gliding motion *lapsu, lapsae*, but in different directions: the serpents, in a downward plunge *sub pedibus*. . . *sub orbe*, the doves, in an upward flight *super arbore*.<sup>31</sup> This is further evidence of parallels and antipodes.

A second chromatic reference is made with a play on words when a light of a different hue<sup>32</sup> of gold gleams through the branches:

*discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit*  
(vi.204)

This line appears to be the transitional highlight which carries the passage to its end. The color of gold superimposed on a tapestry of green becomes even richer in the simile that follows:

*Quale solet silvis brumali frigore viscum*  
*fronde virere nova, quod non sua seminat arbos,*  
*et croceo fetu teretis circumdare truncos,*  
(vi.205-207)

Here, the similarities of the two passages are manifested in a different way. Both use the introductory *qualis, quale*, but the mistletoe *viscum*<sup>33</sup> which does not originate from its own tree, is accustomed to becoming green with new foliage and to encircling the round trunks

with its yellow shoot. The language of the simile is amazingly reminiscent of the attack on Laocoon when the serpents bind him with their huge coils and enfold their scaly bodies around his neck. The key words to link the two verses are *circumdare* (vi.207) and *circum. . .dati* (ii.218-219). The tmesis employed in the demise of Laocoon complemented the interlocked structure which was appropriate for the context. *Virere* and *croceo* continue to paint the landscape with green and yellow, and the final reference to the color of gold resumes in another pictorial contrast:

talis erat species auri frondentis opaca  
 ilice, sic leni crepitabat brattea vento.  
(vi.208-209)

The bough of leafy gold stood out against a background of dark oak. *Crepitabat* recalls the sound of chimes as the thin sheet of gold rattled in the gentle breeze. Aeneas immediately seizes the bough and eagerly attempts to break it off even though it resists.<sup>34</sup> He then carries it to the abode of the Sibyl:

Corripit Aeneas extemplo avidusque refringit  
 cunctantem, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.  
(vi.210-211)

Even the closing line bears some resemblance to the vocabulary in the earlier passage. Although the context is changed, *corripit Aeneas* recalls *corripiunt* in the attack on Laocoon. *Sub tecta Sibyllae* has its antecedent in the place of refuge for the serpents *sub orbe teguntur*.

After surveying the three selections of verse in the *Aeneid* which contain programmatic content carried out in a geographical sequence of events, it seems appropriate to recap in what ways they are related. The first two passages, the "storm and shipwreck" and the "twin serpent," are similar in theme, for both depict the aggressive behavior of the agents of war. Donald Mills<sup>35</sup> describes and summarizes the verbal structure that foretells the dreadful outcome of a scene before it is actually realized. This application can be evidenced in other areas of the poem which bear the same thematic content.

Whereas the common trait in the comparative analysis of the first two selections lay in their martial theme, a different kind of comparison is warranted in evaluating

the similarities of the "serpent" and "dove" passages. Here, the content has changed antithetically from a martial to a pastoral theme which continues to manifest itself repeatedly in language and in form for the duration of the frame. The structural composition, although condensed, remains essentially intact to mirror that of the larger narrative. Thus a comparative analysis rests primarily in the existence of parallels and antipodes. The two frames are so structurally similar in every detail that they could well be tagged *gemi ni loci*.

In summary, my thesis is that the excursion of the *gemi ni angues* is the anchor from which the other two passages emanate. The "storm" passage pulls from the structural and thematic design of the "serpent" passage; the "dove" passage also evolves from the same structural source, but by way of antitheses. All three sets of verse unfold methodically and programmatically in a sequence of activity innate to the genre of cinematic progression.

## Cameos and snapshots

The categorization of the *picturae* in this division does not diminish or undermine the important role they play in the enactment of Vergil's overall design. Because their function extends episodically within a thematic time frame and is woven into a specific plot, their pictorial image, though self-contained by context, is drawn from more than one topical or narrative source. Therefore, since the format for their presentation is interstitial, the ascription, "Cameos and snapshots," has been applied.

For the sake of concinnity, these explications are drawn from three models of similar character to which the poet has assigned the term *monstrum*. In chronological appearance in the *Aeneid* they are: (1) the Wooden Horse, ii.13-267 (*passim*), (2) the Cyclops, iii.554-681, and (3) *Fama*, iv.173-197; 298-299. The depiction of all three mythological figures is derived from a common language which is employed reciprocally by the poet to produce verbal echoes and provide a cohesive reminiscence for the reader.



Unlike the passages in "Cinematic progression" which contain an uninterrupted sequence of action carried out until the conclusion, the portrayal of the Wooden Horse takes place in an *aliquot* fashion. The full impact of this surreptitious theme is realized only after the events have played themselves out accumulatively. Nevertheless, several significant features of the structure are revealed in Aeneas's opening narrative:

. . .Fracti bello, fatisque repulsi,  
ductores Danaum, tot iam labentibus annis,  
instar montis equum divina Palladis arte  
aedificant, sectaque intexunt abiete costas:  
votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur.  
(ii.13-17)

The first thing we learn is that the horse is as large as a mountain, *instar montis*;<sup>36</sup> because of her divine aid in its execution, it also falls under the auspices of Minerva, *divina Palladis arte*; its sides are woven with cut pine, *secta abiete*; and it is an offering, *votum*, or so the Greeks pretend, *simulant*. This is the story which spreads.

The remaining lines of the hero's initial account provide information about the horse disclosed, *ipso facto*, only at the completion of line 267:

Huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim  
includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas  
ingentis uterumque armato milite complent.  
(ii.18-20)

Having drawn lots, the Greeks secretly inclose chosen bodies<sup>37</sup> of men in the dark side, and deep within they fill the huge cavernous belly<sup>38</sup> with armed soldiery.

These two passages cited above are a synopsis of the events leading up to the appearance of the horse outside the gates of Troy. The language epitomizes the predominant theme of deception<sup>39</sup> which is subsequently embellished as the drama unfolds. Such words and phrases that connote concealment (i.e. *furtim*, *includunt*, *caeco lateri*, *penitus*, *cavernas ingentis*, and *uterum*) are symbolic references to the insidious nature of the Greeks as they systematically carry out their diabolical plot.

The discourse continues as Aeneas informs Dido of the island of Tenedos where the other Greeks had hidden themselves on the deserted shore, later to join their confederates in the siege of Troy. Since the Trojans believed the Greeks to have departed, the gates of the city are opened and the Teucrians delight in seeing where the Greeks had pitched their camp. The narrator

describes the wonderment as they witness the huge structure:

Pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae  
 et molem mirantur equi; primusque Thymoetes  
 duci intra muros hortatur et arce locari,  
 sine dolo seu jam Trojae sic fata ferebant.  
 (ii.31-34)

Some are amazed at the deadly gift for the goddess, *donum exitiale Minervae*, and marvel at the size of the horse, *molem. . .equi*. Thymoetes is the first to urge that the statue be brought inside the walls and placed in the citadel, whether by trickery or the fates of Troy were thus tending. Others had opposite views:

At Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,  
 aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona  
 praecipitare jubent subjectisque urere flammis,  
 aut terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras.  
 (ii.35-38)

Capys and those in his camp thought it better to embark on one of three courses of action: (1) to throw headlong into the sea the treachery and the suspected gift of the Greeks, *Danaum insidias suspectaque dona*, (2) to cast flames underneath the structure, *subjectisque urere flammis*, or (3) to pierce and examine the hollow lairs of the belly, *cavas uteri. . .latebras*.

Once again the language is repetitive and relentless

in portraying the images of concealment and deception.

At this interval, Laocoon eagerly runs down from the top of the citadel and proclaims his distrust of the Greeks, and, in particular, the gift for Minerva:

. . .O miseri, quae tanta insania, cives?  
 Creditis avectos hostis? Aut ulla putatis  
 dona carere dolis Danaum? Sic notus Ulixes?  
 Aut hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi,  
 aut haec in nostros fabricata est machina muros,  
 inspectura domos venturaque desuper urbi;  
 aut aliqui latet error; equo ne credite, Teucri.  
 (ii.42-48)

He asks if anyone believes that the Greeks have actually departed, or if anyone believes the gifts of the enemy to be free of trickery, cognizant of Ulysses' reputation. His impassioned pronouncement is that the Greeks are hiding<sup>40</sup> while shut up in this piece of wood, *hoc. . .ligno*, or this machine, *haec. . .machina*,<sup>41</sup> has been constructed to come against the walls of Troy, for the purpose of spying on the homes, *inspectura*, and coming upon the city from above, *inventura*. If not for the reasons above, some error is lurking. He entreats his fellow citizens not to trust the horse. His concluding statement is one of the most famous and misquoted lines from the *Aeneid*:

Quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentis.  
(ii.49)

Whatever it is, I fear the Greeks even bearing  
gifts.

Aeneas resumes his narrative with an account of  
Laocoon's demonstrative action:

Sic fatus validis ingentem viribus hastam  
in latus inque feri curvam compagibus alvum  
contorsit. Stetit illa tremens, uteroque recusso  
insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae.  
(ii.50-53)

After his admonition to the Trojans, Laocoon hurls a  
huge spear with tremendous force into the ribs<sup>42</sup> and the  
belly of the beast curved at its joints,<sup>43</sup> *feri curvam  
compagibus alvum*. When the belly was struck, the spear  
stood quivering, and the hollow caverns, *cavae . . .  
cavernae*,<sup>44</sup> resounded and gave forth a groan, *gemitum*.  
In the two sets of verse above there appear those words  
which give potential life to the heretofore inanimate  
wooden statue. Sight, automobility, and voice are  
expressed respectively in *inspectura*, *ventura*, and  
*gemitum*. This animation will continue in subsequent  
episodes.

Another element in the story is introduced at this

juncture. Sinon<sup>45</sup> makes his appearance, and, with the exception of three narrative interpositions,<sup>46</sup> his stellar performance endures through line 194. It is a lengthy discursus of prevarication in which the Greek protagonist, under the guise of deserter and sacrificial escapee, displays his consummate skill of persuasion and ingeniously gains the confidence of the Trojans through pity. His first reference to the horse is in the context of the Greeks' seeking favorable weather for their departure from Troy:

Praecipue cum jam hic trabibus contextus acernis  
 staret equus toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.  
 (ii.112-113)

Here, the horse is constructed of maple beams *trabibus contextus acernis* as it stood against the backdrop of thundering clouds. After much Greek cunning and many "crocodile" tears, Sinon is released from his bonds at the bid of Priam, and the Trojan king asks:

quo molem hanc immanis equi statuere? Quis auctor?  
 Quidve petunt? Quae relligio? Aut quae machina belli?  
 (ii.150-151)

Priam also acknowledges the huge size of the structure, *molem hanc immanis equi*, and that it could be some votive offering, *relligio*. His last enquiry is an

embellishment of Laocoon's proposal, *machina belli*, which, with *belli* carries the device back to its original etymological source.<sup>47</sup> With further histrionics and repetitive invocation Sinon resumes his tale of the sacrilege of the Palladium when Diomedes and Ulysses slew the guards of the citadel and with bloody hands made off with the statue. Because this profane act was less than receptive to the goddess Tritonia, she also engaged in her own histrionics by flashing bright flames from her eyes, perspiring profusely, and leaping from the ground three times. It is then suggested by the seer Calchas that the Wooden Horse be constructed as an offering for Minerva which would attempt to regain the good favor of the deity and atone for their unholy deed:

Hanc pro Palladio moniti, pro numine laeso  
 effigiem statuere, nefas quae triste piaret.  
 Hanc tamen immensam Calchas attollere molem  
 roboribus textis caelique educere jussit,  
 (ii.183-186)

The nomenclature for the horse increases with *effigiem*, and now *Hanc . . . immensam . . . molem*<sup>48</sup> is constructed of woven oak *roboribus textis*. Sinon, the fabricator, further explains that the Greeks were advised by Calchas to erect the horse to the sky so that its





very act that the Trojans are led to believe will secure their safety and good fortune.

As if there were any further need of convincing the Trojans to receive the horse within the gates of Troy, the twin serpents appear, make landfall, strangle Laocoon and his two sons, and retreat to the shrine of Minerva (ii.199-227). A new element in the narrative resulting from this event is the final incentive required to persuade the Trojans to make their fatal mistake:

Tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis  
insinuat pavor, et scelus expendisse merentem  
Laocoonta ferunt, sacrum qui cuspede robur  
laeserit et tergo sceleratam intorserit hastam.  
Ducendum ad sedes simulacrum orandaque divae  
numen conclamant.

(ii.228-233)

A new fear creeps<sup>49</sup> through the trembling hearts of the Trojans after they witnessed this sanguineous excursion of the serpents, and now, with conviction, they connect it with Laocoon's attack on the equine image when he hurled his accursed spear against the sacred oak *sacrum*. . . *robur*.<sup>50</sup> They vehemently are in favor of placing the statue *simulacrum* in the temple and propitiating the goddess. The Trojans have now reached the determination which will be their ruin, as they open

up the walls and bare the ramparts of the city. They perform the necessary tasks to facilitate the horse's entry:

Accingunt omnes operi pedibusque rotarum  
 subjiciunt lapsus, et stuppea vincula collo  
 intendunt: scandit fatalis machina muros  
 feta armis. . .

(ii.235-238)

Girding themselves with proper gear for the task they cast rolling wheels<sup>51</sup> under its feet and stretch cables from the neck. The deadly contraption mounts the walls, teeming with arms. No longer does there exist the potential or hypothetical nature of the wooden structure, but now it actually makes its entrance with language that lends itself to an animated portrayal. To recall Laocoon's prediction and link it with the present scenario, we discover that the machine has feet *pedibus* with which to come against the walls of Troy, *ventura*; and now it is endowed with a neck *collo* with which to look into the homes from above *inspectura*. Teeming with arms, *feta armis*,<sup>52</sup> is the beast as Laocoon had warned earlier in *hoc inclusi ligno occultantur Achivi*. The scene takes on a ceremonial character as young boys and unwed girls sing sacred songs and delight in touching the

rope suspended from the horse's neck. At the same time the towering machine ritualistically glides into the middle of the city:<sup>53</sup>

illa subit mediaeque minans inlabitur urbi.  
(ii.240)

The abundance of dactyls in the above line is fitting for the image evoked with *inlabitur*. It is reminiscent of the meter employed only thirteen lines earlier as the twin serpents retreated to the feet of Minerva with equal ease and rapidity (ii.227). This is in sharp contrast with the abundance of spondees in line 237 which calls to mind the image of a funereal procession as *fatalis* would appropriately imply.

Again, in the form of apostrophe, Aeneas addresses his fatherland, home of the gods, and laments the Trojans' lack of perception as the horse is carried across the entrance:

. . .quater ipso in limine portae  
substitit atque utero sonitum quater arma dedere;  
(ii.242-243)

Four times it halted on the very threshold of the gate, and four times arms gave forth a sound from the belly of the horse. *Substitit*<sup>54</sup> presents an apparent

contradiction with *inlabitur* seen three lines earlier. However, conversely, *utero sonitum* is highly consistent with *utero*. . . *recusso insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae* (ii.52-53) when Laocoon hurled his spear at the structure. The anaphoric *quater*. . . *quater* recalls *terque quaterque* (i.94) and *bis*. . . *bis* (ii.218). Aeneas makes one final and descriptive reference to the horse in his account of the story occurring before nightfall:

*instamus tamen immemores caecique furore  
et monstrum infelix sacrata sistimus arce.*  
(ii.244-245)

Pressing on unmindfully and blind with madness they place the accursed monster *monstrum infelix* in the sacred citadel. Even Cassandra is unsuccessful in convincing the Trojans to halt their pursuit as they obliviously deck the shrines of the gods with festive bough throughout the city.

The transition from day to night once again utilizes language which symbolizes concealment and deceit:

*Vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox  
involvens umbra magna terramque polumque  
Myrmidonumque dolos. . .*  
(ii.250-252)

Meanwhile the heavens revolve and night rushes from

the Ocean wrapping the earth, the sky, and the treachery of the Greeks in a great shadow. The zeugma and the polysyndeton,<sup>55</sup> in conjunction, are instrumental in conveying the all-encompassing feature of deception, just as the horse has symbolically achieved the same result all along.

Overcome by sleep the Trojans are totally unaware of the Greek troops making their way from Tenedos to the familiar shores where Sinon awaits their approach. Upon receiving the signal from the flagship, he unfastens<sup>56</sup> the bolts of the horse and sets free the Greek warriors inclosed:

Et jam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat  
 a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae  
 litora nota petens, flammam cum regia puppis  
 extulerat, fatisque deum defensum iniquis  
 inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim  
 laxat claustra Sinon. . .

(ii.254-259)

Whereas the horse was constructed of maple in line 112, of oak in line 186 and 230, but, here, the bolts are of pine *pineam*. . .*claustra*. Nevertheless, in the final installment of the story nine Greek warriors emerge from a horse of the stronger stock of wood *cavo*. . .*robore*:

. . . Illos patefactus ad auras reddit equus,  
 laetique cavo se robore promunt  
 (ii.259-260)

Having been laid open the horse returns those to the open air, and they joyfully bring themselves forth from the hollow oak.<sup>57</sup> All slide down *lapsi*<sup>58</sup> on a rope that had been dropped (line 262); they attack the city buried in drunken sleep; they kill the guards; and having received all their allies through the open gates, they join confederate lines *agmina conscia*.

It is an impossible task to render an adequate exegesis of the Wooden Horse without including the other themes of the narrative to which it is closely linked. This figure is as carefully interwoven with the "Sinon" and the "Laocoon" passages<sup>59</sup> as, by analysis, the horse itself is interwoven by the poet's multi-material frame. In the last fourteen lines of this explication there are additional recurring instances of literary devices, mentioned earlier in the introduction, which are applicable throughout the entire narrative. To revisit ii.254-267 would reveal the striking parallels between the approach of the Greek fleet from Tenedos and the emergence of the twin serpents from the same source.<sup>60</sup>

Both utilize the water as their mode of travel. The serpents make their way over the tranquil deep headed toward the shores *tranquilla per alta. . .ad litora* (ii.203-205): the fleet, through the friendly silence of a still moon seeking the familiar shores *per amica silentia lunae/litora nota petens*. Even the subtle use of *flammas*, the signaling torch, has its counterpart in *ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni* (ii.210).

The parallels now transcend into the realm of cyclic patterns. Sinon, defended by the Trojan hostile fates of the gods *fatis. . .deum defensus iniquis*, releases the Greeks from the Wooden Horse. This is a complete reversal<sup>61</sup> of ii.13 ff when the Greek chieftains, broken by war and driven back by the fates *Fracti bello fatisque repulsi*, build the mountain-size horse. These two sets of lines with their reversed circumstances confine and frame the entire episode by virtue of the circular thematic pattern. The same scheme was employed in the reversal of roles when Laocoon, initially sacrificing a bull, later becomes the sacrificial victim. Thus there is possible evidence that the "Laocoon" passage is a microcosm of the larger narrative, a circle within a

circle.

Other parallels resume with action taking place secretly *furtim*, and with *includunt* in the earlier lines yielding to *inclusos utero Danaos*. . . *laxat*, rendering again the reversed circumstances. *Patefactus* echoes in concept the freeing of other elements of destructive force.<sup>62</sup> The first instance is traced to Aeolus when the god of the winds released three of his staff to shipwreck the Trojan hero (i.81 ff). The next occurrence was the release from Sinon's bonds at the bid of the compassionate Trojan king (ii.146-147). This final use of the motif in conjunction with *ad auras* is reminiscent of Sinon's conviction to tell the truth, as he brings all things into the air *omnia ferre sub auras* (ii.158). The release of the Greek warriors from the horse is also a truth. It is a stark reality!

Finally, the martial theme expressed in *agmina conscia*<sup>63</sup> wraps up the narrative of the Wooden Horse which occupies approximately one third of Aeneas's account in Bk ii.

The second *pictura* in the exhibition of monsters is the portrayal of the Cyclops. Just as an explication of



the Wooden Horse was impossible without the treatment of other interwoven themes, so does a valid depiction of this formidable creature require a blending of introductory themes which are closely linked. Whereas the format for the presentation of the Greek offering for Minerva was interstitial, the very nature of Aeneas's wanderings warrants an ingressive approach, a facsimile of a travelogue. It is the poet's descriptive language in these passages that achieves a unifying and cohesive bond to link their pictorial similarities.

Helenus forewarns Aeneas of the dangerous shoreline between Italy and Sicily and of the monsters, Scylla and Charybdis:

Dextrum Scylla latus, laevum implacata Charybdis  
obsidet, atque imo barathri ter gurgite vastos  
sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque sub auras  
erigit alternos, et sidera verberat unda.

(iii.420-423)

Scylla besets the right side, insatiable Charybdis, the left side, and three times<sup>64</sup> the latter sucks up the vast waves with a deep whirlpool into her abyss, and again she raises alternate waves into the air and lashes the stars with the spray.

After further admonition from Helenus the Trojan

leader takes his leave from Chaonia and continues his journey until Sicilian Etna comes into view:

Tum procul e fluctu Trinacria cernitur Aetna,  
 et gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa  
 audimus longe fractasque ad litora voces,  
 exsultantque vada atque aestu miscentur harenae.  
 (iii.554-557)

The motifs of sight and sound<sup>65</sup> are introduced as the Trojans see Trinacrian Etna at a distance and hear the great roar of the sea, the pounding of the rocks, and the broken sounds near the shores. The shoals rise up, and the sand is mingled with the surge. The vantage point expressed by *e fluctu* echoes *Hi summo influctu pendent* (i.106). The similarity of the "storm" passage continues with *aestu miscentur harenae* recalling *furit aestus harenis* (i.107).

Anchises is the first to sight Charybdis and the crags and dreadful rocks that Helenus had mentioned earlier. He urges his companions to lean quickly to their oars for swift escape:

. . .Nimirum hic illa Charybdis:  
 hos Helenus scopulos, haec saxa horrenda canebat.  
 Eripite, O socii, pariterque insurgite remis.  
 (iii.558-560)

Heeding his advice Palinurus and the crew head for

the waters on the left side, but they are nevertheless caught up in the mighty force of her abyss:

Tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem  
subducta ad manis imos desedimus unda.  
Ter scopuli clamorem inter cava saxa dedere,  
ter spumam elisam et rorantia vidimus astra.  
(iii.564-567)

Aeneas informs Dido that they were raised into the sky with a circular whirlpool, and instantly sank to the lowest depths of the Shades when a wave was dropped from below. Three times the crags gave forth a roar among the hollow rocks, and three times they saw the foam dash up and the stars dripping.<sup>66</sup> *Curvato gurgite* and *Ter* also recall the "storm" passage when three times a wave whirled Orontes' ship around, and the scattered crew were floating in *gurgite vasto* (i.116-118). *Ad manis imos* and *rorantia. . .astra* are preludes to the hyperbole which increases in the description of Mt Etna which follows.

It is close to nightfall as the weary Trojans, without the aid of wind to their sails, drift unawares toward the shores of the Cyclops:

Interea fessos ventus cum sole reliquit,  
ignarique viae Cyclopum adlabimur oris.  
(iii.568-569)

They enter a huge port protected from the winds in

close proximity to thundering Etna:

Portus ab accessu ventorum immotus et ingens  
 ipse: sed horrificis juxta tonat Aetna ruinis,  
 interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem  
 turbine fumantem piceo et candente favilla,  
 attolitque globos flammaram et sidera lambit,  
 interdum scopulos avulsaque viscera montis  
 erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras  
 cum gemitu glomerat fundoque exaestuat imo.  
 (iii.570-577)

Vergil employs one of his favorite words *ingens* which he frequently places strategically at the beginning or at the end of a line to frame the content. It prefaces the vacillating activity of the volcano as sometimes it shoots forth to the heavens a black cloud in a whirlwind of pitchy smoke and white-hot ashes, and it raises balls of fire which lick the stars. The hyperbole nears its peak as the imagery and musical rhythm can attest. The synchysis in *nubem. . .piceo* provides the perfect picture to blend with the antinomic *candente favilla*.<sup>67</sup> The alliterative *l* echoes the appropriate sound of serpents seen in *sibila lambabant linguis vibrantibus ora* (ii.211), and thus links serpentine imagery with that of flames.<sup>68</sup> *Globos* contributes to the circular "orb" motif which will be embellished in the verses describing the Cyclops. Sometimes, belching

forth, the volcano raises crags and the fragmented vitals of the mountain, and with a roar it rolls together melted rocks into the air and seethes from its lowest depths. Once again the rhetorical *interdum*. . .*interdum* conveys the relentless activity of the volcano, and *scopulos avulsaque viscera montis erigit*. . .*sub auras* recalls *fluctus*. . .*sub auras/ erigit alternos* (iii.422-423) in Helenus' description of Charybdis. An explanation for this phenomenon ensues:

Fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus  
 urgeri mole hac, ingentemque insuper Aetnam  
 impositam ruptis flammam expirare caminis,  
 et fessum quotiens mutet latus, intremere omnem  
 murmure Trinacriam et caelum subtexere fumo.  
 (iii.578-582)

Legend has it that the body of Enceladus, half consumed by the thunderbolt of Jupiter,<sup>69</sup> is confined beneath this mass of mountain, and that great Etna, placed on top, breathes a flame from its erupted furnaces. As many times as Enceladus turns over on his weary side, all Sicily trembles with a rumble, and the sky is veiled with smoke. This is not the first time that the all powerful father has wreaked vengeance on those who rebelled against him. The ungovernable winds

also had to be contained in the same fashion:

Sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris  
hoc metuens molemque et montes insuper altos  
imposuit. . .

(i.60-62)

Thus, the theme of concealment continues to be interwoven throughout the poem, whether by confinement, refuge, or shelter. The strategic position of *flammarum* (574) in the center of the line and the same position of the shorter *flammam* (580) present and uncanny visual display for the context. If the single flame emanating from the bottom of Etna filters up through the chimneys *ruptis caminis*, there would be a proliferation of flames at the top as they mushroom into fiery balls. Whether by design or by coincidence, the result is pictorially significant. There is one final observation concerning the containment of this vestibular passage which prefaces the Cyclops verses. In his blending of the description of Charybdis with Mt Etna, Vergil has introduced them with the topical *Trinacria*. . .Aetna and has concluded with *Trinacriam*. A cohesiveness is achieved by the flanking of two references to the island, one at the beginning, and another at the end, which frames the

regional depiction of the two subjects and thus confines them to a unit.

The juxtaposition of sight and sound resumes as the Trojans spend a restless night in the nearby forests:

Noctem illam tecti silvis immania monstra  
 perferimus nec quae sonitum det causa videmus.  
 Nam neque erant astrorum ignes nec lucidus aethra  
 siderea polus, obscuro sed nubila caelo,  
 et lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat.  
 (iii.583-587)

*Monstra* conjures up several images which fittingly would preface the emergence of the Cyclops, but, with *sonitum* the context refers to the dreadful or mysterious sounds, the source of which is undetectable, *nec. . .videmus*. Visibility has been hampered because there were no stars in the sky, but, instead, clouds with which the gloomy night was concealing the moon.<sup>70</sup> *Lunam. . .tenebat* is another occurrence, though ornamental, to illustrate the "hidden" motif, a shape confined by another.

A new dawn arises on the next day which ushers in the appearance of Achaemenides<sup>71</sup> as he catches sight of the Trojan ships, checks his pace upon recognition, and then makes his way toward the shore. It is *déjà vu* as

the Greek begins his tearful entreaty: . . . *Per sidera testor/ per superos. . . lumen/ tollite me. . . abducite terras* (iii.599-601); and . . . *animam hanc. . . absumite leto* (iii.654). Although in a different sequence we have heard similar rhetoric coming from the mouth of Sinon: . . . *sumite poenas* (ii.103) and *Vos aeterni ignes. . . / testor numen. . .* (ii.154-155). The parallels in these two passages are numerous.<sup>72</sup> The conditional clause . . . *si sceleris tanta est injuria nostri* (iii.604) echoes . . . *Si omnis uno ordine habetis Achivos* (ii.102). There also are the confessionals: . . . *Scio me Danais e classibus unum/ et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse penatis* (iii.602-603) and earlier: . . . *neque me Argolica de gente negabo* (ii.78). The compassion of Anchises and the Trojans is reflected in the following exhortation: . . . *Qui sit fari, quo sanguine cretus/hortamur, quae deinde agitet fortuna fateri* (iii.608-609). Priam displayed the same humanity in: . . . *Hortamur. . . cretus/ quidve ferat. . .* (ii.74-75). Both Greeks come from the same background: Achaemenides, . . . *genitore Adamasto/ paupere. . .* (iii.614-615); and Sinon, *pauper. . . pater. . .* (ii.87). Finally, there are those identical lines:



*Ille haec deposita tandem formidine fatur:* (iii.612 and ii.76). Aeneas continues to quote Achaemenides as he embarks to describe his terrifying encounter with the Cyclops:<sup>73</sup>

Hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina linguunt,  
 immemores socii vasto Cyclopi in antro  
 deseruere. Domus sanie dapibus cruentis,  
 intus opaca, ingens.

(iii.616-619)

At first we get a look at the living quarters of the monster after the Greeks unmindfully abandon their companion on their hasty departure. Beyond the cruel threshold there is a vast cave, a domicile with gore and bloody feasts, dark within, and huge. The poet again places his favorite adjective *ingens* at the end of the sentence to modify *domus* placed at the beginning. There is also a somewhat visual reminiscence of the quarters in which the winds of Aeolus were confined in Bk i, and the similar space in which the Greek soldiers were housed in the Wooden Horse of Bk ii.<sup>74</sup> Hyperbole is recalled to paint the size of the Cyclops, and there ensues a description of his eating habits:

. . .Ipse arduus, altaque pulsat  
 sidera (di talem terris avertite pestem!)  
 nec visu facilis nec dictu adfabilis ulli;

visceribus miserorum et sanguine vescitur atro  
(iii.619-622)

*Arduus*<sup>75</sup> echoes the epithet for the Wooden Horse as Panthus described the beast to Aeneas in his reply:  
*Arduus armatos mediis in moenibus astans/fundit equus*  
. . . (ii.328-329). The adjective was also used in the simile of the snake to describe Pyrrhus: *arduus ad solem* (ii.475). Thus the horse, the serpent, and the Cyclops all share the same trait: the first, towering to pour forth armed men; the second, towering in the direction of the sun; and the third, towering to beat the lofty stars. Such a figure of speech was employed earlier to describe the flames of Etna *sidera lambit* (iii.574). The rhetorical parenthesis *di. . .pestem* also recalls Sinon's parenthetical exhortation *quod di prius omen in ipsum/convertant!* (ii.190-191). The Cyclops is not easy to look at *nec visu facilis*, nor is he approachable by speech *nec dictu adfabilis*, and his menu consisting of the dark bloody entrails of wretched men is far from palatable *visceribus. . .atro*. Another similar scenario is found in the "twin serpent" passage: *implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus;* (ii.215), and therefore

exists another characteristic link between the serpent and the one-eyed monster.

The visual recollection resumes in gory detail as the Greek relates the events preceding the arrival of the Trojans:

Vidi egomet duo de numero cum corpora nostro  
 prensa manu magna medio resupinus in antro  
 frangeret ad saxum, sanieque aspersa natarent  
 limina; vidi atro cum membra fluentia tabo  
 manderet et tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus  
 (iii.623-627)

The witness describes the procedure in a two part sequence: first, the Cyclops lying on his back in the middle of the cave seizes two of his companions with his large hand and then proceeds to smash them on a rock, with the result that the thresholds, splattered with blood, are overflowing; second, the creature begins to chew on the limbs flowing with black gore which, still warm, tremble under his teeth. *Medio resupinus in antro* complements *vasto Cyclopis in antro* to confirm the large size of the space. By similar observation *sanguine . . .atro* (622) anticipates *atro . . .tabo* (626). The thematic content continues to bear a close resemblance to the "Laocoon" passage.<sup>76</sup>

With calculated precision wily Ulysses takes  
measures into his own hands and plots the strategy which  
will resolve the problem:

Nam simul expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus  
cervicem inflexam posuit, jacuitque per antrum  
immensus saniem eructans et frustra cruento  
per somnum commixta mero, nos magna precati  
numina sortitique vices una undique circum  
fundimur, et telo lumen terebramus acuto  
ingens quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,  
Argolici clipei aut Phoebae lampadis instar,  
(iii.630-637)

As soon as he was filled with feasting and buried in  
wine, the Cyclops let down his drooping neck and lay  
enormously sprawled throughout the cave, belching forth,  
in his sleep, gore and morsels mixed with bloody wine.  
The Greeks, after beseeching the gods and drawing lots,  
in turn, surround the creature and with a sharp stake  
pierce his huge eye which alone was hiding under his  
savage brow,<sup>77</sup> the likeness of a Greek shield or the lamp  
of Apollo.

The sentence is lengthy and yet continues one line  
beyond those cited above. Several references can be made  
to earlier passages which contain similar language and  
thematic content. *Expletus dapibus vinoque sepultus*  
echoes *urbem somno vinoque sepultam* (ii.265). Both the

city of Troy and the Cyclops have become debilitated by over-indulgence, and are vulnerable to the enemy. By the juxtaposition of the two verbs *posuit, jacuitque* and by their central placement in the line, the chiasmic structure paints a visual picture to emphasize the extent to which the monster is sprawled out in either direction throughout the cave. *Saniem eructans et frusta* recalls *erigit eructans* (iii.576) describing the convulsions of Etna. At this juncture a survey of the poet's words to paint his gory theme renders a design of cohesiveness through their interspersed positions. Like the "twin serpent" passage, these verses utilize those words which appropriately depict death and destruction and those colors which achieve the same goal. In this segment of the "Cyclops" account, the narrator has employed the same word for "gore" on three evenly dispersed occasions, the second, evenly placed in the middle, seven lines from the first and the last: (1) *domus sanie* (618); (2) *sanieque aspersa* (625); and (3) *saniem eructans* (632). The same motif is embellished with the adjective connoting "black" in two occurrences which straddle in sequence the second appearance of *sanie*: (1) *sanguine. . .atro* (622), and

(2) *atro. . . tabo* (626). The result is a pictorial representation of two colors, red and black,<sup>78</sup> which appear alternately to provide a balanced interwoven design. A further parallel is the use of *circum fundimur* which echoes *circum. . . dati* (ii.218-219) in the "Laocoon" episode, and the reappearance of *instar* which links the eye of the Cyclops in magnitude to the mountain-size horse of the Greeks *instar montis equum* (ii.15). Like the central positioning of *flammarum* (iii.574) and *flammam* (580) to render pictorially the volcanic eruption of Etna, the focally strategic placement of *solum* (636) provides an on-going motif of a single object floating in the center which comports to the metrical exigency of the line and complements the thematic content. Both shapes, *globos* and *lumen. . . ingens. . . solum*<sup>79</sup> are circular in design and share the same light-bearing traits, "flame" and "sun." Both seem to express visually on paper the same physical attribute of the Cyclops and also function as chromatic agents to relieve the darkness and heighten the suspense. After acknowledging the satisfaction in avenging the Shades of his companions, Achaemenides exhorts the Trojans to flee,

for there are one hundred other unspeakable Cyclopes of the same kind and size as Polyphemus *qualis quantusque* . . . *Polyphemus* (641) who herd their sheep, dwell near the curved shores, and roam over the lofty mountains. This is the first of the two references to the Cyclops by name in the narrative, the first, occurring in the account of the deserted Greek. A pictorial rendering of the duration of three months ensues with the similar symmetrical design mentioned earlier:

Tertia jam lunae se cornua lumine complent.  
(iii.645)

For the third time the horns fill themselves with the light of the moon. *Cornua* flanked by the alliterative *lunae* and *lumine* seems to convey on paper the actual shape of the crescent moon suspended in space.<sup>80</sup> During this time the narrator states that he lived among the lairs of wild beasts and was sustained by berries, cornels, and herbal roots. Always viewing the huge Cyclopes from a high rock, he trembles at the sound of their feet and their voice *sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco* (iii.648). In his concluding remarks he confesses that he had caught sight of the Trojans as they

approached the shore and had reached the determination to surrender to them even at the cost of his life rather than dwell with this unspeakable race. After his final plea to be rescued, the remaining account of the story is continued in the direct narrative of Aeneas as Polyphemus makes his debut:<sup>81</sup>

Vix ea fatus erat summo cum monte videmus  
 ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem  
 pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem  
 monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.  
 (iii.655.658)

The Trojans actually receive their first glimpse of the shepherd Polyphemus<sup>82</sup> himself on the top of a mountain as he moves himself with his enormous bulk among the flocks, seeking the familiar shores, a dreadful monster, hideous, huge, bereft of sight. Each of the four lines cited above provides a clue which links this passage with those describing the Wooden Horse. From *summo. . . monte* a pictorial assessment renders the Cyclops an extension of the mountain, and thereby recalls *instar montis equum* (ii.15). *Vasta. . . mole* mirrors the hyperbolic quality expressed by *molem. . . equi* (ii.32, 150) and *Hanc . . . immensam. . . molem* (ii.185). Although the Trojans witness Polyphemus setting out from an inland source,



*litora nota petentem*, the Greek phalanx which shares the same invasive agenda of the equine structure, sails from Tenedos also *litora nota petens* (ii.256), and thus the similar itinerary suggests to the reader the formidable nature of these agents. Finally, *monstrum horrendum* echoes *monstrum infelix* (ii.245), and the comparison through parallels is complete. Immediately apparent is the intentional alliteration of *m* which mounts increasingly from 655 and culminates in the heavy spondaic rhythm of 658. This particular line hearkens to the cinematic expectations of the pictorial, but runs in "slow motion",<sup>83</sup> accompanied by the cacaphony resulting from the three elisions, an effective audible depiction of the monster's pain and discomfort after *lumen ademptum*.

The infirmity of the Cyclops elicits a momentary pathos as he makes his way down from the mountain to the shore:

Trunca manum pinus regit et vestigia firmat;  
lanigerae comitantur oves; ea sola voluptas  
solamenque mali.

(iii.659-661)

Once again hyperbole is employed to supply a lopped

pine tree<sup>84</sup> as a cane to steady his gait. His wool-bearing sheep accompany him, his only pleasure, his only solace for his misfortune. *Lumen. . .ingens. . .solum* has been replaced by *ea sola voluptas* and *solamen . . .mali*.

At this juncture the landscape yields to a pelagic venue as Polyphemus wades into the sea:

Postquam altos tetigit fluctus et ad aequora venit,  
 luminis effossi fluidum lavit inde cruorem  
 dentibus infrendens gemitu, graditurque per aequor  
 jam medium, necdum fluctus latera ardua tinxit.  
 (iii.662-665)

After he approached the water and touched the high waves, he then bathed the flowing blood from his gouged out eye, gnashing his teeth with a groan. Although he has advanced half-way through the sea, the water has not yet tinged his lofty sides. There is a balance in the even distribution of the accusative *fluctus* and the nominative *fluctus*;<sup>85</sup> also the parallel phrases *ad aequora* and *per aequor* are equally effective to describe the sequence of his progression. The alliterative *dentibus infrendens* resumes to render the lamentable sounds emanating from the creature racked with pain. *Latera ardua* complements *Ipse arduus*<sup>86</sup> (iii.619) and contributes

to the cohesiveness of the picture with their strategic occurrences to frame the episode as a unit.

Aeneas and his followers, after taking on the Greek suppliant, hasten to flee as they cut the rope and churn the waters with striving oars. However, Polyphemus hears the sound of their efforts:

Sensit, et ad sonitum vocis vestigia torsit.  
(iii.669)

He sensed their motion and turned his feet in the direction of the noise. The motif of sound has manifested itself since the Trojans' arrival on the island of Sicily . . . *nec quae sonitum det causa videmus* (iii.584), and occurred in the words of Achaemenides . . . *sonitumque pedum vocemque tremesco* (iii.648). It continues in the reaction of the Cyclops when he realizes his inability to grasp the Trojans with his right hand in their hasty departure:

clamorem immensum tollit, quo pontus et omnis  
contremuere undae, penitusque exterrita tellus  
Italia curvisque immugiit Aetna cavernis.  
(iii.672-674)

He raises an enormous cry by which the sea and all the waters trembled, and the land of Italy from her lowest depths was frightened, and Etna bellowed

throughout the winding caverns. There appears a conflation of echoes from the "Laocoon" passage and Aeneas's introductory narrative of the Wooden Horse. Pain and frustration are the cause by which Polyphemus *clamorem immensum tollit*. Excruciating circumstances also prompt Laocoon to break forth in a similar fashion *clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit* (ii.222). *Immugit* recalls the simile *qualis mugitus* (ii.223) and thus suggests the sounds characteristic of a beast. The lowest depths of the terrain of Italy *penitus* and the very structure of Etna with its winding caverns *curvis . . . cavernis* are reminiscent of *penitusque cavernas/ingentis* (ii.19-20), the huge vaulted caverns of the horse designed for the purpose of concealment. This raucous utterance has not gone unnoticed by his kinsmen as the neighboring Cyclopes<sup>87</sup> rush from the forests and the lofty mountains to the harbors and fill the shores *litora complent*. The Trojans view this magnificent array of monstrous "skyscrapers" lined up on the beach:

Cernimus astantis nequiquam lumine torvo<sup>88</sup>  
Aetnaeos fratres caelo capita alta ferentis,  
concilium horrendum. . .

(iii.677-679)

The brothers of Etna stand idly by with a scowling gaze, and their lofty heads towering to the sky, a dreadful assemblage. *Lumine torvo* recalls *torva*. . . *sub fronte* (iii.636) in Achaemenides' account of the monster. The elision of *concilium horrendum* recalls the same onomatopoeic effect of *monstrum horrendum* (658) and is the perfect device to contain the passage and preface the simile<sup>89</sup> which follows:

. . . *qualis cum vertice celso  
 aerae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi  
 constiterunt, silva alta Jovis lucusve Dianae.*  
 (iii.679-681)

The race of the Cyclops is compared to the lofty oaks with their towering summit or the cone-bearing cypresses which have long stood firm, the former, the lofty forest of Jupiter, the latter, the grove sacred to Diana. The alliteration<sup>90</sup> achieved by the *c* and the *q* provide a pictorial effect following upon the elision, mentioned earlier, at the beginning of 679. The reference to the two deities placed at the end of the segment of the narrative provides a boundary for the picture which has previously been observed in the "storm and shipwreck" passage of Bk i and the "twin serpent"

passage of Bk ii. With this topical landmark the narrative of the Cyclops has run its course as the Trojans are driven by a spirited fear *metus acer* to loosen the ropes and stretch their sails to favorable winds for a journey of escape in any direction afforded them.

To summarize the "Cyclops" narrative is to address once again those vestibular passages which preface the emergence of the main character. Just as the interstitial verses of the Wooden Horse were tightly interwoven with Sinon, Laocoon, and the twin serpents, a similar design is implemented to provide an air of mystery with such literary themes as Charybdis, Mt Etna, and Achaemenides. Without the pictorial representation of the first two and the verbal account of the last, the forceful impact of the monster would be greatly diminished, for his very genesis is ineluctably connected to these "anticipatory" sources. The format of comparative analyses, through parallels, continues to link specific passages with their antecedents and to show evidence of the poet's consistency of language and structure. Hyperbole remains the dominant element in

complying with the expectations of Cyclopiian portrayal.

The final species of *monstrum* in the gallery of *picturae* emerges as a metaphor. In the personification *Fama*<sup>91</sup> acquires the physical traits of a swift bird with evil intent:

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,  
Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:  
(iv.173-174)

Rumor suddenly goes through the great cities of Libya,<sup>92</sup> a bane than which there is none swifter. Her momentum is self-propelled:

mobilitate viget virisque adquirit eundo,  
parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras  
ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.  
(iv.175-177)

She thrives on her mobility, and she gains strength by going.<sup>93</sup> At first, small because of fear, soon she raises herself into the air and proceeds on the ground and hides her head among the clouds. Vergil cleverly portrays the birth of Rumor, the seeds of which are small because of stealth *metu* but quickly grow to take foot on land and soar headlong into the clouds. Greater detail is provided concerning her progeny and her avial features:

Illam Terra parens ira irritata deorum  
 extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem  
 progenuit pedibus celerem et pernicipibus alis,  
 monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,  
 tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),  
 tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.  
 (iv.178-183)

Legend has it that her parent Earth, provoked by the anger for the gods, bore her last, the sister to Coeus and Enceladus.<sup>94</sup> Swift of foot and with nimble wings she is a huge dreadful monster who has as many feathers on her body as she has watchful eyes under each one, (marvelous to say), just as many tongues, just as many mouths resound, and she pricks up the same number of ears.<sup>95</sup> *Monstrum horrendum, ingens.* . . . repeats the beginning of iii.658 to mimic the sound of the Cyclops, and therefore to share alliterative and onomatopoeic qualities. The anaphora of the five quantitative adjectives lends an emphatic and rhetorical tone to the piece. At this juncture the rhetoric is heightened by the employment of parallels and antipodes:

Nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram  
 stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;  
 luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti  
 turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,  
 tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri:  
 (iv.184-188)



By night she flies between heaven and earth shrieking through the shadow, nor does she droop her eyes in sweet sleep; by day she perches as a sentinel either on the peak of the highest building or on lofty towers, and she frightens great cities, so tenacious of falsehood and wrong as she is a messenger of truth.

These literary devices begin with the correlative divisions expressed by *Nocte. . .luce, caeli. . .terrae*, and the conjunctive phrases, *aut summi culmine tecti* and *turribus aut altis*. *Magnas territat urbes* looks back to *magnas. . .per urbes* when *Fama* makes her entrance. The strategic central placement<sup>96</sup> of *tenax* presents a descriptive picture of the antipodes *ficti pravique* and *nuntia veri*, stretching in both directions and enforced by the final correlatives, *tam* and *quam*. Three instances of parallels and antipodes remain:

Haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat  
gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:  
(iv.189-190)

Rejoicing she then continued to fill the people (of Libya) with ever-changing gossip, and she continued to tell equally of things done, and things not done.

The spondaic participles, *stridens* and *gaudens* are

in parallel construction as are their positions in each line. With the antipodes, *facta* and *infecta*, the assonance sounded out in the elisions renders the manner in which Rumor pounds away remorselessly at her victims. The parallel verbs, *replebat* and *canebat*, both in the imperfect tense, carry the assonance further and conclude in rhyming lines. The foul goddess spreads her story of the sordid affair between Dido and Aeneas as she pours the words everywhere into the mouths of men:

Haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.  
(iv.195)

The offspring of Earth returns in her final mission to inform raging Dido of Aeneas's plan to leave Carthage:  
. . .*Eadem impia Fama furenti/detulit*. . .(iv.298-299).

Unlike her brethren monsters, wicked Rumor packs a different kind of weapon which she wields with unrelenting stamina. Armed men do not bring themselves forth *se promunt* from her belly; nor does she smash her victims on a rock *frangeret* or chew them up *manderet* while their warm limbs quiver under her teeth; but her prey realize the destructive force with words *multiplici sermone*<sup>97</sup> instead of deeds. In actuality, she becomes the

agent of her own being. The range for her verbal missiles is far greater than that of the armed soldiery *armato milite* of the Wooden Horse or the narrow range which the Cyclops had to grasp his victims confined within the cave. The key to her success is mobility *mobilitate* and the strength *viris* derived from its velocity. Conversely, the Wooden Horse was constructed of such massive proportions that it was with great production that it crossed over the threshold of the gates of Troy: *ipso in limine portae/substitit* (ii.242-243). Polyphemus of comparable size *vasta mole* does not navigate with any more agility nor do his sluggish kinsmen *Aetnaeos fratres* standing idly on the shore *astantis nequiquam*.

*Fama* is an insidious creature who hurls her weapons of ambiguity to infect the populace with a subtle delivery and tragic outcome. It would be fitting to compare the destructive force of Rumor with the manipulative words of perjured Sinon which eventually effected the fall of Troy. He initially presents himself unknown *ignotum* to the Trojan shepherds and appears confused *turbatus* and unarmed *inermis* before his lengthy

discourse. However, his courage is revived by the civil reception of Priam, and, laying aside his fear *deposita formidine* he embarks on a crescendo of lies which picks up momentum after further encouragement from the Trojans as he resumes his fabrication with a feigned heart *ficti pectore*. His tearful delivery grants him a release from his bonds, the falsehoods continue to mount, and finally his story is believed *credita res*.

Thus the course of destruction has unfolded gradually in each instance with words which mushroom into an eruptive conclusion. Finally, Rumor with the nomenclature of *malum* can possibly be linked etymologically to the Greek protagonist "Sinon"<sup>98</sup> which bears a semblance to *sinos*, meaning "harm."

To review the exhibition of monsters in the gallery of *picturae* is to address once again the poet's sequential format of presentation and to examine the interwoven qualities of the thematic content. Structural composition has been the central topic of concern which emerges in the form of comparative analyses. In all three subjects rhetoric has been a prevalent manner to afford a cohesiveness of design and satisfy the

expectations conducive to narrative portrayal. The "Wooden Horse" and the "Cyclops" passages share similar characteristics with reference to their multiple thematic content. Each is presented in a cluster of subjects which are closely intertwined to support their respective components. Without Laocoon, the twin serpents, and Sinon, the *fatalis machina* alone would not be functional. These supporting or ancillary roles are necessary for the metaphorical depiction of the principal theme. Similarly, the air of mystery and intrigue which prefaces the introduction of the Cyclops is achieved by the vestibular verses of Charybdis, Etna, and Achaemenides. These are the anticipatory handmaids to the main character which provide the reader with the pictorial descriptions which embellish and strengthen the mood of anxiety and fear of the unknown. Each passage shares a speaker within Aeneas's own narrative. Sinon is the voice of the Wooden Horse; Achaemenides speaks for Polyphemus until his descriptive appearance on the mountaintop. The very qualities indigenous to a *monstrum* are manifested in both creatures: the horse, by way of his towering stance *minans* whose destructive force is not realized until the

exodus of Greeks from its belly; the Cyclops who towers vertically to the stars *pulsat sidera*, but extends throughout the cave when lying supine and whose deleterious effect can be perceived immediately with a grasping of his hand or the gnashing of his teeth. Metaphor and hyperbole have also been dominant agents for Vergil's pictorial models, and their continued implementation can be observed with equal abundance in the depiction of *Fama*. Just as the explication of the "twin doves" in "Cinematic progression" furnished a lighter motif compared to the formidable forces exemplified by the "storm" and the "twin serpents," this avial monster functions in a similar capacity. Bordering on a comic relief, this fanciful creature possesses the ability to metamorphose from a shape of diminutive proportion to become increasingly huge through mobility. Unlike the former two *monstra*, she is her own voice, a *sui generis* who speaks for herself *ipsa loquitur*. Her weapons for destruction are more complex and insidious in nature, but they pack just as much of a wallop when they are released to become the bane of mankind.

A retrospective view of the formidable trio renders

a visual image indelibly carved or printed in the mind of the viewer. Their common traits are pictorially executed in a painter-like fashion, but also, whenever fitting, the subject waxes as a relief or a sculpture through language connoting texture, color, and shape. It is with this uniformity of verbal media that a visual concinnity is accomplished in the genre of "Cameos and snapshots."

#### The Vergilian landscape

The rubric "landscape" is a fairly liberal application of the term to describe Aeneas's tour of the subterranean regions with the Cumaean Sibyl as his guide. Well over one half of the journey takes place in a lugubrious setting of suffering and desolation marked by the appearances of phantom monsters and avengers of crime. The remaining segment of the Underworld, in dramatic contrast, depicts the land of the blessed in which there exists peace, serenity, and the joys of the righteous. With the antithetical martial and pastoral themes designating the two separate divisions of Hades respectively, the poet has rendered a pictorial account

which echoes in summary the visual tapestry and thematic content prevalent in the first half of the epic. Also dominant is the overriding motif of concealment which manifests itself, not in malevolence or deception, but in the fact that the mysteries of mortal existence and human fate are buried beneath the earth's surface. The metaphysical nature of Anchises' discourse on Plato's doctrine of reincarnation extends the metaphor of incarceration and waxes philosophically abstract in its conclusion as Aeneas makes his ascent to the Upperworld.

"The Vergilian landscape" from Bk vi proves to be one of the most ornamental and visually pictorial segments of the *Aeneid*. Five topical divisions have been addressed with commentaries on literary devices which continue through the process of comparative analyses. They are: (1) Invocation and catabasis, vi.264-294; (2) Tartareus Acheron, vi.295-330, 417-423; (3) Tartareus Phlegethon, vi.548-579; (4) Lethaeus Amnis, vi.637-751 (passim); and (5) Anabasis: Geminae Portae, vi.893-899. In compliance with epic tradition, the poet invokes the aid of the infernal gods<sup>99</sup> to relate the things which he has heard:



Di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes  
 et Chaos et Phlegethon, loca nocte tacentia late,  
 sit mihi fas audita loqui, sit numine vestro  
 pandere res alta terra et caligine mersas.

(vi.264-267)

O gods, to whom is dominion over the souls, and  
 shadows silent, Chaos and Phlegethon, and places far and  
 wide silent by night, grant to me the right to speak<sup>100</sup>  
 the things which I have heard, grant to me your divine  
 permission to reveal the things hidden in the deep earth  
 and darkness.

The theme of his tale of horror is introduced by the  
 sequence of vocatives: *Di. . . umbraeque silentes, Chaos,*  
*Phlegethon,* and *loca nocte tacentia.* These are pictorial  
 keys which open the door to regions where the silence of  
 night is the tapestry against which vacuous shapes take  
 center stage. Darkness and gloom pervade in similarly  
 descriptive verse as Aeneas and the Sibyl make their  
 descent to Pluto's realm:

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

(vi.268-272)

They proceeded in darkness through the shadows

beneath the lonely night throughout the empty abodes of Dis and his hollow realms: such is the journey in the forests beneath the scanty light of a hazy moon<sup>101</sup> when Jupiter has shrouded the sky with a shadow, and black night<sup>102</sup> has taken away the color from things.

The passage, with the simile, calls to mind the approach of the Greek fleet to besiege Troy, *Et jam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat/ a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae* (ii.254-255). Those lines previously cited above in this chapter share a marked resemblance in verbal echoes: *silentes. . .tacentia* with *tacitae. . .silentia*; *incertam lunam* with *tacitae. . .lunae*. The latter pair, however, renders a different visual product in the appearance of the moon. Both seem to predict an ominous venue, but *tacitae* paints a clear continuous light, *incertam*, an ever changing and inconsistent dimness supported by *luce maligna*. The parallels of *Ibant* with *ibat* in the two sets of verse are resumed in the dual appearance of *sola. . .nocte* with *nox atra* and *umbram* with *umbra* in the latter.

At this juncture the tour takes place in two separate sections of the entrance to the nether regions:

Vestibulum ante ipsum primis in faucibus Orci  
 Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curae;  
 pallentesque habitant Morbi tristisque Senectus  
 et Metus et malesuada Fames ac turpis Egestas,  
 terribiles visu formae, Letumque Labosque,  
 tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis  
 Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,  
 ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens  
 vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis.

(vi.273-281)

A fairly lengthy catalogue of abstract ideas<sup>103</sup> personified occupies the very initial passageway of the entrance to Hades: Grief and avenging Cares placed their couches; pale Diseases and sad Old Age, Fear and Ill-counseling Hunger and shameful Want, forms frightful to behold, Death and the evil Joys of the mind, and on the opposite threshold, death-bringing War, and the iron chambers of the Furies and mad Discord, her snaky hair woven with bloody fillets.

In the following area of the entranceway are the more tangible ills of mankind:

In medio ramos annosaque bracchia pandit  
 ulmus opaca, ingens, quam sedem Somnia vulgo  
 vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus haerent.  
 Multaque praeterea variarum monstra ferarum,  
 Centauri in foribus stabulant Scyllaeque biformes  
 et centumgeminus Briareus ac belua Lerna  
 horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimaera,  
 Gorgones Harpyiaequae et forma tricorporis umbrae.

(vi.282-289)

In the middle of the entrance a huge shady elm<sup>104</sup> extends its branches and aged limbs, the place where they commonly say that empty Dreams dwell and cling under every leaf. There are also many monsters in the forms of various beasts; Centaurs are stabled in the doorway, and the double-formed Scylla, the hundred-armed Briareus, and the beast of Lerna<sup>105</sup> shrieking horribly, the Chimaera armed with flames, Gorgons, Harpies, and the shape of the three-bodied Geryon. These two gloomy divisions of the entrance present a visual prelude to the utter despair which awaits those mortals with less than an honorable agenda while dwelling above the earth. Together they appropriately paint an extended Baroque<sup>106</sup> canvas of monstrous shapes dimly silhouetted against a backdrop of darkness, alleviated by *luce maligna*, suggested in the earlier simile. The only highlight is provided by the color in *flammis*<sup>107</sup> exhaled by the fire-breathing Chimaera. Movement is suggested by the serpentine motif specifically rendered in *vipereum crinem*, and indirectly by mention of those monsters with similar coiffures, the Hydra and the Gorgons, with the inclusion of the Chimaera possessing the tail of a serpent. The hyperbolic quality

is embellished by those epithets of multiplicity, *biformes*, *centumgeminus*, and *tricorporis*. All pictorial elements satisfy the expectations of a suitable marquee for the up-coming attractions, as the prophetess and the Trojan hero approach the Acheron stream:

Hinc via Tartarei quae fert Acherontis ad undas.  
 Turbidus hic caeno vastaque voragine gurgis  
 aestuat atque omnem Cocyto eructat harenam.  
 (vi.295-297)

From this place is the road which leads to the waters of Tartarean Acheron. Here a turbid whirlpool with a swirling motion surges with mud and belches forth all its sand into Cocytus. The description of this natural phenomenon echoes verbally . . . *furit aestus harenis* (i.107) when the boiling surge raged with the sands in the "storm and shipwreck" passage. With similar language the theme is repeated in *scopulos avulsaque viscera montis/erigit eructans* (iii.575-576) and *fundoque exaestuat imo* (iii.577) when Etna belches forth rocks and the severed entrails of the mountain and seethes from the lowest depths.

On the bank of the river is the legendary sailor whose duty is to monitor the transportation of souls

across the Styx:

Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat  
 terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento  
 canities inculta jacet, stant lumina flamma,  
 sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus.  
 Ipse ratem conto subigit velisque ministrat  
 et ferruginea subvectat corpora cumba,  
 jam senior, sed cruda deo viridisque senectus.  
 (vi.298-304)

The guardian of these streams and rivers is the dreadful ferryman Charon, on whose chin lies an abundance of shaggy gray hair, his eyes glow with a flame, and a filthy mantle hangs down from his shoulders in a knot. He himself pushes the boat with a pole, tends to the sails, and transports the bodies in his rusty skiff, now rather old, but a god who maintains a fresh and vigorous old age. It is a vivid portrayal of the character with a host of pejoratives: *horrendus*, *terribili squalore*, *canities inculta*, and *sordidus amictus*. However, these unfavorable traits are balanced out by his ability to carry out his duties: *subigit*, *ministrat*, and *subvectat*; and by the fact that, although very old, he is a god *deo* and a hearty one at best *cruda*. . . *viridis*. The most significant characteristic among these depictions is his eyes which stand out with a flame<sup>108</sup> *stant lumina flamma*,

and for which the boatman is given his name, Charon, from the Greek epithet for "bright-eyed." There are three other passages which share similar descriptions of hygienic and tonsorial qualities: (1) When Hector appeared before Aeneas in his sleep, he was sporting a filthy beard and hair matted with blood *squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis* (ii.277); (2) Achaemenides presented himself to the Trojans in a state of dire squalor and with an overgrown beard . . . *Dira inlucies immissaque barba* (iii.593); and (3) in a more fanciful context Mercury approaches Atlas in his flight and views the personified mountain with snow covering his shoulders, rivers falling headlong from the chin of the old man, and a bristling beard stiff with ice *nix umeros infusa tegit, tum flumina mento/praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba* (iv.250-251). Thus all four passages provide verbal echoes with pictorial parallels which reveal the poet's style of "theme and variations" and contribute to an interwoven unity and cohesion of design.

In immediate proximity to Charon's bark is a multitude<sup>109</sup> of souls of various ages and from all

different echelons of society:

Huc omnis turba ad ripas effusa ruebat,  
 matris atque viri defunctaque corpora vita  
 magnanimum heroum, pueri innuptaeque puellae,  
 impositique rogis juvenes ante ora parentum:  
 (vi.305-308)

To this place an entire crowd poured forth and was rushing toward the banks, mothers and husbands and the bodies of noble heroes defunct of life, boys and unwed girls, and youths placed on funeral pyres before the face of their parents.<sup>110</sup> Hornsby<sup>111</sup> assesses the enumeration of the dead to be the means by which the accumulative pathos elicits the sympathy of the audience and paves the way for the following similes:

quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo  
 lapsa cadunt folia, aut ad terram gurgite ab alto  
 quam multae glomerantur aves, ubi frigidus annus  
 trans pontum fugat et terris immittit apricis.  
 (vi.309-312)

As many gliding<sup>112</sup> leaves fall in the forests at the first chill of autumn, or as many birds are gathered toward the earth in a lofty whirlwind when the cold season sets them to flight across the sea and sends them to sunny regions. There is a conflation of despair and hope in the two similes, both of which allude to death and rebirth. Leaves fall to the ground in the autumnal



season by nature's dictum, but they always appear anew in the Spring as the simile implies. Similarly, it is the nature of birds to migrate to sunny lands when the cold sets them to flight. Thus is the transmigration of souls from the chill of death to a rebirth in regions of light. These similes appropriately preface Anchises's discourse on reincarnation which illustrates the natural cyclic order of man's existence. Pictorially, falling leaves<sup>113</sup> in autumn, with their vibrant colors, and birds in flight silhouetted against a sunlit sky, conjure up visual images of breathtaking landscapes. In the "bird" simile is a reminiscence of such scenery which describes the designated goal where the contestants of the boat race were to negotiate their turn:

Est procul in pelago saxum spumantia contra  
 litora, quod tumidis summersum tunditur olim  
 fluctibus hiberni condunt ubi sidera Cori;  
 tranquillo silet immotaque attollitur unda  
 campus et apricis statio gratissima mergis.

(v.124-128)

At a distance in the sea is a rock opposite the foaming shores, which when submerged is sometimes buffeted by the swollen waves when the wintry winds hide the stars with clouds; in calm weather the rock is still

and is raised as a plain because the waters are quiet, and it becomes a very welcome refuge for sun-loving gulls. The parallels in the two passages lie in the allusions to the wintry seasons: *hiberni*. . .*Cori*, and *frigidus annus*. Also, *apricis mergis* in the "rock" passage anticipates *terris*. . .*apricis* in the "bird" simile. In the context of additional parallels and antipodes, the rock during the cold season is *summersum*, as are the souls confined to Hades; the subsequent season, however, renders the rock a *campus*<sup>114</sup> and *statio gratissima*, terms which precede the later descriptions of Elysium and the opportunity for rebirth. As they congregate in their levitated mode the souls stretch out their hands as suppliants begging to cross over to the farther bank. The boatman discriminately receives some, but dismisses others. Aeneas's curiosity compels him to seek an explanation from the Sibyl as to the identity of Charon and what are the criteria for his decisions. The Cumaean guide explains the fate of the unburied souls which requires them to flit *volitant* around these shores for one hundred years before being admitted to their desired resting place. He sees in this group his

countrymen, Leucaspis, Orontes, and his helmsman, Palinurus, all of whom were lost at sea, and therefore, unburied. A lengthy dialogue ensues between Aeneas and Palinurus after which the touring duo continues with the approach to the river Styx and the boatman, Charon. The sailor expresses his suspicions of the oncomers as he demands to know who they are, and why they have come. After recalling his unfortunate encounter with Alcides, Theseus, and Pirithous, the boatman's doubts and anger are allayed when the prophetess assures him of no such malicious intent, and shows him the golden bough which she had hidden<sup>115</sup> in her robe *aperit ramum qui veste latebat* (vi.406). Upon admiring the venerable gift for some time, he turns his dark blue<sup>116</sup> vessel around and approaches the bank. Dislodging the souls from their bench which he had previously admitted, he opened the galley for Aeneas and the Sibyl to embark. Although the skiff which was sewn together by seams began to leak with the mighty weight of the Trojan hero, the pair safely reaches the farther shore and is put out in the hideous mud and green sedge. On this opposite bank of Acheron another hurdle must be overcome which presents itself in

the form of a huge three-headed dog:

Cerberus haec ingens latratu regna trifauci  
 personat adverso recubans immanis in antro.  
 Cui vates horrere videns jam colla colubris  
 melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam  
 objicit. Ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens  
 corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit  
 fusus humi totoque ingens extenditur antro.  
 Occupat Aeneas aditum custode sepulto  
 evaditque celer ripam inremeabilis undae.  
 (vi.417-425)

Reclining enormously sprawled out in a cavern facing them, huge Cerberus is causing these realms to resound with his three-throated barking. The prophetess, seeing that his necks are already bristling with snakes, tosses him a cake drugged with honey and medicated fruits. Opening his three gullets in raging hunger he catches the morsel thrown to him, and, poured out over the ground, he relaxes his huge backs and stretches himself massively throughout the entire cave. Aeneas makes an approach with the watchdog buried in sleep and quickly crosses over the bank of the irretraceable stream.

Immediately apparent is the parallel employment of words placed strategically throughout the passage to afford a sense of balance and unity.<sup>117</sup> Again, the poet has chosen *ingens*<sup>118</sup> which appears in the center of the

initial line and has closed with the epithet in the same central location.<sup>119</sup> The hyperbolic character of the monster is embellished with *immanis* which is repeated in *immania terga* four lines ahead. Cerberus reclines very much awake *adverso*. . . *in antro* upon Aeneas's first encounter, and similarly, the canine creature stretches out *toto*. . . *antro* after his soporific snack. *Latratu* . . . *trifauci* antecedes *tria guttura*, and the parallels conclude in the imaginative and pictorial sequence of "toss and catch" with *objicit*. . . *objectam*. Here, too, are verbal and visual echoes from the "Cyclops" passage as evidenced by *vasto Cyclopis in antro, medio resupinus in antro*, and *jacuit*. . . *per antrum/ immensus*. Both monsters are huge, but the epithet *ingens* is transferred to depict the home and the eye of Polyphemus in the earlier passage, as opposed to the double usage to describe Cerberus himself in Bk vi. The one-eyed ogre when *vino*. . . *sepultus*<sup>120</sup> laid down his drooping neck *cervicem inflexam posuit*; the three-headed monster as *custode sepulto*, relaxed his gigantic backs *immania terga resolvit*. Consequently, the comparative analysis of the two mammoth creatures with their unconventional endowment

of physical features renders two formidable and grotesque subjects to be treated pictorially on canvas or to be engraved or sculpted into a relief of monumental proportion. In a fashion similar to the "cluster" motif<sup>121</sup> in "Cameos and snapshots" the structural focus of these exegeses emerges from three topical sources. These divisions are marked by three rivers which flow through the Underworld, and they address those pictorial themes by which they are immediately surrounded. The first of these rivers was Tartarean Acheron which provided those pictorial segments occurring on both of its banks: the "Charon" and the "inhumata turba" passages on the approaching side, the "Cerberus" passage on the farther shore. The second topical division to be addressed is Tartarean Phlegethon on whose shores Tisiphone sits as guardian and aventrix for the wicked:

Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra  
 moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro,  
 quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,  
 Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.  
 (vi.548-551)

Suddenly Aeneas looks back and sees to his left,<sup>122</sup> under a cliff, a broad fortress surrounded by a triple wall which a swift river encircles with raging flames,

Tartarean Phlegethon,<sup>123</sup> whirling resounding rocks.

The name of the river is the participial etymon, "blazing," from which the poet fittingly applies *flammis torrentibus* and provides the first significant pictorial highlight for the passage. Texture and circular movement are evidenced by *triplici circumdata muro* and *ambit* to recall *circum/ terga dati* (ii.218-219), and *teretis circumdare truncos* (vi.207).<sup>124</sup> The alliterative *sonantia saxa* ushers in the motif of sound, and reflects the mystique afforded by *gemitum ingentem pelagi pulsataque saxa*, when Aeneas and his crew approached Etna. The visual crescendo ensues as the Trojan hero and his guide approach the entrance to Tartarus:

Porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnae,  
vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi exscindere bello  
caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,  
Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta  
vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.

(vi.552-556)

A huge gate stands in front with pillars of solid adamant--no force of man, not the gods themselves, able to destroy them in war; a tower of iron rises to the air, and Tisiphone, girdled by her bloody mantle, perches herself there, and sleeplessly guards the entrance by

night and by day.<sup>125</sup>

Of architectural interest is the stratification of the landscape, originating with Phlegethon, over which is the triple-structured wall surrounding the fortress itself. The entrance is flanked by the pillared gate which leads upward to the tower rising to an even higher level. A reasonable facsimile of rococo in the Baroque period can be realized with such elaborate and ornamental design. Tisiphone is the culminant feature of the passage, and thus becomes the actual focal point for this pictorial fugue. The name for the avenging Fury appropriately connotes "sound of punishment," and Vergil's depiction of the creature continues with such pertinent language:

Hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare  
 verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.  
 Constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit.  
 "Quae scelerum facies? O virgo, effare; quibusve  
 urgentur poenis? Quis tantus clangor ad auris?"  
 (vi.557-561)

At this point groans and savage lashing are heard, after which is the clanking of iron and chains being dragged. Aeneas halted and fearfully drank in the noise. He beseeched the prophetess to explain what kinds of



crimes exist here, what kinds of penalties are being inflicted, and what is the reason for such noise to his ears.

There are five references to sound since the occurrence of *sonantia* six lines earlier: *gemitus*, *sonare*, *stridor*, *strepitum*, and *clangor*.<sup>126</sup> In each instance the pictorial effect is that of pain and torture which these words would appropriately elicit. The Sibyl informs Aeneas that Hecate put her in charge of the Avernian groves, and that the infernal goddess explained to her the punishments demanded by the gods.

Rhadamanthus possesses these very harsh realms and has the duty to hear and chastise those sinners who have exulted in their attempt to hide<sup>127</sup> their crimes while living, and have put off their punishment until after death. When the judge has issued his guilty verdict, Tisiphone exacts her punishment on the condemned victims:

Continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello  
Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra  
intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum.  
(vi.570-572)

At once<sup>128</sup> Tisiphone, the avenger of the guilty, girt with her whip, leaps on her victims and beats them, after

which she stretches out scowling serpents with her left hand and calls on her savage brood<sup>129</sup> of sisters. We now witness the exactness of punishment in action as she appears *accincta flagello*, which embellishes her description as *palla succincta cruenta* in her earlier sentinel post. The Cumaean guide continues her instructive discourse as Aeneas gets a broader view beyond the immediate threshold into the Tartarean realm:

Tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae  
panduntur portae. Cernis custodia qualis  
vestibulo sedeat, facies quae limina servet?  
Quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra  
saevior intus habet sedem.

(vi.573-577)

Then finally the sacred gates are opened as they creak with the grating sound of the hinges. What a sentry takes her post at the entrance, what a shape guards the threshold! The monstrous and more fierce Hydra<sup>130</sup> with fifty black gaping mouths lives within.

The sound motif resumes with *horrisono stridentes cardine*, and at this juncture appears that extensive abyss leading to the lowest depths of Hades:

. . .Tum Tartarus ipse  
bis patet in praeceps tantum tenditque sub umbras  
quantus ad aetherium caeli suspectus Olympum.

(vi.577-579)

Then Tartarus itself plunges straight downward and stretches beneath the shadows twice as far as the view of heaven extends to high Olympus. This is the second scenario of a visually scopic design within the "Tartarus" verses.<sup>131</sup> Although the source in this instance is Homeric,<sup>132</sup> Vergil utilizes the spatial motif to render pictorially the vertical and horizontal panoramas of his landscapes and to provide the hyperbolic quality which has pervaded the greater part of his epic theme. Furthermore, this visually dimensional treatment is indigenous to the sequential prerequisites exigent in the epic genre, and merely extends the demands of *in medias res* to the pictorial realm.

Continuing in Baroque style the poet, while retaining the Sibyl as narrator, gives a didactic account of the punishments of Titans, giants, and men who had dared to rebel against the Olympians or had engaged in forbidden and immoral acts against mankind. All are imprisoned *inclusi*<sup>133</sup> and constantly await their punishments.

After the catalogue of impious sinners, Aeneas and the priestess approach the threshold of Dis, deposit the

golden bough, and thence embark to the region of the  
blessed:

devenere locos laetos et amoena virecta  
fortunatorum nemorum sedesque beatas.  
Largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit  
purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.  
(vi.638-641)

They reached the joyful regions, the pleasant green  
meadows, the happy abodes of the Blessed. Here a more  
generous air covers the plains with a dazzling light;  
they have their own sun and their own stars.

There is a marked contrast with the immediately  
preceding region of Tartarus, and with any other section  
of Hades heretofore traveled, where gloom was the bill of  
fare. The setting has suddenly become pastoral with  
words connoting light, *lumine purpureo*, and *solem*  
. . . *sidera*; space, *largior*. . . *aether* and *campos*;  
greenery, *virecta* and *nemorum*; and happiness, *laetos*,  
*amoena*, *fortunatorum*, and *beatas*. These words paint the  
initial backdrop on which the inhabitants of Elysium are  
superimposed, as we witness their activities:

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris,  
contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena;  
pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt.  
Nec non Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos  
obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum,

jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulsat eburno.  
(vi.642-647)

Some exercise their limbs on the grassy mounds, compete in sport and wrestle on the golden sand; some beat out dance rhythms with their feet and engage in song. Likewise, the Thracian priest, Orpheus, in his long robe, accompanies with seven tones and plucks the strings, now with his fingers, and now with his ivory quill. Sports, dance, and song have replaced the agenda of suffering and pain inherent in the martial theme earlier. No longer is there darkness with an ominous flicker of flame, but those lush and pure colors, *gramineis*, *fulva*, and *eburno*, indigenous to the pastoral landscape evidenced in the "twin dove" passage and the tapestry of the athletic contests celebrating the anniversary of Anchises's death. Comprising the initial populace of this heavenly region are the noble kings and heroes of Troy and their descendants. The rewards of the righteous souls are pictorially rendered in their daily pursuits:

Arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis.  
Stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti  
per campum pascuntur equi. Quae gratia currum  
armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis

pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.  
(vi.651-655)

Aeneas marvels afar at the arms and phantom chariots of men. Spears are planted in the ground, and everywhere horses freely graze throughout the plain. What fondness of chariots and arms they had while living, what care to feed their sleek horses; this same joy they experience after their retirement to the Underworld.

The epithet *inanis*<sup>134</sup> in this particular context could be the catalyst for a surrealistic interpretation of the passage. It is as if Aeneas is viewing the landscape in a dream, and an eerie and supernatural aura pervades his visual experience. Consistent with the poet's verbal palette is the restriction of words within a frame and their parallel occurrences equally and strategically distributed to achieve again a sense of balance and unity. Those three delights of the righteous inhabitants, arms, chariots, and horses, are evenly dispersed, each twice<sup>135</sup> in different grammatical forms: *Arma, armorum, currus, currum, and equi, equos*. The parallels conclude with *quae, quae*, the synonymous *gratia, cura*, and the antipodal *vivis, repostos*.

A sylvan landscape extends the panorama as the Trojan hero drinks in the view:

Conspicit, ecce, alios dextra laevaue per herbam  
 vescentis laetumque choro paeana canentis  
 inter odoratum lauri nemus, unde superne  
 plurimus Eridani per silvam volvitur amnis.  
 (vi.656-659)

Aeneas beholds others on the right and on the left feasting on the turf and singing a joyful choral hymn in a fragrant grove of laurel from which in the world above the extensive Eridanus flows through the forest.

A theme of joy and celebration permeates the scene that extends horizontally<sup>136</sup> in either direction with *dextra laevaue*, and vertically *superne*, as the flood of Eridanus rolls from its source down to the Underworld below. Congregated in this area are those who suffered wounds in battling for their homeland, priests, prophets, poets, and those who ameliorated the human lot with their contributions to the arts.

The Sibyl approaches Musaeus and inquires of the abode of Anchises, upon which the Thracian bard replies:

"Nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis,  
 riparum toros et prata recentia rivis  
 incolimus. Sed vos, si fert ita corde voluntas,  
 hoc superate jugum, et facile jam tramite sistam."  
 Dixit, et ante tulit gressum campos nitentis

desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina linquunt.  
(vi.673-678)

"No one possesses a specific home; we inhabit the shady grove; we dwell on the banks of rivers which serve as couches and in meadows fresh with streams. But, if you so willfully desire, cross over this ridge, and I shall set you on an easy path." Having spoken, Musaeus thus advances and points out the shining fields from above; thence they depart from the lofty hilltop. These dwellers of Hades exemplify the free, mobile existence *nulli certa domus*, a concept from which the name of their abode derives, Elysium, meaning "free", as they are at liberty to wander to and fro at will. This is in direct contrast with the condemned populace of Tartarus, who suffer perpetual incarceration. In keeping with the idyllic theme, the phrases, *lucis . . . opacis, riparum toros, prata recentia rivis*, and *campos nitentis*, provide the pleasant and fitting backdrop against which these blessed souls traverse. At this juncture the landscape begins to take on ascending and descending movements with *hoc superate jugum, desuper ostentat*, and *summa cacumina linquunt*. It is at this vantage point that Aeneas first



catches sight of Anchises *penitus convalle virenti* (deep in a green valley) as his father surveys the souls temporarily confined to their quarters, but destined to live again in the Upperworld. Father and son share a joyful, but tearful reunion until another curious scene elicits the attention of the Trojan hero:

Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta  
 seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae,  
 Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem.  
 Hunc circum innumerae gentes populique volabant,  
 ac velut in pratis ubi apes aestate serena  
 floribus insidunt variis et candida circum  
 lilia funduntur, strepit omnis murmure campus.  
 (vi.703-709)

Meanwhile Aeneas sees in a remote valley a secluded grove and the rustling thickets of a forest and the river Lethe which flows past the peaceful abodes. Countless races and peoples were flying around this stream, just as when, in the meadows, bees in the tranquillity of summer settle on variegated flowers and pour themselves around the lilies, and the whole field is murmuring.

The simile of the bees<sup>137</sup> is derivative of the comparison of Carthaginians with the apian society when Aeneas viewed the natives from above *desuper* at work building their city (i.430-436). A similar perspective

is afforded the son of Anchises with *in valle reducta* as he witnesses the righteous souls congregated around the banks of Lethe. There is an aura of idyllic serenity in the passage with *virgulta sonantia silvae, domos placidas, and aestate serena*. By marked contrast with the earlier "leaf and bird" simile occurring on the banks of Acheron, the several parallels and antipodes can be evidenced. Comprising this madding crowd are mothers and fathers, great heroes, boys and girls, and youths placed on the funeral pyres before the face of their parents. Pathos is immediately elicited with the specific enumeration evoking the simile of many leaves which fall in the forests at the first chill of autumn *multa in silvis autumnni frigore primo/lapsa cadunt folia* (vi.309-310). The likeness to birds follows as the cold season *frigidus annus* (vi.311) sends them to flight across the sea. A mood of urgency, anxiety, and madness pervades these lines to describe pictorially the desolate and homeless souls of Acheron in search for a final resting place.

In the "bee" simile the inhabitants of Elysium who surround the banks of Lethe are more generically

presented with *innumerae gentes populique*.<sup>138</sup> Location and season of year have changed to the more pastoral in *pratis*. . . *aestate serena*, and those verbs expressing the unsettling motifs of death and flight, *cadunt* and *fugat*, have yielded to the more peaceful and casual *floribus insidunt variis et candida circum/ lilia funduntur*. Finally, *strepit omnis murmure campus* embellishes the simile to convey the harmony<sup>139</sup> of the bees humming in unison to undertake their task, just as the soft voices of the purified souls are intent on their endeavor to drink of the river Lethe in preparation for their journey to the upper shores.

Anchises explains to his son the purpose of this crowd swarming around the River of Forgetfulness, and there ensues the doctrine of reincarnation which allows the souls' return to the Upperworld to animate new bodies:

"Principio caelum ac terram camposque liquentis  
 lucentemque globum lunae Titaniaque astra  
 spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus  
 mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.  
 (vi.724-727)

In the first place,<sup>140</sup> a spirit within nourishes the sky, the earth, the waters, the gleaming orb of the moon,

and the Titanian stars; intelligence, infused throughout the limbs, drives on the entire mass and mingles with the great body.

The terrestrial landscape has suddenly taken on a cosmic nature as the entire universe, specifically catalogued, shares a common substance *spiritus*.<sup>141</sup> With the permeation of intelligence *mens*, the mechanism is activated, and evolution commences:

Inde hominum pecudumque genus vitaeque volantum  
 et quae marmoreo fert monstra sub aequore pontus.  
 Igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo  
 seminibus, quantum non corpora noxia tardant  
 terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.  
 (vi.728-732)

From this source is the race of men and animals, flying creatures, and those monsters which the sea produces beneath its shining surface. These seeds possess a fiery energy and a celestial source, in so much as their harmful bodies do not clog them, or their earthly members and dying limbs do not dull their wit.

After the emergence of the cosmos, there follows a list of its inhabitants, explicitly detailed, who also share that divine spark of creation, but because these souls are numbed by their bodies, they endure a variety

of emotions:

Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras  
dispiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.

(vi.733-734)

From this degrading influence they consequently experience fear, desire, grief, and joy,<sup>142</sup> and they do not behold the heavens, for these souls are confined in shadows and a dark prison.<sup>143</sup> Because of impure deeds prompted by such sensibilities, these souls carry their sins unatoned to their last day on earth:

Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,  
non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes  
corporeae excedunt pestes, penitusque necesse est  
multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.

(vi.735-738)

But even when life has left them with the last light of day, nevertheless every sin, all scourges of the body do not depart completely from these wretched creatures, and it is wholly necessary that many evils so long compounded, are ingrained in marvelous ways. After death these transgressions are scoured by various methods:

Ergo exercentur poenis veterumque malorum  
supplicia expendunt: aliae panduntur inanes  
suspensae ad ventos, aliis sub gurgite vasto  
infectum eluitur scelus aut exuritur igni-

(vi.739-742)

Therefore the sinners are plied with punishment, and

they pay with suffering for their former misdeeds: some are hung spread out to the empty winds; for others the ingrained sin is washed out by a mighty whirlpool or singed by flames. The means of purification are by air, water, and fire. Reminiscent of these three elemental sources to reach an urgent resolution were the suggestions concerning the fate of the Wooden Horse: some recommended that the beast be thrown headlong into the sea *pelago*. . . *praecipitare* (ii.36-37), destruction by water; another idea was to burn it with flames cast under *subjectisque urere flammis* (ii.37), destruction by fire; a third offering was to pierce the hollow caverns of the belly and to explore them *terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras* (ii.38), thus opening the treachery of the Greeks to the open air. Identical solutions for dealing with evil and destructive forces occur in both passages and provide further evidence of parallels in the poet's narrative.

Anchises embarks on the fate of the souls whose final purification is manifested over a period of time:

quisque suos patimur manis; exinde per amplum  
mittimur Elysium et pauci laeta arva tenemus-  
donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe

concretam exemit labem, purumque relinquit  
 aetherium sensum atque aurai simplicis ignem.  
 (vi.743-747)

Each of us endures his own lot in Hades; thence we are sent to spacious Elysium, and a few of us hold the Fields of the Blessed- until, after the cycle of time has been completed, the long day<sup>144</sup> has removed the ingrained stain and has left the ethereal sense pure and the fire of the elemental air.

Apparently, a lapse of time is necessary subsequent to the penal purification of the soul before the process is complete. The final stage preceding this transmigration of souls takes place after the span of a millennium:

Has omnis, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,  
 Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno  
 scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant  
 rursus, et incipiant in corpora velle reverti."  
 (vi.748-751)

When they have rolled the wheel of time for a thousand years, the god summons all these souls to the Lethean stream in a great procession, so that, unmindful of the past, they may revisit the vaulted world above and begin to be returned willfully into bodies.

A complete and thorough exegesis of the "spiritus"

passage is warranted by virtue of the absolute nature of its visual and thematic content. Almost every recurrent motif can be found which elicits verbal and pictorial echoes of earlier lines and epitomizes the poet's structural cohesion and interwoven design. The discourse opens with *Principio* which commences the process of creation. There ensues a lapse of time *perfecto temporis orbe*, and ends with *revisant, rursus, and reverti*, all of which contribute to the completion of the circle. The strategic placement of these words frames the passage, and the result is a pictorial presentation of a globe suspended in space, a three-dimensional form, self-propelled, and absolute. Interwoven themes are also suggested by the poet's use of words which recall earlier subjects. This huge mass of creation *molem* is reminiscent of the several references to the Wooden Horse: *molem. . . equi, molem hanc immanis equi, Hanc . . . immensam. . . molem* in Bk ii. Polyphemus possessed the same hyperbolic proportions as he moved himself *vasta. . . mole* in Bk iii. In the number of creatures which sprang from the sea are those *monstra* which again connect these lines with the Wooden Horse, the Cyclops,



and *Fama* treated earlier in "Cameos and snapshots." Three references to fire are the recurrent luminous accents evenly dispersed in *Igneus vigor, scelus*. . . *.exuritur igni, and aurai simplicis ignem*. Such pictorial highlights alleviated the darkness in the night scenes of Bks ii and iii, and continued to function as symbols both of prophecy and of destruction until this particular allusion to the four elements of the universe. Finally, the four references to "body" are in the greatest abundance with *magno*. . . *.corpore, corpora noxia, corporeae*. . . *.pestes, and in corpora*. They immediately recall the overriding theme of *res latentes*, but with a different perspective to the nature of the things incarcerated. Ominous and destructive have been the forces released from their imprisonment earlier, such as (1) the winds unleashed from the mountain of Aeolus (i.81-83), (2) Sinon when freed of his bonds by Priam (ii.146-147), and (3) the Greek warriors rendered to the open air from their confined quarters of the Wooden Horse (ii.259-264). In the cyclic progression of existence, the souls become the hapless victims *clausae tenebris et carcere caeco* as they are tainted by the impurities of

debilitating bodies. Thus a reversal of roles has emerged which attributes a blessed and heavenly function to souls when finally the *corpora noxia* and the *corporeae pestes* have been removed. Partaking of the river Lethe, however, restores their desire to be returned *in corpora*, and the prescribed cycle resumes. The poet has now set the stage for Anchises's enumeration of the yet unborn descendants of Aeneas, and a review of the Alban and Roman kings, with emphasis in particular to Romulus with whom Augustus Caesar is associated. After respectful mention of Caesar and Pompey, the Trojan hero is apprised of the preordained role of the Romans to rule the world. A lengthy passage on the merits of the younger Marcellus occurs, and Anchises concludes with a prophetic account of the wars and other adversities awaiting his son in Italy. Aeneas and the Sibyl are then escorted to their point of departure:

Sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur  
 cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris,  
 altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto,  
 sed falsa ad caelum mittunt insomnia manes.  
 His ibi tum natum Anchises unaque Sibyllam  
 prosequitur dictis portaque emittit eburna;  
 ille viam secat ad navis sociosque revisit.

(vi.893-899)

There are twin gates of Sleep<sup>145</sup> of which one is said to be of horn through which an easy exit<sup>146</sup> is given to true shades; the other is made of gleaming ivory, but through this portal the Spirits send false dreams<sup>147</sup> to the heavens. Having finished addressing his son, Anchises then escorts him along with the Sibyl through the gate of ivory.<sup>148</sup> Aeneas quickly cuts a path to his ships and joins his companions.

The anabasis to the Upperworld is in sharp contrast with the descent to Hades when Aeneas and his guide witnessed a landscape of darkness and gloom alleviated only by the simile of a journey in the forests *per incertam lunam sub luce maligna* (vi.270). Now the tapestry assumes a monochromatic glow with such a verbal palette as *cornea, candenti. . . nitens elephanto, and eburna*. The parallels resume with the rhetorical correlatives *altera. . . altera*, and the antipodal *veris. . . umbris* and *falsa. . . insomnia*. Verbal echoes are elicited from *geminae. . . portae*, as the dual number recalls *gemini. . . angues, gemini. . . dracones, gemini Atridae*, and *geminos Atridas* in the earlier martial settings of Bk ii, and *geminae. . . columbae* in its

pastoral counterpart of Bk vi. Finally, the dream-like tone hearkens to the principles of twentieth century surrealism, a thesis which *Somni* and *insomnia*<sup>149</sup> connotively support. The passage becomes a mystical and ritualistic transition from the subconscious to the awakening state of reality. It is the topical boundary which visually confines the subterranean landscape at its most elevated peak, a resplendent gateway for the transmigration of souls. For Aeneas, it is the threshold of purgation over which he must pass to relinquish the tragic past and anticipate the challenges of the future.

In review of the Vergilian landscape as it is confined to the realms of Hades, a marked dichotomy is evidenced between pastoral and martial themes and the specific language by which these themes are pictorially conveyed. By reason of their antithetical nature the most cogent literary device for comparative analyses would fall under the heading of parallels and antipodes. In particular, light and darkness<sup>150</sup> prove to be the most effective elements in providing the appropriate backdrop on which the subjects are superimposed, and these opposite values set the appropriate moods indigenous to

the two respective themes. Including the invocation and catabasis, almost three-fifths (372 lines) of the infernal excursion takes place in the dark and lugubrious regions of Tartarus; the remaining tour (262 lines) occupies the Elysian realm which culminates in the radiant splendor of the twin gates of Sleep and the anabasis. This asymmetrical schema of predominant darkness modulating to light, reflects the sequence of events in the first half of the epic in which the pervading tone is that of sorrow and gloom. With the funeral games of Bk v the poet offers a respite from the tragic events and desolation which prevailed earlier. There is now the welcomed transition to a pastoral setting where the Trojan athletes are depicted on a canvas of sunlight, green turf, and sparkling water. Thus, the sequence of events fluctuating from themes of grief, sorrow, and insidiousness, now yields to the alleviating themes of joy, peace, and revelation. The subjects of Aeneas's subterranean tour mirror in tone the initial horrors of war and its consequences. The homeless souls in their frenzied attempt to cross the Styx are mere phantom replicas of Aeneas and his

surviving countrymen in search for a new homeland. Acheron and Phlegethon, the nemeses of the dwellers of Tartarus, represent the hurdles to be overcome when the Trojans encounter great adversities upon crossing the Tiber. The river Lethe which flows in the bright and spacious valleys of Elysium provides the change to a pastoral venue which is conducive to the concept of purification and freedom. Whereas the purged souls drink of the River of Forgetfulness and abandon all memories of the past to be reanimated in a new body, Aeneas undergoes a similar experience as he passes through the gate of ivory in a rite of initiation<sup>151</sup> to put aside the past, the fall of Troy, and be free to carry out his preordained agenda. Consistent with the compositional format of "Cameos and snapshots," the three topical references to the rivers, Acheron, Phlegethon, and Lethe, are structural landmarks around which each maintains a cluster of themes explicated for the purpose of visual abstraction. It is around the banks of these streams that Vergil has metaphorically depicted the long and arduous path of human experience. Against a panoramic tapestry of chiaroscuro both landscapes, the pastoral and

the martial, have emanated from the pictorially verbal palette of the riverside Vergil.

## Notes: Introduction and Chapter 1

<sup>1</sup> *Classical Journal* 42 (1946) 97-101.

<sup>2</sup> RG Austin, ed *Aeneidos liber primus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) 51. Austin comments on the genesis of Vergil's storm. A balanced arrangement is achieved with its onset (81-101), and subsequently its effect (102-113). There is a shift from the divine plane to action involving mortals. The storm is highly reminiscent of *Od* 5 291 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* 52; Also see Roger A. Hornsby, *Patterns of action in the Aeneid* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1970) 19-20. Of significant interest is Hornsby's commentary on the poet's first simile in the *Aeneid*. "The important point about the simile lies in the comparison of a natural phenomenon to a human activity. The comparison is made, however, in a deliberately restrained fashion. . . . By hinting in the simile at the personification of the winds. . . . Vergil emphasizes the disparity which exists between men and winds. . . . Indeed, as the storm develops, it is clear that the winds are not themselves consciously aiming to destroy Aeneas; he is the chance victim of their undirected turbulence."

<sup>4</sup> Austin, 50. Anaphora originates from the lively dramatic mode of colloquial Latin which gives emotional emphasis to sentences with parallel structure. It serves consciously as the poet's stylistic ornament to render an artistic form of emphatic connective.

<sup>5</sup> The word for black or dark, *ater*, occurs thirty-eight times in the first half of the *Aeneid* and thirty-four times in the second half. It is coupled with various words to bring forth an air of suffering, horror, and misery. See: Sister Mary Matthew Foley, "Color imagery in the *Aeneid*," *The Classical Outlook*, Vol 41, No 2 (October, 1963) 13-14. The most frequent use in the first six books is with *nox*. Vergil first uses it in line 89. It is used again during the fall of Troy to emphasize the gloom and the horrible fate that had come to the city: *nox atra cava circumvolat umbra* ii.360, (black night flies around in a hollow shade). Then the



phrase is employed in both a descriptive and a symbolic sense when Mercury vanishes into a black night *nocti atrae* after having warned Aeneas of Dido's plot to keep him in Carthage (iv.570).

According to Sister Foley the "black night" is now "not the wooer of sleep, but the cover of plots and evil deeds." She further states that the personification of *Nox atra* in v.721 "is a black night of the spirit as well as of the elements" when the image of his father appeared to give Aeneas guidance. The phrase appears twice more in Bk vi: . . . *rebus nox abstulit atra colorem*, vi.272 (black night took away the color from things), and . . . *nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra*, vi.866 (black night flies around his head in a sad shade).

<sup>6</sup> This first speech of Aeneas recalls the hero's speech in *Ody* 5. 306. See Viktor Poeschl: *Image and symbol in the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1962) 26.

<sup>7</sup> John N Hough, "Monosyllabic verse endings in the Aeneid," *Classical Journal* 71 (1975) 16-24. Hough assesses the occurrence of monosyllabic endings in the Aeneid to be 138. About half of these (68) are formed by the word *est*. The remaining 70 examples he addresses in his study, but gives the highest marks to the following under the category of "best known" and the "best" in Vergil: i.105 *insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons*; ii.250 *vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox*; v.481 *sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos*.

<sup>8</sup> cf vi.355 *tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes*.

<sup>9</sup> *Saxa latentia*. . . *saxa* can also fall under the rubric of epanalepsis, according to Austin, op cit 59. It functions in an ornamental capacity "to give lively emphasis to the apparently casual parenthesis."

<sup>10</sup>The abundance of spondees in *Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto* i.118 renders a vivid picture of items bobbing in the water.

<sup>11</sup> Austin comments that there is a sparse verbal cataloguing of these events, but without specifying any rhetorical device employed.

<sup>12</sup> By setting the clouds to flight and bringing back the sun Neptune reverses the action which occurred in line 88, a deed which further contains the cinematic frame.

<sup>13</sup> Poeschl, *op cit* 16, alludes to the same concept of design with reference to Jupiter and Juno. He states that the first unit of the *Aeneid* is framed by the appearance of these two major divinities whose divine will is opposite.

<sup>14</sup> Donald H Mills, "Vergil's tragic vision: the death of Priam," *The Classical World*, 72, 3 (November 1978) 159-166. Although Mills' "deterministic perspective" is discussed in a different context with the death of Priam, the same term is adequately sufficient to describe the sequence of events leading up to the death of Laocoon.

<sup>15</sup> Bernard Knox, "The serpent and the flame," *American Journal of Philology* 71 (1950) 379-400. This is one of the best sources on the serpentine imagery in *Aen.ii*. The description of the death of Laocoon and his sons serves as the principal basis on which any subsequent use of serpentine imagery occurs. This passage depicts the symbolic prophecy of the fall of Troy as a whole, a fact evidenced by Servius and Donatus. Servius links the *gemini a Tenedo* (ii.203) with the *Argiva phalanx*. . . a *Tenedo* (ii.254-255).

Donatus contends that *gemini* metaphorically refers to *gemini Atridae* (ii.415) and *geminos Atridas* (ii.500), the twin sons of Atreus, Agamemnon and Menalaus.

<sup>16</sup> It is worth noting that with *incumbunt pelago*, line 205, and *pars cetera pontum /pone legit*, lines 207-208, the visual image of the serpents is that of the letter *s*.

<sup>17</sup> The adjective in this context ineluctably suggests future death.

<sup>18</sup> Michael CJ Putnam, *The poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press,

1965) 22. Putnam traces the passage of the serpent back to *Georgic* iii in which the water snake driven on by drought and heat makes landfall: *postquam exusta palus, terraeque ardore dehiscunt/exsilit in siccum, et flammantia lumina torquens/saevit agris asperque siti atque exterritus aestu.*

After the swamp is dried up and the earth gapes from heat, it leaps onto the dry land, and rolling its flaming eyes, it rages in the fields, fierce from thirst and maddened with the heat.

(G iii.432-434)

The twin serpents, like the water snake in *Georgic* iii, leap up onto the land with bloody eyes flashing forth flames.

<sup>19</sup> Putnam, *op cit.* The last line of the water snake passage from *Georgic* iii.439 appears to reflect *Aen* ii.211: *arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis* (Rising toward the sun, it darts from its mouth a three-forked tongue).

<sup>20</sup> See n 3.

<sup>21</sup> In the "Laocoon" episode Vergil uses language which paints descriptively the agenda of serpents. The "circle" motif is picked up by *sinuat* (line 208), *amplexus* (line 214), *implicat* (line 215), and continues with *amplexi* (line 218), and *circum. . .dati* (lines 218-219). The metaphor continues *post factum* to describe the fear evoked: *Tum vero tremefacta novus per pectora cunctis insinuat pavor. . .*(ii.228-229). When the Greek fleet subsequently makes its way from Tenedos, night envelops the earth, the sky, and the treachery of the Greeks in a great shadow *involvens* (ii.251). Deep sleep embraces their weary limbs *complectitur* (ii.253). The imagery extends to Aeneas's dream of Hector in *quies. . .serpit* (lines 268-269). See Putnam p 25, and Knox p 388.

<sup>22</sup> Edgeworth, *op cit* 75, traces the phrase "black poison" to Apollonius, Horace, Ovid, and three other instances in the *Georgics*. He states that Servius interpreted the noun *veneno* to produce the result of a victim's becoming black

from the injection.

<sup>23</sup> See Hornsby, *op cit* 59; also see Putnam, *op cit* 24.

<sup>24</sup> The rediscovery of the marble Laocoon group near the Baths of Titus on 14 January 1506, was the most celebrated archaeological event of the Renaissance period. (Ettlinger, *l c*, p 121). Pliny writes (NH xxxvi.37): *opus omnibus et picturae et statuariae artis praeferendum*.

The work, currently exhibited in the Vatican Museum, is attributed to three Rhodian sculptors: Hagesander, Polydorus, and Athenadorus. Its date is controversial, but archaeologists place it around the first or second century B.C. It is therefore possible that Vergil was familiar with the group, but Austin, in *ed Aeneidos Liber Secundus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964) 96-99, informs us that there is another possibility. There exists six Roman representations of the subject which date later than the Vatican group and later than Vergil. Ettlinger contends that all six derive from a painting of the fourth century BC of which the Rhodian sculptors were aware. Since Vergil's depiction of the episode suggests a "pictorial prototype," Austin argues that the poet possibly used such a painting as his literary source. Charles Knapp (see: *The Aeneid of Vergil Books I-VI and The Metamorphoses of Ovid Selections* (Chicago, Atlanta, Dallas, Palo Alto, Fair Lawn, NJ: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1951 revised ed) 148 n 81-82.)

comments on the mutilated condition of the group upon the discovery and the seemingly unsuccessful restoration. Scholars have argued that Laocoon's right hand should be placed against the back of his head. The serpents in the sculpture are also without Vergil's *jubae*. . . *sanguineae* (ii.206-207).

In the final analysis, it is irrelevant whether Vergil knew the group, and any speculation supporting the thesis does not alter the similarities with which the poetic version and the visual representation are manifested. Both creations are self-contained in their structure, the former, in its cyclic thematic structure (which I have already illustrated in the text), and the latter, in the contour of lines which directs the eyes of the viewer up, down, and around in a circular pattern.

The result is the convergence of a theme in two separate idioms, the one not necessarily dependent on the other.

<sup>25</sup> Knox, op cit 386: ". . .labi and its compounds are words that occur sooner or later in almost any passage which describes the movement of the serpent."

<sup>26</sup> Note the abundance of dactyls in line 227. They seem to portray in a fitting manner the hasty flight of the duo.

<sup>27</sup> Servius (*Commentarii*, edd Georg Thilo and Herman Hagen (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881-1887) distinguishes the serpents by name according to their venue: *Angues aquarum sunt, serpentes terrarum, dracones templorum*. He further comments that this observation is applicable only for this particular episode in Vergil. No such specification is made by the poet in other verses.

<sup>28</sup> In the employment of parallels and revocation of memory these lines in retrospect metaphorically summarize the sequence of events which involves the sack of Troy: (1) the arrival of the Greek fleet; (2) the attack of the Greeks; (3) the resistance by the Trojans; (4) the death of Polites and Priam; and (5) the burning of the city. Knox, 383 f.

<sup>29</sup> The fact that the golden bough is hidden, . . .*Latet arbore opaca/ aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus*, implies by virtue of the context of these lines that divine help is needed in finding it. Venus thus indulges her son by sending the doves. See Hornsby, 83-84.

<sup>30</sup> See Edgeworth, op cit 43, for the significance of the color.

<sup>31</sup> Robert A Brooks, "Discolor aura. Reflections on the golden bough", *American Journal of Philology* 74 (1953) 260-280. Brooks suggests there is a trace of symbolism in the upward movement of the doves. Their flight is not only a reach to heaven, but also an escape from hell. Because the tree is rooted in the jaws of Avernus, and the fumes are deadly, they can lead Aeneas only so far as their perch, and no farther. Aeneas is like the tree

which can extend in both directions, linking Amor from Venus, and death from the realm of his father Anchises.

<sup>32</sup> Edgeworth, 201, n 222. Even "color" does not always mean "hue" eg Horace Odes ii.2.1. Therefore Edgeworth assesses *discolor* as ambiguous. It also is a *hapax legomenon* in the *Aeneid*.

<sup>33</sup> Henry W Prescott, *The development of Virgil's art* (New York: Russell & Russell, Inc 1963) 370 f. There are magical properties attributed to the mistletoe suggested by the fact that it sprang forth without seeds and had no connection with the earth. Because of its fresh green and gold colors in the depths of winter, it symbolized life in the midst of death. Servius argues that its genesis is in the writers on the mysteries of Proserpine. Hornsby suggests that the characteristics of the mistletoe in this context would associate the golden bough with the ideas of death, life, concealment, and divine aid. At any rate, the simile has been a source of puzzlement among scholars since the time of Servius.

<sup>34</sup> John H D'Arms, "Vergil's *cunctantem (ramum)*; *Aeneid* 6.211", *Classical Journal* 59 (1964) 265-268. D'Arms argues that *cunctantem* (lingering) with its three long syllables "calls up afresh the delicate description of the bough; and the sense conveyed is that fragile beauty has prolonged its stay, reluctant to give itself up." See also William T Avery, "The reluctant golden bough," *Classical Journal* 61 (1966) 269-272; and Charles Segal, "The hesitation of the golden bough: a reexamination," *Hermes* 96 (1968) 74-79.

<sup>35</sup> See n 15.

<sup>36</sup> cp. *Argolici clipei aut Phoebae lampadis instar* (iii.637). The imagery of the mountain recalls . . . *.cavum conversa cuspede montem/impulit in latus. .* (i.81-82). Both the mountain and the horse are hollow shapes to conceal forces of destruction.

<sup>37</sup> Austin, 37, suggests that *delecta. . . corpora* indicates that the warriors were chosen for their fine physiques when stuffed into the close quarters of the

horse.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid 37. *Cavernas* is a shipbuilding term, and in conjunction with *ingens* it presents the meaning of pregnancy as does *uterus* similarly indicate the womb. See RG Austin, "Virgil and the wooden horse," JRS 49 (1959) 17 ff. Also see Putnam, op cit 6, who suggests three distinct metaphors for the horse: (1) an animal with ribs, side, and belly; (2) a ship with sides, belly, and a hold; and (3) a huge mountain with a side and hollow caverns.

<sup>39</sup> Hornsby, op cit 12. Also see Knox, op cit and Putnam, op cit 3-63.

<sup>40</sup> Austin, op cit 46. An observation is made of the elision occurring in *ligno occultantur*, which renders an aural account of the concealment of the Greeks with the disappearing vowel.

<sup>41</sup> In Bk ii the noun appears three times in the nominative case to refer to the wooden horse. This first reference is laid out interstitially across the line, possibly to stress the hyperbolic quality of the beast and its destructive range, *hanc. . .immensam. . .molem* (ii.185). The second reference is made by Priam, *quae machina belli* (ii.151), in which the true etymological nature of the Greek source is embellished with *belli*. Finally, the most forceful and dramatic occurrence is in *. . .scandit fatalis machina muros* (ii.237), as the monster takes on life with *scandit*.

<sup>42</sup> A verbal echo of *. . .cavum conversa cuspide montem/impulit in latus* (i.81-82). A mountain has "sides", and a horse has "ribs" as *latus* can convey.

<sup>43</sup> Reference to Putnam's metaphorical interpretation of the horse as a ship can be acknowledged by the poet's use of words that pertain to sea-faring vessels. *Laxis laterum* (i.122) was seen earlier when all the ships of Aeneas's fleet received the unwelcomed blast of water through their seams.

<sup>44</sup> Putnam, 7.

<sup>45</sup> Putnam suggests the name Sinon is connected with the slippery character of the serpent, *sinuare*, and that he becomes the voice for the horse. However, I venture another cogent possibility in the Greek noun, *sinos*, "harm" or "destruction."

<sup>46</sup> Prescott, *op cit* 306 ff. A succinct synopsis of Sinon's speech is presented as it unfolds in four parts: (1) respectful attention, (2) eager interest, (3) pity and forgiveness, and (4) complete credulity. The interpositions which I mention in the text are concurrent with Prescott's divisions.

<sup>47</sup> See n 41. *Machina* has evolved from the Greek *mache*, "battle", and *macheomai*, "to fight, contend in battle."

<sup>48</sup> The word order renders again a pictorial account of the huge size of the statue. See n 41.

<sup>49</sup> *Insinuat* continues the imagery of the snake. See Knox, *op cit* 384. This is a favorite verb of Lucretius (he uses it thirty times), but it is a *hapax legomenon* in the *Aeneid*. It echoes *sinuatque immensa volumine terga* (ii.208) and thus suggests that the fear *pavor* is, like the twin serpents, an agent of destruction and a cause for the fall of Troy.

<sup>50</sup> The wooden horse has run the gamut from being: (1) a source of wonderment, *stupet. . .molem mirantur*; (2) an object of skepticism and suspicion, *insidias suspectaque dona*; (3) a structure of curiosity, *quae religio aut quae machina belli*; and now (4) a sacred image to be revered, *sacrum. . .robur*.

<sup>51</sup> See n 25. In Aeneas's narrative the various forms of *labi* began with *labentibus annis* in line 14; another continued in line 225 to describe the manner in which the twin serpents found refuge in the shrine of Minerva, *lapsu*; the noun *lapsus* provides further evidence for the ease with which the horse glides into the city, *labitur* in line 240. See Knox, *op cit* 384 ff. Knox concurs with Servius that *labi* is the appropriate word to refer to the movement of serpents (although *serpere* actually holds the claim), and, by its use in this context, suggests the



similarity of the horse to the serpent.

<sup>52</sup> Putnam, op cit n 2. In both Roman and Greek literature the horse is symbolic of the womb and pregnancy. *Feta armis* echoes *feta furentibus Austris* (i.51) to describe the places over which Aeolus holds reign. Both instances suggest the birth of violence about to emerge, the former, with the raging winds, the latter, with the release of the Greek warriors from the horse.

<sup>53</sup> See n 41. What was previously a potentiality is now an actuality.

<sup>54</sup> Knox acknowledges that the verb supports the laborious effort of moving the horse over the walls, *Dividimus muros*. I find the same poetic strategy in the use of *cunctantem* (vi.211) against *volens facilisque* (vi.146). See n 34. The seeming contradictions are but the poet's means of providing tension to enhance the dramatic action.

<sup>55</sup> cp *maria ac terras caelumque profundum* (i.58) and *Eurusque Notusque. . . creberque. . . Africus* (i.85-86). See Austin, op cit n 89. The correlative enclitics are a mannerism of epic and connect words and expressions of related concepts. Their Greek counterparts are *te. . . te*.

<sup>56</sup> The adjectival forms of *laxo* appeared earlier: *laxas habenas* in the context of the ability of Aeolus to restrain or to give rein to the winds depicted as horses (i.630); *laxis. . . compagibus* to designate the specific place of impact on the ships battered by the storm (i.122). The theme of imprisonment is suggested by *claustra*, which recalls *montis/circum claustra*, the barriers of the mountain which contained the winds (i.56).

<sup>57</sup> The dactylic rhythm of line 260 conveys the alacrity with which the Greeks emerge from the horse. Reminiscent of such fluid verse is the refuge of the serpents to the feet of Minerva (ii.227) n 26, and the smooth entry of the horse into the city (ii.240). With the exodus of

nine warriors from the wooden structure the circular pattern has been completed which continued episodically from confinement (ii.14-20) to extrication (ii.264).

<sup>58</sup> See n 51.

<sup>59</sup> Prescott, op cit 311 ff. An observation is made to the differences between the Hellenistic version of the "Sinon" passage and Vergil's account. In the former source there is a specific division of episodes: (1) the Trojans discover the horse; (2) Sinon appears and persuades them to receive it; (3) Laocoon opposes and pays the consequences. By his separating the third scene into two parts involving Laocoon, the poet has interwoven the theme to reveal his artistic motive. If the original Hellenistic version had remained intact, the speech of Sinon preceding Laocoon's opposition would have been undermined by the Trojans' pronouncement against receiving the horse. By presenting a two-part scenario, an opportunity has been provided to give the opposing views of the Trojans concerning the statue, and thus these opposing forces achieve a dramatic conflict leading to a tragic outcome. My comment earlier on the interstitial nature of its presentation renders the wooden horse tightly interwoven with the "Sinon" and "Laocoon" theme.

<sup>60</sup> See Knox, op cit 387. Also see WFJ Knight, "The wooden horse," CP 25 (1930) 358-366 and "Epilegomena to the wooden horse," CP 26 (1931) 412-420.

<sup>61</sup> See Putnam, op cit 8.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid 8 ff. and Hornsby, op cit 72.

<sup>63</sup> The cohesive nature of Vergil's theme of war began in the subtle simile, *velut agmine facto* (i.82), was repeated in *agmine certo* (ii.212), and concludes in *agmina conscia* (ii.267).

<sup>64</sup> RD Williams, ed *Aeneidos liber tertius* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 146. Williams traces the passage to Hom *Od* 12, 105 f and 235 f which describes the daily activity of Charybdis as she sends forth and swallows

back the sea, three times in quick succession, at a particular point in the tide. The offspring of Neptune and Earth was struck down by Jupiter's thunderbolt and hurled into the sea because she had stolen the cattle of Hercules. The hyperbole in *sidera verberat unda* is pictorially effective as is the imitative rhythm of the last three words in 423 which coincide in word-containment, metrical foot, and ictus.

<sup>65</sup> This motif is found throughout the "Cyclops" segment not only in word connotation but in the forms of assonance and alliteration, as in the elision of *gemitum ingentem* and the repeated occurrences of *c* and *q*.

<sup>66</sup> Helenus' description of Charybdis (iii.420-423) is an accurate account of her destructive force which the Trojans actually experience as they are tossed *in caelum* and are dropped *ad manis imos* three times in succession.

<sup>67</sup> Williams, op cit 177: There is criticism with the use of *fumantem* with the contradictory *candente* in Aulus Gellius 17. 10. However, I support Williams' assessment that "the poet has moved his pattern of diction a little away from the tightest syntactical and logical requirements in order to combine images into a total expression with overtones that set the imagination working."

<sup>68</sup> See Knox, op cit 379-400.

<sup>69</sup> See n 64: the fate of Charybdis.

<sup>70</sup> Although *neque. . .nec* negates the existence of light, the mere use of *astrorum ignes* and *lucidus aethra/siderea polus* provides a pictorial contrast with *obscurus . . .nubila caelo* and *lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat*.

<sup>71</sup> Williams, op cit 181: The Aeneas legend does not contain an account of the Achaemenides and Polyphemus episode, and it is probable that the treatment of the theme is an invention of the poet to give an Odyssean touch to his epic. It is apparently an attempt to use the Greek castaway as a vehicle for reworking Homer's

story of the Cyclops.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid 181: Williams suggests that because of the imperfect finish of some of the lines in this episode that Vergil possibly drew the Sinon story from this source and planned to re-work or cast out the narrative altogether. His thesis is that the poet was depicting Aeneas less Odyssean, more Roman, and more historical as the work progressed.

<sup>73</sup> Vergil's treatment of the Cyclopes is drawn from Homer Od 9 106 f. The occurrence five times of *o* in line 617 renders pictorially the large circular eye of the monster.

<sup>74</sup> *Vasto. . . in antro* is another example of destructive forces confined in a cavernous structure: i.e. *speluncis . . . atris* (i.60), and *cavernas/ingentes uterumque* (ii.19-20).

<sup>75</sup> See n 19.

<sup>76</sup> *Duo de numero. . . corpora nostro* has its antecedent in *parva duorum/corpora natorum* (ii.213-214); *manderet et tepidi tremerent sub dentibus artus* is reminiscent of *miseros morsu depascitur artus* (ii.215); and finally, *sanieque aspersa natarent/limina* echoes *perfusus sanie vittas atroque veneno* (ii.221).

<sup>77</sup> There is a possibility that *latebat* suggests the eye hidden because Polyphemus was asleep with his eye closed. However, a more pictorial interpretation is that it is sunk back in his forehead surrounded by the shagginess of his brow. The adjective *torvus* is employed 41 lines later to describe the countenance of all the Cyclopes, *lumine torvo* (iii.677). The motif of "things hidden" continues with the verb.

<sup>78</sup> The same chromatic design appears in the Laocoon passage: *jubae . . . /sanguineae* (ii.206-207); *sanguine et igni* (ii.210); and *sanie . . . atroque veneno* (ii.221). Edgeworth attributes the use of "black blood" in Vergil to their formulaic occurrences in Homer.

<sup>79</sup> See p 55. The visual effect achieved by a flaming ball floating in space against a tapestry of black would, with a modicum of imagination, resemble a huge monster with a glowing circular eye.

<sup>80</sup> The synchytic arrangement of *lu* and *co* also embellishes the symmetrical design.

<sup>81</sup> An observation of the sequence of events leading up to the very appearance of Polyphemus would reveal a similar scenario in the Sinon episode. This master of deceit tells of the alleged purpose for the construction of the wooden horse and the possibilities which lay therein for both the Greeks and the Trojans, but reality does not set in until the horse actually crosses over the gates of Troy, . . . *scandit fatalis machina muros* (ii.237). Achaemenides describes in gory detail his encounter with the Cyclops, but when the Trojans see the monster first hand with their own eyes, a far more convincing picture is afforded them which confirms the story of the Greek castaway. Thus the structural and thematic content in the two episodes contains very marked similarities.

<sup>82</sup> This is the second and final reference to Polyphemus by name in the narrative. The first, mentioned earlier (page 64) appeared in the nominative case in Achaemenides' account of the monster; the second, in the accusative case with Aeneas and the Trojans witnessing his emergence. From lines 616-683 the two occurrences are evenly spaced approximately 25 lines from the beginning and 25 lines from the end with an interval of 15 lines between them. The symmetrical pattern provides a solid anchor and a certain unity for the pictorial representation of the main attraction.

<sup>83</sup> The cinematic character of 658, although in anachronistic terms, bears a vivid resemblance to the sound of a flick when the speed is reduced.

<sup>84</sup> TE Page, ed *The Aeneid of Virgil* (London: Macmillan, 1914-1931) Page compares the "lopped pine" of Polyphemus to Homer's version in *Od* 9 319 which renders it the size of a mast.

<sup>85</sup> See n 82. The spatial use of the same word *fluctus*, in different cases, is witnessed in the poet's distribution of the case forms for Polyphemus (616-683).

<sup>86</sup> See n 19.

<sup>87</sup> There are five references to the race of the Cyclopes beginning from 569 as Aeneas narrates when the Trojans approach the shores of the monsters, *Cyclopum. . .oris*. The following three occurrences are related in the words of Achaemenides, *vasto Cyclopis in antro* (617), *infandi Cyclopes* (644), and *vastos. . .Cyclopas* (647). The final reference resumes in the direct narrative of Aeneas, *genus. . .Cyclopum* (675), and the genitive plural forms of the noun thus flank the passage and provide a symmetrical unity to the episode. The central placement of *Cyclopum* between *silvis* and *montibus* provides another vivid portrayal of the lofty creatures flanked by the landscape.

<sup>88</sup> See n 77.

<sup>89</sup> Hornsby, op cit 80. The comparison of the Cyclopes with giant oaks or cypresses is not only to call attention to their size and shagginess, but to apprise of their potential strength which could prove dangerous to anyone the subject of their gaze. But, if blinded, their destructive force is diminished, and the reference to the trees of Jupiter and Diana supports the thesis that they are harmless to Aeneas if he gets out of their way. The fact that they have stood firm, *constiterunt*, like trees rooted in the ground, and that they merely stand idly by, *astantis nequiquam*, renders them no great threat to anyone.

<sup>90</sup> See n 65.

<sup>91</sup> In the two opening lines Rumor makes her entrance with the anaphoric *Fama. . .Fama* which juxtaposes *malum* and appries of her unsavory agenda. Such dramatic introduction was found in the two previous *exempla monstrorum* when they emerged in reality: (1) the Wooden Horse, *scandit fatalis machina muros*; (2) Polyphemus, *ipsum. . .pastorem Polyphemum. . .monstrum*. The

rhetoric increases as the description of *Fama* resumes.

<sup>92</sup> The reader would connect this country of North Africa with the chieftain Iarbas whom Dido had previously spurned as a mate. The foul goddess gives him the news of Dido's affair with Aeneas in 196-197.

<sup>93</sup> RG Austin, ed *Aeneidos liber quartus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 71. Austin attributes the source of Rumor's increased momentum to *Lucr vi 340 ff* in which a falling thunderbolt increases its mobility and gives increasing strength as it moves.

<sup>94</sup> Worthy of mention is the reference to Enceladus, the giant whom Jupiter buried under Mt Etna, *urgeri mole hac* (iii.579). See page 39. Notice the close proximity of the anonymous *Fama* to *Enceladi* (iii.578).

<sup>95</sup> RG Austin, *op cit* 70. Austin takes from Heinze the opinion that the description of *Fama* functions as an interlude encompassing the passage of time, and that it serves as a vehicle for relating Aeneas's aberrant behavior more objectively. It is commonly believed that the source for the depiction originates from a painting that the poet had in mind. For the purpose of this research, however, it vies in importance with the "twin serpent" passage in potential visual representation.

<sup>96</sup> Previous instances of central placement of words to achieve a pictorial effect were: *flammarum* (iii.574), *flamman* (iii.580), *posuit, jacuitque* (iii.631), *solum* (iii.636), *cornua* (iii.645), and *Cyclopum* (iii.675). See n 87. The architectural design of these verses depicts vividly the anatomical structure of the Cyclopes.

<sup>97</sup> The adjective can be interpreted to mean "ever changing" in context and thus in distortion. Since her being and her function are metaphorically blended, the pictorial image metamorphoses in size and shape with her report *sermone*.

<sup>98</sup> See n 45.

<sup>99</sup> Putnam, op cit 31. A startling observation is made in response to the phrase *di quibus imperium* used by the poet in his invocation to the gods who hold dominion over the souls of the underworld. The identical phrase opened ii.352 when Aeneas, in his exhortation to the defenders of Troy, apprised them that the protective deities of the city had departed. Consideration, however, should be given to the fact that clarification of the verse is defended by the contextual words which follow respectively, *hoc steterat*, and *est animarum*.

<sup>100</sup> The juxtaposition of *audita* and *loqui* in the context of *silentes* and *tacentia* provides an oxymoronic tension to the passage. The disclosure of things plunged in the depths of the earth and darkness, documents another instance of the overriding theme of *res latentes*.

<sup>101</sup> Hornsby, op cit. A suggestion is made to the parallels between *per incertam lunam* (vi.270) and *qualem. . .per nubila lunam* (vi.453-454) when Aeneas sees or thinks he sees Dido expressed in the simile of a changing moon. The comparison is fitting because the love of the Carthaginian queen for the Trojan hero was progressively altered for the duration of the affair until her death and beyond. The motif of "haziness" and "uncertainty" is further evidenced in the fact that, when Aeneas first saw Dido, he was enveloped in a cloud which rendered him invisible; the moon is similarly wrapped to obstruct its appearance. A final observation is made for the poet's comparison of Dido to Diana and that the goddess in Hades becomes Hecate to whom Aeneas made sacrifices before his descent to that realm. Poeschl summarizes that Dido becomes Diana in her initial love-stricken state, a deer in the simile of her frenzied *cura*, and assumes the image of Luna in her final appearance. "Such delicate connections are the hallmark of Vergil's art."

<sup>102</sup> Edgeworth, op cit. The categorization of the phrase is formulaic and recurrent. Edgeworth rejects the assessment found in Servius, Conington, and others, concerning the strict accuracy of the statement. He equates the words in the passage with others evoking an atmosphere of terror, such as *obscuri*, *nocte*, and *umbram*. See n 5. Also *cp lunam in nimbo nox intempesta tenebat*



(iii.587) which echoes the theme of concealment further explicated on p 40 and n 70.

<sup>103</sup> The abstractions depicting the experiences of human emotion appear later in verb forms as those banes of mankind which lead to death: *Hinc metuunt, cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque*. . .(vi.733).

<sup>104</sup> Page, op cit, suggests that Vergil possibly had in mind the trees and shrubs around the *impluvium* located in the middle of the atrium of a Roman household. Prescott, op cit, 378-379, construes the elm as an interlude separating the personified abstractions in the initial entranceway from the grim monsters on the other side. Since the poet has already informed us of the close kinship of Sleep and Death, his purpose is easily comprehended. If sleep and dreams share the same abode with death, and if the elm houses false dreams awaiting to take their departure to the Upperworld, the epilogue of Bk vi., the Gates of Sleep, explains the anabasis of Aeneas as a false dream or a false shade exiting through the gate of ivory. According to Prescott's assessment, this tree of false dreams shares a uniqueness in classical literature with that of the golden bough.

<sup>105</sup> This monster is a prelude to the more dreadful beast *Hydra saevior* which guards the inside entrance to Tartarus (vi.576-577).

<sup>106</sup> Frederick E. Brenk, "Most beautiful horror: baroque touches in Vergil's underworld," *Classical World* 73, 1 (September 1979) 1-7. Brenk, in his treatment of four scenes from Bk vi, contends that the artistic style of Vergil is similar to the European baroque, and that the poet derives his art from previous classical models by playing with their themes on which he elaborates, carries to their ultimate limits, or spoofs.

<sup>107</sup> See p 55 and 63. *Flammis* provides the dramatic highlight embellished by its central positioning in the line.

<sup>108</sup> The fire in Charon's eyes is a verbal echo from the description of Minerva's response when the Palladium was

seized by Diomedes and Ulysses. . . *arsere coruscae/  
luminibus flammae arrectis* (ii.172-173); and from the  
onslaught of the twin serpents in their attack on Laocoon  
and his sons *ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine et igni*  
(ii.210). Also see n 18.

<sup>109</sup> The last three lines of this passage are identical to  
*Georgic iv.475-477*.

<sup>110</sup> Reminiscent is the pathos elicited in *ut tandem ante  
oculos evasit et ora parentum, / concidit ac multo vitam  
cum sanguine fudit*. (ii.531-532). Polites, pursued by  
Pyrrhus, escaped, fell, and lost his life before the very  
eyes and face of Priam and Hecuba.

<sup>111</sup> Hornsby, op cit 85.

<sup>112</sup> See n 25 and n 51. Apparently, leaves have the  
ability to glide or slither in their descent, just as  
years, serpents, horses, and birds.

<sup>113</sup> In *Georgic iv* there are characteristics of the two  
separate similes of *Aeneid vi*. The earlier work employs  
the theme of "things hidden:" *quam multa in foliis avium  
se milia condunt / vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de  
montibus imber* (G iv.473-474). As many thousands of  
birds hide themselves in the leaves when evening or the  
wintry rain drives them from the mountains. The scenario  
of the souls in the epic version, with the two individual  
similes, is more severe and elicits a mood of urgency  
when supported by *orantes*. . . *transmittere* and  
*tendebantque*. . . *manus*.

<sup>114</sup> The various grammatical forms of *campus* are used by  
the poet to render a picture of spaciousness and freedom  
as evidenced later in *Largior hic campos aether*. . .  
(vi.640) and . . . *passimque soluti / per campum pascuntur  
equi* (vi.652-653).

<sup>115</sup> Cp . . . *Latet arbore opaca / aureus*. . . *ramus*, (vi.136-  
137) with . . . *aperit ramum qui veste latebat* (vi.406).  
The bough remains a thing lying hidden, and it is the  
token of admittance to the realm of *res latentes*.

<sup>116</sup> The dark blue *caeruleam* skiff which Charon turns around for the embarkation of Aeneas and the Sibyl, recalls the spots of the same color *caeruleae notae* which adorned the back of the serpent partaking of the ritualistic offerings of the hero at the tomb of his father (v.87). Both the serpent and the boat move in a circular pattern, provided by *amplexus* and *lapsus* in the first passage, and *advertit* in the latter.

<sup>117</sup> See p 55.

<sup>118</sup> See p 63.

<sup>119</sup> Vergil's favorite adjective appropriately takes center stage since it is flanked by *fuscus humi* on one side, and the interlocked *toto. . . extenditur antro* on the other, to present pictorially the enormous size of the beast. See n 107.

<sup>120</sup> See p 61. A similar fate befell the city of Troy, Polyphemus, and now, Cerberus.

<sup>121</sup> See p 78 f.

<sup>122</sup> *Rupe sinistra* refers to *laeva (via)* (vi.542) which the Sibyl mentioned in her account to Aeneas of the divided paths in the landscape of Hades. The opposite direction *dextera (via)* leads to Elysium (vi.541).

<sup>123</sup> The introductory frame of the Tartarean landscape is confined to vi.548-579. A scrutiny of the poet's verbal palette within these lines renders twenty-six parallels of words used either twice in the same grammatical form, or in structural variations. In all instances the two (sometimes, three, and on one occasion, four) verbal references are evenly interspersed to provide the same balance of design and a sense of unity and cohesion. A catalogue of these parallels, in order of their occurrence, consists of the following: (1) *sub rupe, sub umbras*; (2) *sinistra, sinistra*; (3) *Tartareus, Tartarus*; (4) *sonantia, sonare*; (5) *porta, portae*; (6) *nulla, nulli*; (7) *ipsi, ipsa, ipse*; (8) *caelicolae, caeli*; (9) *ferrea, ferri*; (10) *ad auras, ad auris*; (11) *Tisiphone, Tisiphone*; (12) *sedens, sedeat, sedem*; (13) *succincta,*

*accincta*; (14) *vestibulum, vestibulo*; (15) *servat, servet*; (16) *saeva, saeva, saevior*; (17) *tum, Tum, Tum, Tum*; (18) *stridor, stridentes*; (19) *scelerum, sceleratum*; (20) *facies, facies*; (21) *poenis, poenas*; (22) *tantus, tantum, quantus*; (23) *casto, castigat*; (24) *limen, limina*; (25) *habet, habet*; (26) *intentans, tendit*. Vergil employed the same verbal schema in the passage previously explicated. See pp 13, 67; also see n 82 and n 87.

<sup>124</sup> See p 30.

<sup>125</sup> In a similar fashion *Fama* performed her tasks in her nocturnal flight *Nocte volat* (iv.184), and in her daytime sentinel *luce sedet custos* (iv.186).

<sup>126</sup> Two different readings appear in the manuscripts for this line: (1) *clangor ad auris*, "noise to the ears," and (2) *plangor ad auras*, "wailing on the wind." I subscribe to the former because *ad auras* had already occurred in 554, and also, the other verbal references to sound support this thesis.

<sup>127</sup> *Furto. . . inani* is another instance contributing to the theme of concealment.

<sup>128</sup> The adverb commences the line by metrical convenience to elicit a sense of urgency. It occurred earlier: (iv.265) when Mercury addressed Aeneas in a verbal assault; and (vi.426) when the wailing of infant souls was heard in the realm of Minos.

<sup>129</sup> *Agmina saeva* recalls the aggressive warlike tone on three previous occasions. See n 63.

<sup>130</sup> See n 105. *Hydra saevior* is a more intimidating monster than that one at the initial entrance to Hades.

<sup>131</sup> The stratified landscape, extending from fiery Phlegethon to the perch of Tisiphone atop an iron tower, was witnessed earlier. One of the most memorable and breath-taking landscapes of comparable beauty appeared when Aeneas arrived on the coast of North Africa near Carthage (i.159-168). Allen Mandelbaum, tr *The Aeneid of*

*Virgil* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971). Just tribute is paid to this passage by the translator:

. . .There is a cove  
 within a long, retiring bay; and there  
 an island's jutting arms have formed a harbor  
 where every breaker off the high sea shatters  
 and parts into the shoreline's winding shelters.  
 Along this side and that there towers, vast,  
 a line of cliffs, each ending in like crags;  
 beneath the ledges tranquil water lies  
 silent and wide; the backdrop--glistening  
 forests and, beetling from above, a black  
 grove, thick with bristling shadows. Underneath  
 the facing brow: a cave with hanging rocks,  
 sweet waters, seats of living stone, the home  
 of nymphs.

<sup>132</sup> Page, op cit 75 quotes Conington's remarks on this scopic view. The Roman poet has borrowed from *Il* 8.16 in which Homer describes the distance as far beneath Hades as the sky lies from earth. Even though Vergil doubled the span in his imitation, Milton tried to improve on both by tripling the vision of the rebel angels three times as far to Hell from earth as that point is to Heaven. *Par Lost* 1.73.

<sup>133</sup> The participle echoes the themes of confinement and concealment when the Greek warriors were inclosed *includunt* in the belly of the Wooden Horse (ii.19); and when Sinon released them *inclusos* (ii.258).

<sup>134</sup> Page, 79, supports the interpretation of the epithet to mean "ghostly" or "unreal," not "empty."

<sup>135</sup> See n 123.

<sup>136</sup> See p 100.

<sup>137</sup> Knight, op cit 208-209. An observation is made to the poet's comparison of bees to men in the *Georgics* and the reversed comparison of men to bees in the *Aeneid*. The simile is appropriate, since, as Knight expounds, bees

symbolize freedom and the freedom of saints in Elysium. I add that the realm of the blessed takes its name from the etymon connoting "freedom" in Greek.

<sup>138</sup> These groups represent the anticipated descendants of the Dardanians. . . *qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes* (vi.757).

<sup>139</sup> Hornsby, op cit pp 51-52. As Aeneas views the souls congregated around the river Lethe, he perceives the harmony of the event immediately with such an organized procession. Whereas in the earlier bee simile of Bk i, subsequent events proved that the harmony was short-lived, but by the positioning of the current simile in the narrative, it implies that Aeneas is about to pass from ignorance to revelation.

<sup>140</sup> Page, op cit 83. *Principio* is a formal didactic commencement borrowed from Lucretius. In these explications Vergil has used it earlier on two former occasions: ii.752 and iii.381. Prescott, 402 ff, gives a very "in depth" interpretation of Anchises's discourse on the creation of the universe and the concept of reincarnation. He first paraphrases the passage and continues to expand this explanation to a more intelligible form.

<sup>141</sup> Page, 82-83. Donatus is the source of the knowledge that Vergil was interested in philosophic pursuits, and at the age of 52 had proposed to spend three years revising his epic. The poet's theory was that the whole universe possesses a substance which is conceived as analagous to air or fire. The concept that the soul is tainted by the confines of the body is Platonic.

<sup>142</sup> See n 103.

<sup>143</sup> *Carcere caeco* again echoes the theme of imprisonment which began with the confinement of the winds by Aeolus *vinclis et carcere* (i.54).

<sup>144</sup> Putnam, op cit 115. The phrase *longa dies* appeared earlier to refer to the passage of time in which Aeneas had demonstrated his devotion to man and to the gods.

<sup>145</sup> Knight, op cit 173. The theme of the gates of sleep can be traced back through Plato and Homer to Babylonian cult. See EL Highbarger, *The gates of dreams*, (Baltimore, 1940, 1-67).

<sup>146</sup> Putnam, op cit 48. There are two reasons that Aeneas departs through the gate of ivory: (1) The Sibyl had informed Aeneas earlier that the descent to Hades was easy *facilis descensus Averno* (vi.126), but the return to the Upperworld would be more difficult *hoc opus, hic labor est* (vi.129). Therefore it would be assumed that the *facilis exitus* was reserved for the true shades. (2) The more important reason is that Aeneas is human and neither true shade nor true dream, but alive, he is metamorphosed through the rite of initiation to leave the emotional past by way of the ivory gate and become the primogenitor of the Roman race.

<sup>147</sup> N Reed, "The gates of sleep in *Aeneid* 6," *Classical Quarterly* 67 (1973) 311-315. Since the ivory gate admits false dreams and false shades, the term *insomnia* connoting both, it is only logical to assume that Aeneas and the Sibyl are humans, *falsae umbrae*, and would thus exit through this portal. Also see RJ Tarrant, "Aeneas and the gates of sleep," *Classical Philology* 77 (1982) 51-55. Tarrant supports the Platonic notion that the soul is imprisoned by the body which infects it with vices and impurities. In the *Phaedo* Socrates proclaims that these destructive elements, these distractions, such as lusts, desires, fears, and fantasies, are false emotions which encumber us. Since Aeneas is a living person belonging to the corporeal realm, he is tainted by its false emotions, and would therefore depart through the ivory gate.

<sup>148</sup> Brooks Otis, "Three problems of *Aeneid* 6," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 90 (1959) 173-179. Otis interprets the distinction between the gate of horn and the gate of ivory to indicate the time during which Aeneas spent in the Underworld. It was a common ancient belief that false dreams occurred before midnight, and that true dreams followed after that hour. Aeneas and the Sibyl made their descent to Hades at dawn and arrived in Elysium in the afternoon, thus indicating

that the two ended their sojourn before midnight by their exit through the ivory gate. Prescott concurs that this is a possible explanation. Otis also suggests that the whole excursion is a dream from which Aeneas awakens after exiting through the gate.

<sup>149</sup> Knight, op cit 173. *Insomnia* is a Vergilian coinage and could perhaps be interpreted as false "sleeplessness." Also see n 147.

<sup>150</sup> Poeschl, op cit. Many of the sequences in Vergil's epic "may be understood in terms of shades of light and darkness, and if so understood, we have another gauge for the interpretation of mood sequences." A significant part of Poeschl's assessment is responsible for the inspiration of my thesis, "Chromatic imagery in Vergil's *Aeneid*" (1964). It is with the same artistic concept that the visual presentation follows these verbal exegeses and the survey of art inspired by the *Aeneid*.

<sup>151</sup> Knight, op cit 173. The epilogue consisting of the Gates of Sleep is a fitting end to Bk vi, for initiation ceremonies commonly end in sleep for the recipient. See also n 146.



## CHAPTER 2

A survey of the tradition of art inspired by the *Aeneid*

Documented evidence suggesting an ancient association between the art of poetry and painting originates from two treatises: Aristotle's *Poetics*, and Horace's *Ars poetica*. In the context of Aristotle's attempt to clarify his discourse on the drama, he observed that both painters and poets chose to imitate human nature in action,<sup>1</sup> and he further remarked that plot in tragedy was the counterpart of design in painting.<sup>2</sup> Two textual sources from the *Ars poetica* provide admonitions for both the prospective poet and the critic. In the first, Horace persuasively argues for the necessity of unity by describing an absurd composition depicting a grotesque figure of incongruous parts and comparing it to a book reflecting equally bizarre imaginings and dreams of a sick man. The author concedes that both painters and poets are dealt the license of imagination, *pictoribus atque poetis/ quidlibet audendi*

*semper fuit aequa potestas*, provided there are also limitations, *non ut/ serpentes avibus gementur, tigribus agni.*<sup>3</sup> The second passage from the *Epistularum* containing the famous simile, *ut pictura poesis*, advises critics to be less stringent in their assessment of poetry and to afford a greater flexibility by allowing the same criteria for judgment as those applied to the visual arts. Both media exhibit a detailed style to be viewed at close range *si proprius stes*, but also they are equally effective when critiqued from a distance *si longius abstes.*<sup>4</sup>

Other references in antiquity which suggested analogies between poetry and painting include the comments of Plutarch and Lucian. Although a general acknowledgment prevailed that the "sister arts" differed in means and manner of expression, nevertheless they were considered almost identical in fundamental nature, content, and purpose.<sup>5</sup> Plutarch quotes the famous aphorism of Simonides that painting is mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture.<sup>6</sup> Lucian had acclaimed Homer as "the best of painters,"<sup>7</sup> before Petrarch twelve hundred years later designated the Greek poet as "Primo

pittor de le memorie antiche."<sup>8</sup>

Between the middle of the sixteenth century and the middle of the eighteenth century Horace's *ut pictura poesis* maintained a strong hold on Renaissance humanists who appropriated this comparison of the arts to support their claim that painting shared the same honors long accorded to poetry. In their forcible efforts to achieve this goal they often employed Procrustean tactics which distorted the original intent of their ancient sources.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, this humanistic doctrine, the *Ars Pictoria*, flourished for approximately two hundred years throughout the Renaissance and Baroque periods and continued to associate the verbal imagery of the poet with its visual counterpart.

It is Vergil's pictorial imagery that is the focus of research for the presentation of art inspired by the *Aeneid*. This survey is accompanied by commentaries on the interpretive process employed by the various genres of the arts and includes examples dating from early antiquity and continuing up to the present day.

## Illustrations: the Aeneid cycles

Beginning with the Middle Ages and continuing through the Renaissance specific episodes were rendered pictorially to embrace different causes. The illustrators of the epic portrayed various scenes as a didactic aid to the story line, and therefore the content of their work was more encompassing. In many instances the authors of these Aeneid cycles were unknown, and, for lack of a better nomenclature, they were designated "Masters of the Aeneid." Much scholarly effort and time have been expended on the discovery of evidence for the proper attribution of these works, but quite often, the only criteria available to accomplish this feat are observations and knowledge concerning the authors that will inspire leading questions and hypotheses concerning the same.

One relevant example of this category is the manuscript which contains the Aeneas story of Heinrich von Veldeke, appearing in the 80's of the twelfth century, in the service of the Palatinate Count Hermane von Saxony.<sup>10</sup> It is a variation of the French Roman

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*d'Eneas* which is based on Vergil's Aeneas. There are thirteen illustrations in this cycle, all but the first one, depicting two phases of an episode: (1) The Greek King Menelaus attacks Troy; (2) Destruction of Troy by the Greeks; Flight of Aeneas; (3) Queen Dido of Carthage receives messengers of Aeneas and invites him; (4) Dido receives the Trojans and takes gifts from them; (5) Dido and Aeneas celebrate marriage; (6) Dido calls Aeneas to account because of his plan to leave; (7) After the departure of the Trojans Dido commits suicide; (8) Aeneas asks the Sibyl for guidance into the Underworld and finds the bough; (9) King Turnus brings suit against Aeneas as assailant before King Latinus; (10) Vulcan catches Venus with Mars, and Venus asks Vulcan for a weapon for Aeneas; (11) Aeneas receives the weapon made by Vulcan; (12) For the fallen Pallas a bier is made, Aeneas mourns for Pallas (Fig 1); (13) The Amazons' queen Camilla penetrates to Montalbane (Fig 2).

The concept of the Master's illustrations depicting the entire poem rests basically and obviously on a thorough knowledge of the whole text. One notices this by the author's resorting to the chronology of the series

of pictures as follows: Pictures of the battle of Troy are placed next to the short introductory remarks concerning the prehistory of the flight of Aeneas, not (next to) his later detailed report of Dido.

Often particular scenes were stressed more than others contingent on the commentaries of the poem which were available to the illustrators for interpretation or on their individual moral values. Among the multiple *Aeneid* cycles which appeared as illustrations from the actual text, the most consistent themes to be treated were from Bk i: the storm and shipwreck sequence (*Quos ego*), the Trojans' reception by Dido in Carthage, and the banquet scene at Dido's palace. The hunt and cave scenes later culminating with Dido's suicide from Bk iv are sometimes depicted as a continuation of the Dido affair, thus resulting in an omission of Aeneas' narrative describing the fall of Troy and the subsequent wanderings of the Trojan hero. Such is the case with the seven *Aeneid* cassone panels now attributed to Apollonio di Giovanni (1415/17-1465). Jennifer Morrison has ascribed him the foremost painter of cassoni (bridal chests) in fifteenth century Florence, and has ranked him as the

artist most singularly associated with Vergil's epic poetry of the early Renaissance.<sup>11</sup> Also among his oeuvres are his illustrations of the Vergil codex in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, consisting of eighty-eight miniatures, all but two detailing scenes from the epic, and sixteen additional cassone panels depicting such stories as the meeting of Solomon and Sheba, the fall of Darius, and the generosity of Scipio. Apollonio, hitherto known as the "Vergil Master," the "Dido Master," and the "Master of the Jarves Cassoni," before the definitive attribution of his works by Ernst Gombrich,<sup>12</sup> owned a fairly lucrative shop in partnership with Marco del Buono where their cassoni were mass produced. These bridal chests, measuring approximately one and one half feet high and five feet long, were commonly commissioned in pairs by the groom's family. In a formal procession after the wedding ceremony, filled with the bride's trousseau and dowry, they were transported for public view from the house of the bride to the house of the groom and ultimately were placed in the married couple's bedroom either against a wall or at the foot of their bed. This ritual publicly validated their marriage. The

common story line by which the chests were decorated revolved around amorous themes in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento. Such thematic content took its source primarily from the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. Toward the beginning of the second quarter of the fifteenth century the front panels of the cassoni became more complex and classically oriented with themes from the *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey*. Thus during the Renaissance the classical text provided moral lessons for the newly-married couple which would remind them of the *pietas* of Aeneas and encourage them to emulate his virtuous lifestyle. Ellen Callmann suggests that a rigid formula was adhered to in the choice of pictures which the artists executed on these panels.<sup>13</sup> A sense of pride in one's country and its ancestors is realized in the image of Aeneas; but pride must be tempered by humility which is manifested in the bride's submission to her husband.

In her article Morrison calls attention to the compositional and interpretive inconsistency in Apollonio's *Aeneid* cassoni and offers a cogent explanation for these variations.<sup>14</sup> She prefaces her thesis with a comparison of themes and their



juxtaposition in the seven panels: two in the Jarves collection at Yale, two in the Hannover collection, one in the Musée de Cluny in Paris (now moved to Ecoen Musée de la Renaissance), one in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and one lost. In the Jarves panels the author has depicted the shipwreck of Aeneas and his crew on the shores of Carthage, but only in the far right third of the second panel does he treat themes from future books. The Hannover panels, avoiding any replication of the Yale pair, conflate scenes from the latter, and in the second panel detail the banquet with Dido juxtaposed with the hunt from Bk iv. The Boston and Ecoen panels introduce themes which Vergil himself never described. Morrison contends that these diverse treatments of themes are based on ancient and contemporary commentaries of the *Aeneid* which were widely shaping the views of humanists of the late Trecento and throughout the Quattrocento. Apollonio possibly was responding to these literary interpretations of the *Aeneid* which in turn accounted for his own interpretations realized in his will to choose or to ignore the depiction of specific themes. Among those ancient commentators were Fulgentius (ca 467-532) and

Bernardus Silvestris (flourished 1145-1153), but equally influential on his work were Maffeo Vegio, who wrote a thirteenth book of the *Aeneid* in 1428, Cristoforo Landino whose commentaries on Bks i-iv of the *Aeneid* entitled *Disputationes Camaldulenses* was published in 1472, and notably, Giovanni Boccaccio whose *De claris mulieribus* of ca 1357 was well received in the fifteenth century by Renaissance humanists.

Morrison refers to Craig Kallendorf<sup>15</sup> who acknowledges that there are two "Boccaccios" when dealing with the figure of Dido. In his earlier works occurring between 1335 and 1344, *Filocolo*, *Ameto*, *Amorosa visione*, and *Elegia di Madonna Fiammetta*, his interpretation of the Carthaginian queen more or less agrees with Vergil's story. In Bk i, as an example of virtue and nobility, she is building a city and administering laws and justice until Aeneas arrives, and in Bk iv she compromises her chastity by yielding to her love for the Trojan leader, and subsequently commits suicide after his abandonment of her.

Kallendorf attributes a second interpretation of Boccaccio to his friendship with Petrarch<sup>16</sup> by whom the

commentator is swayed to an "historical" account of the story which puts Dido three hundred years after Aeneas, and thus negates any relationship with him at all. By the late 1340's or early 1350's Boccaccio<sup>17</sup> compromises the "historical" version of the story in his *De claris mulieribus* by relating the events leading up to Dido's arrival at Carthage and the purchase of the land after her husband had been killed by her older brother, and she had been forced to flee with the immense treasure of her deceased spouse which she had been able to recover. She vows a life of chastity, but the elders of Carthage, fearing invasions from neighboring suitors, arrange a marriage between Dido and the king of Musicani, at which time the queen takes her life to preserve her marriage vows. Consequently, in the later interpretation, Aeneas arrives just in time to meet the queen and shortly thereafter to witness her suicide. This version puts Dido in a more favorable light by denying any sexual union between her and any other suitor, including Aeneas. From this second account of Boccaccio, Morrison presents her thesis that Apollonio drew the thematic content of the Jarves panels from that source, restricting the

material to Bk i of the *Aeneid*: the first panel (Fig 3) detailing the storm arranged by Juno, the rescue of Aeneas' ship by Neptune, and the arrival on the shore of Carthage; the second panel (Fig 4), detailing the reception of the Trojans at a point in the story before Aeneas is removed from the cloud to make him visible to the queen. Morrison further substantiates her thesis of the "historical" account of Boccaccio, by calling attention to the compositional structure of the second panel. Here, Aeneas and Achates are separated from the queen by a pillar, and in the upper right hand corner of the panel is depicted the building of a city which is ineluctably interpreted to represent the future Rome. By choosing to render Dido as the queen of Carthage and alluding to Aeneas as the founder of Rome, Apollonio places the two figures as founders of civilizations in equally authoritative roles, and negates the existence of any sexual union.<sup>18</sup> Thus the theme of the two Jarves panels is restricted to Bk i and excludes any mention of the illicit affair from Bk iv.

Whereas the Yale collection favorably portrays Dido as the noble and virtuous queen of Carthage who upholds

the vows of marriage, the Hannover panels depict an opposite image. Morrison argues that the Dido of these panels is the passionate queen who succumbs to her sexual desires, and that this interpretation derives from the commentaries of Fulgentius and Bernardus Silvestris. The Renaissance humanists began to embrace the historical perspective and the reading of the *Aeneid* as it was interpreted in antiquity.<sup>19</sup> These two commentators, along with Servius and Donatus, were the closest to contemporaries of Vergil so that they increasingly gained esteem with their didactic accounts. Fulgentius<sup>20</sup> subscribed to an allegorical interpretation: Dido representing passion, Aeneas, the adolescent succumbing to her influence, Mercury, as intellect, causing Aeneas to abandon his play and pursue his ultimate goal and thus arriving at moral maturity. Everything detailed in the first panel (Fig 5) foreshadows a physical union between Dido and Aeneas: Venus instructing Cupid to inflict his arrow of love on Aeneas; Aeneas appearing three times in close proximity to the queen; the down-playing of the representation of construction of a city in the background. The second Hannover panel (Fig 6) details

the banquet scene juxtaposed to the hunt, and in the upper right corner is the refuge from the storm to the cave in which the royal couple consummate their illicit love. According to Morrison the thematic content of this panel was influenced by Bernardus<sup>21</sup> who attributes the outcome to the medieval theory of the humors: through gluttonous eating and drinking a foam converted to sperm is emitted through the penis to relieve the body of its discomfort. Thus the artisan of the Hannover panels, by omitting the two books of Aeneas' account of the Trojan War and his subsequent wanderings, has employed Bks i and iv as a narrative framing device and has represented Dido as an unfavorable exemplum whose conduct stemming from a passion of food and drink should not be emulated by those couples for whom the cassoni were commissioned.<sup>22</sup>

The Dido theme of the Jarves and Hannover panels is totally missing in the Boston and Ecoeu versions. Instead it has yielded to themes either alluded to by Vergil such as the last books of the *Aeneid* or to themes that do not appear at all in the epic. It is Morrison's deduction that the source of inspiration derives from Maffeo Vegio's *Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid* of 1428.<sup>23</sup>

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The principal story line of its author begins with the death of Turnus and continues with the reconciliation between King Latinus and Aeneas and the subsequent marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia. This third motif, not treated in Vergil's account, occupies the right third of the Ecoen panel (Fig 7), but the remaining themes detailed by the artist recount in chronological order, those which the poet did treat: Latinus and his allies, Aeneas' sacrifice, his victory over Camilla,<sup>24</sup> and the defeat of Turnus. Apollonio's theme of marriage is now manifested in the union between Aeneas and Lavinia and conveniently meets the thematic demand and serves the purpose for his cassoni.

Vegio's text is carefully adhered to concerning the chronology of events detailed on the panel. After the death of Turnus, witnessed by Lavinia, King Latinus invites Aeneas on the next day to come and claim his prize, and the wedding ensues. These two themes are purposely juxtaposed in compliance with the sequence of events in the text. Regarding the aspect of detail, since Vegio's addendum is lacking in descriptions of marriage ceremonies and the festivities that follow, the

artist, according to Morrison, resorts to contemporary Florentine models for his depiction of certain scenes.<sup>25</sup>

The Boston panel provides very few clues for a description of the narrative, since it comprises two themes found neither in Vergil's epic nor Vegio's text. Callmann has cautiously, and, according to Morrison,<sup>26</sup> accurately dubbed the panel with "Scenes from the *Aeneid*." It is their consensus that the first scene, detailing a tournament to honor Aeneas' victory, is derived from Vegio's account of the nine days of feasting after the marriage ceremony, and possibly from the nine days of funeral games to honor Anchises in Bk v.<sup>27</sup> Thus a martial tournament to celebrate a marriage ceremony, with the women as trophies witnessing the event from windows above, was not an uncommon motif to reflect contemporary customs concerning marriage ceremonies. The artist of Apollonio's shop apparently drew his inspiration from this tradition and conflated the "martial" with the "marital."<sup>28</sup> A prominent turreted wall separates the martial tournament from the departure of Aeneas and Lavinia from the city with pomp and ceremony, again a theme not described in Vegio's text. It is therefore

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conjectured that the entire Boston panel is the product of the imagination of the painters of the cassone panels who, like Vegio, wanted to go beyond a definitive source and embellish the text with their own creative interpretations. With the above evidence it is apparent that these seven extant *Aeneid* panels have emerged from the interpretations of Vergilian commentaries, both ancient and contemporary, and from the imagination of the painters themselves.

A second entry for which there is specific attribution and which restricts the scenes solely to Bk i of the *Aeneid*, is a group of tapestries known as the *Navigazione d'Enea*, designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria, dated from the early to mid-thirties of the sixteenth century. From the Doria inventories of 1561 and 1741, we learn respectively that there are six in number and that their size ranges from fourteen feet in height and twelve and one half to nearly fifteen feet in width. Bernice Davidson attributes the commissioning of these works to the religious and political themes derived from Vergil's epic which "were found to translate appropriately to contemporary affairs, to the alliance

between Charles V and Doria, and to their aspirations for the Holy Roman Empire."<sup>29</sup> The entire Aeneas legend has been allegorized in both pagan and Christian eras to represent loyalty and devotion to one's country, family, and gods in one's quest to overcome evil adversaries and ultimately to gain fame and immortality. From Bk i of the *Aeneid* and the Fourth *Eclogue*, in particular, future generations have conveniently found a way to use for their own cause the fate of the Trojan hero and the destined role of an unnamed successor who would inherit the "rule of the world without end."

On the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Doria there are two main salons joined by a smaller reception room, each containing a painted fresco in its vaulted ceiling, and each decorated with wall tapestries which dealt with related themes. It is commonly believed that the Neptune salon<sup>30</sup> for which the *Navigazione d'Enea* tapestries were designed, was second in importance to the Jupiter salon in which hung the collection known as the *Furti di Giove*, tapestries also designed by Perino, speculated to have been executed a year later.

The alleged purpose in the two commissions was to

represent Charles V as Jupiter, overthrowing the giants in their rebellion, or as Caesar in his empirical role, and to link Andrea Doria, his admiral, with Neptune who, just as the god calmed the seas to allow Aeneas safe journey to Latium and the consequent founding of Rome, achieved his naval victory over Genoa and thus symbolized the conquest of these two great leaders in alliance over the rebellious nations and heretics of the Holy Roman Empire. Thus the fulfillment of Vergil's prophecy had been realized by the parallels found in the epic and the pastoral poem. In the current political climate the Rome of Vergil becomes the Church of Rome and ultimately the Holy Roman Empire.

The theme of the Neptune salon is based on this vision of imperial triumph. Conjecture for the conception of Perino's format is derived from the striking similarity to Marcantonio's *Quos ego* (Fig 8), an engraving believed to be designed by Raphael with the same title. It will be noted later that this particular work of Raphael was a great source of inspiration for Vrancx's drawing of the same topic. Marcantonio's print positions the god of the sea in the center, trident in

right hand, driving back the winds as he holds his horses in tight rein with his left hand. The nine smaller scenes that surround Neptune all represent a sequence of events in a chronological pattern which occur at the beginning of Bk i, from the shipwreck of Aeneas and his crew, leading up to the banquet scene at its conclusion.<sup>31</sup> The parallels in Marcantonio's engraving and the Neptune salon become obvious with the *Quos ego* theme occupying the theme of the vault fresco superseding the tapestries on the walls which depict the same events in a similar chronological order to the engraving. The ravages of time soon destroyed completely this vault painting, and it was replaced by an "illusionistic painting of an architectural perspective."<sup>32</sup> However, we do have two sources on which to rely in addition to verbal descriptions: a preliminary drawing of Perino (Fig 9), and an engraving of the drawing by Bonasone (Fig 10), the latter probably bearing a closer resemblance to Perino's vault fresco.

Since the tapestries of the *Navigazione d'Enea* have been lost,<sup>33</sup> as well as the cartoons used for their production, our sources are restricted to three or four

drawings by Perino and two or three copies of lost drawings which depict themes from Bk i. Two autograph drawings remain of the *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas*: one in Hamburg (Fig 11), and the other at Chatsworth (Fig 12). From these versions of the scene, although they are dissimilar in many ways,<sup>34</sup> is evidence of Perino's compositional style. These two sketches provide clues with which we can link them with several tapestries found in various European collections of the middle sixteenth century. Two such tapestries, one in Vienna (Fig 13), the other in Madrid (Fig 14), appear to be variations on the *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas* used in the Doria salon.<sup>35</sup> The former version, because companion pieces have not been found, is believed to be an isolated depiction of the banquet scene. The Madrid tapestry, however, seems to be one component of seven, all with matching borders, woven of silk and wool and measuring over twelve feet in height and ranging from approximately twelve and three quarters to sixteen feet wide.<sup>36</sup> Six of these tapestries in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, treat scenes from Bk i of the *Aeneid*, but one from Bk iv depicts Mercury sent by Jupiter to rebuke Aeneas for remaining in Carthage.

Resembling the first scene of Marcantonio's engraving of *Quos ego*, the first tapestry of the Madrid collection depicts Aeneas and the Trojans approaching Italy while overhead Juno persuades Aeolus to release his winds and cause a storm to impede the hero's mission.

The second tapestry depicts Aeneas standing on the prow of his ship in supplication after the storm has subsided. Venus and Jupiter, detailed above, appear in the roundel at the top of Marcantonio's engraving as the deities discuss Aeneas' role in the future glory of Rome.<sup>37</sup>

A theme not present in Marcantonio's print is the focus of the third tapestry of the Madrid collection. Here Aeneas, shipwrecked on the shore of Libya hunts for stags to provide sustenance for his weary comrades who are depicted at a table in the background.

The fourth tapestry treats a scene occurring in Vergil's text shortly before the one detailed at the lower left corner of Marcantonio's engraving. The tapestry represents Aeneas and Achates standing at the top of a hill overlooking the city of Carthage and the temple of Juno. The engraving presents the two Trojans

standing in front of the temple after they have made their descent.

The fifth tapestry bears the theme taken from the upper right picture in the margin of the engraving. Ilioneus with a companion is standing before a throned Dido apprising the queen of the plight of the Trojans while Aeneas, on the side, remains veiled in a cloud.<sup>38</sup>

The sixth tapestry detailing the famous *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas* (discussed earlier) completes the cycle of scenes which Perino is believed to have taken from the circle of events engraved around the *Quos ego* of Marcantonio. Thus the Neptune salon mirrors the format of the engraving by the placement of the individual tapestries hung in a circle to provide in chronological order a depiction of the events as they unfolded in Bk i of Vergil's poem.

If the Madrid tapestries can be a replication of those six pieces found in the Doria inventory of 1561, one mystery remains concerning a seventh tapestry appearing in the Spanish collection (Fig 15) which illustrates from Bk iv the mission of Mercury sent by Jupiter to remind Aeneas of his destined role in history.

Because, as Davidson has stated, the figures and composition of the tapestry are consistent with Perino's style, even more so than with the first two pieces, I support her attribution with the fact that Mercury appears in the roundel of Marcantonio's engraving, continuing the source of Perino's derivation.<sup>39</sup> One could hypothesize either that one of the tapestries in Madrid was designed by another artist, or perhaps, that there could have been more than six components to the Genoese set.<sup>40</sup>

The *Navigazione d'Enea* tapestries remained in the Doria inventories from 1561 through 1790. They were subsequently taken to Rome before 1825 and placed in the Villa Doria Pamphilj and inventoried on June 6 of that year as "Storia di Enea. Molto belli se poco conservati."<sup>41</sup> After that year the tapestries vanished from the records.

The problematic task of assigning the proper attribution to the *Aeneid* cycles continues into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is within this time frame that the third and final model exemplifying illustrations of the *Aeneid* falls. With the initial



contribution of Friedrich Winkler's article "Der unbekannte Sebastian Vrancx" in 1964,<sup>42</sup> the way was paved for other researchers to find conclusive evidence for the attribution of at least sixty-five illustrations for the *Aeneid* to Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573-1647). Louise Ruby<sup>43</sup> states that the Dutch artist, who was traditionally regarded merely an innovative painter of battle scenes and village plunderings, is the author of a series which apparently represents the largest and most original set of illustrations for Vergil's epic since Sebastian Brant's of 1502.<sup>44</sup> She bases this conclusion on an overwhelming evidence concerning stylistic characteristics these works share with other paintings and drawings by Vrancx, and on the study of available biographical data. To further her thesis for the authorship she adds that three of his drawings with their backgrounds mirror the subjects of prints by Wenzel Hollar after Vrancx.<sup>45</sup> Ranking these stylistic similarities in ascension Ruby begins with the perspective of the works which is established by placing a tree in full foliage on the left-hand side of the drawing and farther into the frame by placing on the

right-hand side another tree, usually defoliated. This device affords a backdrop for the scene of action in front of it and allows for subjects to be placed into farther recesses of the picture. Examples of this technique are illustrated in *The sow at the site Rome is to be founded* (Fig 16) and *Plundering of a village* (Fig 17).

Another stylistic similarity in Vrancx's drawings is the duplication of figures. In *Euryalus and Nisus* (Fig 18) and in *Battle scene* (Fig 19) there is the replication of two figures sprawled on top of each other. The similarity continues in each picture with the presence of a dead horse similarly spread out on the ground. Other figures commonly appearing in the drawing are peacocks and small dogs with floppy ears and tightly curled tail, none of which are mentioned in Vergil's text.

A third characteristic of similarity in the illustrations is the nondescript manner with which Vrancx rendered facial features, and which Winkler assesses as a certain proof of authorship.<sup>46</sup> Even the most important characters were drawn with oval faces within which were placed three or four open circles to suggest two eyes, a

nose, and a mouth. As a result these figures possessed no individuality, and only through their action in the scene can one identify the characters. Ruby exemplifies this dilemma with *The feast of Dido* (Fig 20) which provides the viewer with no clues of the drawing's subjects except for the fact that a curtain above the heads of Aeneas and Dido reveals their identity and that the hostess is holding a child, who would be Ascanius or Cupid in his disguise.<sup>47</sup>

In addressing the artist's similarity of style Ruby concludes with the strongest evidence for the attribution, the pen work of the series. Short angular strokes efficiently outlined the major subjects of the drawings. A light brown wash helped establish the foregrounds and the backgrounds, a technique which was further employed when emphasis was required. Two valid examples of this kind of draftsmanship are seen in *The sow at the site Rome is to be founded* (Fig 16) and the *Plundering of a village* (Fig 17). In both drawings the artist details the leaves of the trees with those fitful sharp strokes. The mountains in the former example and the trees in the latter are executed with a light wash,

whereas the foreground in both drawings are emphasized with a darkened wash providing a sense of three dimensions.

In her article concerning the attribution of Vrancx's *Aeneid* series, Ruby suggests three possible reasons for the artist's interest in the epic. The first is a trip to Rome which could have introduced him to other of the many *Aeneid* cycles and spurred his interest in the poem as a subject worthy of illustration. Although his series does not reflect a stylistic change resulting from this exposure, he was apparently influenced by the work of Paul Brill as evidenced in his drawing *Mountainous landscape* in 1597 and *Diana taking a bath* in 1600. Two landscape paintings of 1600 also mirror compositions by Brill to the extent that they could have been painted by Brill himself.

A second hypothesis for Vrancx's fascination with Vergil's epic is his interest in the military which is revealed in his many depictions of battle scenes and village plunderings as well as his membership in Antwerp's citizens' guards' and fencers' guild.<sup>48</sup>

It was Vrancx's knowledge and love of literature

that Ruby deems the most likely reason for the artist's desire to illustrate the *Aeneid*. A member of one of Antwerp's Chambers of Rhetoric, *De Violieren*, he would probably have seen the illustrations and translations of Van Mander's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* and possibly Crispin van de Passe's *Aeneid* edition, the *Speculorum Aeneidis Virgilianae* of 1612. This could have been the catalyst that spurred his drive to produce his own edition.

In forming comparisons of other *Aeneid* cycles of the sixteenth century with the drawings of Vrancx, one original element is the appearance of an extant Dutch translation of the text at the bottom of six of the drawings. Ruby speculates that there is probability that Vrancx himself is the translator, and that the lack of these appended verses on fifty-nine of the sheets could be the result of their removal by a pair of scissors. In spite of their adaptability for being made into prints Vrancx's drawings from the *Aeneid* were never realized for that purpose or as illustrations for a book, although it is believed that this was the artist's intent. Valid proof is the execution of figures depicted in battle scenes in which the warriors carry their swords in their

left hand and their shields and scabbards on their right sides, the reverse of normal procedure in warfare. Any attempt to imagine the artist's intention for their being used for tapestries would be unlikely not only by their sheer number but because of the appearance of the text beneath them.

Another aspect of originality in Vrancx's series of 1615 is that it represents the most extensive and innovative pictorial cycle of the epic since Sebastian Brant's of 1502. Whereas approximately sixty-five drawings comprise the Vrancx series, that of Brant contains one hundred and thirty-seven woodcuts. By comparison to another cycle closest to date and place of publication is the *Speculorum Aeneidis Virgilianae* of Van de Passe of 1612, previously mentioned, which depicted approximately only one scene for each book.

One major difference, among others, between Brant's woodcuts and Vrancx's drawings is the former's multiscenic format which allows for the economical solution of a cycle when only one print is allowed for each chapter. In Vrancx's series each freely executed drawing details a singular scene with the exception of In

*the underworld* (Fig 21) where various figures such as Tityos, Tantalus, and Ixion receive their punishment in the same frame. Except for the extensive treatment of themes a search for similarities in the two artists reaps very little in their composition. At the end of her article Ruby states that she has seen thirty-five of the drawings which she itemizes by Books of the *Aeneid*, either in the original or in photographs.<sup>49</sup> Nine of these scenes are not found in any of Brant's woodcuts, a substantial percentage given the number in Brant's cycle.

Nevertheless, Brant's *Aeneid* cycle influenced almost every illustration or painting of Vergil's works in the first half of the sixteenth century and beyond,<sup>50</sup> and in particular, the painted cycle of Niccolò dell' Abbate, painted for the *gabinetto* of the castle of Scandiano in 1540. Although he altered Brant's German-Gothic style, his twelve panels bore a close resemblance to Brant's illustrations in format and in subject matter.<sup>51</sup>

Hervé Oursel features in his article an enameled plaque with an inscription, *La chasse de Didon et Énée*, belonging to a series of approximately eighty plaques reproducing a part of Brant's *Aeneid* cycle.<sup>52</sup> According

to Oursel this *Maître de l'Énéide* remains anonymous, and his work continues to be unique in more than one way in the annals of enameling. Apparently, the artist was commissioned by an amateur who, infatuated with Brant's illustrations, wanted all or part of these woodcuts reproduced in enamel either for the purpose of enhancing his social status or of decorating his "studiolo." The collection of enamels represents an unprecedented example in its abundance of isolated engravings reproduced in enamel. Likewise, it is the only case in which there exists only a single copy of each plaque. Moreover, this series truly marks the breaking in of pagan iconography in Limoges enamels which hitherto were dedicated to essentially religious works.

Theodore Rabb mentions two exceptions of the sixteenth century in which are found absolutely no influence from Brant's cycle:<sup>53</sup> Scotus' edition published in Venice in 1555 and Jean de Tournes' edition published in Lyons in 1560. These versions differ dramatically from Brant's in conception, composition, and figural types.

If Vrancx derived little from Brant's popular and



successful edition which influenced so many illustrators of the sixteenth century, where did he find the resources for his drawings? Apparently he drew many of his illustrations from a scrupulous reading of the text, as evidenced by the Dutch paraphrasing beneath his creations. One particular drawing substantiates this thesis in *Euryalus' mother consoled* from Bk ix, 473 ff (Fig 22). The composition mirrors the text explicitly.

Two visual sources have been discovered which may have influenced the artists with regard to composition and subject matter. One could argue that Vrancx's *Vulcan forging Aeneas' arms* (Fig 23) contains three features found in *Venus in Vulcan's forge* by Jan Brueghel the Elder:<sup>54</sup> (1) the arrangement of figures posed around the anvil in both compositions, (2) the similar use of Roman grottoes for the backgrounds, and (3) the same placement of arms strewn about the floor. Also from this composition of Brueghel, Vrancx borrowed his chandelier which he placed in several of his *oeuvres*, as seen in *The feast of Dido* (Fig 20).

Another visual source which could have influenced Vrancx on one of his trips to Italy was a horse painted

in Raphael's *Conversion of St Paul* which Vrancx duplicated in a work by the same name. The most direct influence, however, is believed to be Raphael's *Quos ego* and *Galetea* which also inspired other illustrators of note.

Evidence that other illustrators of the seventeenth century were influenced by Vrancx's drawings of the *Aeneid* is sparse. Leonaert Bramer's series on the subject<sup>55</sup> bears a resemblance only to the extent that he depicts each scene on a separate panel. Beyond that similarity he chooses to treat different aspects of the story.

Franz Cleyn's illustrations for John Ogilby's English translation of 1654 has more in common with those of Vrancx in two respects: the detailing of many of the same scenes, and the ratio of the number of scenes illustrated which range from four to eight per book. Given the fact that precise parallels are lacking between the two artists, the only major similarity in their individual cycles lies in overall conception and format. Nevertheless, regarding the common ground for detailing the same scenes, their illustrations of *Quos ego*,

mentioned earlier, bears the closest resemblance. Vrancx could have taken his inspiration from Raphael's *Quos ego* and *Galatea*, which renders Triton blowing his horn. Perhaps considered Raphael's strongest influence on Vrancx, this motif was repeated by various illustrators of the *Aeneid* cycles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A comparative study of the various interpretations of the theme would be appropriate to account for the artists' different versions. The engraving of the *Galatea* by Marcantonio Raimondi which was entitled *Quos ego* (Fig 8) is probably the model used by Vrancx and Cleyn, although both were likely to be familiar with Raphael's original. Cleyn's version, with its vertical composition, details a muscular Neptune threatening the heavens with his trident raised in his right hand, his left hand grasping the reins of his horses. By contrast, that of Vrancx (Fig 24) renders the god of the sea with uplifted left hand pleading to the heavens and his weapon lying low to his right side. This detail places Cleyn's version closer to the engraving of Marcantonio than to Vrancx's drawing.

To continue the comparison, two other

representations of the theme are found in Rubens' *The voyage of the prince from Barcelona to Genoa* and in the *Quos ego* of Perino del Vaga whose tapestries of the *Aeneid* cycle were discussed earlier. The former is an oil sketch in the Fogg Art Museum which is speculated to have been influenced by Vrancx's drawing for obvious similarities in the composition, but by reasons speculated by Reznicek<sup>56</sup> that the two artists moved in the same circles. Perino's fresco has been destroyed by the ravages of time (mentioned earlier), but from a drawing of the scene (Fig 9) and from an engraving of the same by Giulio Bonasone (Fig 10) a final comparison is drawn by Ruby which groups the artists in their similar depiction of the horses. The heads of Rubens' and Vrancx's horses bear remarkably similar traits, unlike those of either Cleyn's, Raphael's, or Perino's. Vrancx's and Rubens' horses are half submerged in the water; those of Raphael's are totally clear of the waves; and Cleyn's have emerged to stand completely on dry ground.

In the conclusion of her research Ruby acknowledges that three determinations have been gleaned in assigning attribution to the *Aeneid* cycle of Sebastiaen Vrancx:

(1) that his trip to Italy undoubtedly influenced his art more than previously imagined, (2) that his *Aeneid* oeuvre exemplifies one of his few treatments of a subject from classical literature in the visual arts, and (3) that his original and pictorial presentation of the *Aeneid* proves him an innovator and active humanist of the Renaissance.<sup>57</sup>

A recapitulation of the examples representing illustrations of the *Aeneid* reveals one major similarity which is evidenced in their common narrative format. The artists in each genre have depicted a sequence of events played out chronologically in separate frames to comport with the poet's thematic structure. The motives guiding each illustrator vary according to the current demand which initiated his own individual efforts. In Apollonio's marriage cassoni, scenes of the *Aeneid* were chosen to exhort the emulation of virtue and steadfastness exemplified by Dido and Aeneas, or later by Lavinia and the Trojan hero. Premarital chastity of the bride and her submission to her husband complemented the *pietas* of her new spouse and propagated the contradictory ideals of pride and humility. In Perino's Dorian tapestries in the Neptune salon, politics was the driving

force to represent the admiral in his alliance with Charles V as the god of the sea who calmed the waves created by rebels and brought peace to Genoa and the surrounding waters. Finally, the didactic drawings of Vrancx for the *Aeneid* apparently did not purport to preach or to propagandize, but simply to illustrate within separate frames the various scenes chosen from the entire epic which were meant to accompany the text.

The *Aeneid* cycles discussed in this chapter, because of their consecutive format linking a prescribed sequence of events in a unified thematic pattern, reflect in concept the genre of the visual arts in Chapter 1 entitled "Cinematic progression."

### The Trojan war: symbolic imagery

Although the genesis of the Wooden Horse and the Laocoon myths is not strictly Vergilian, their treatment in the *Aeneid* has left an indelible impression in the minds of humanists for centuries. Respectively they function as *exemplum doli* and *exemplum doloris* in both the visual and the literary arts and have maintained a steadfast hold in the portrayal of human emotion. These negative motifs in conjunction with the equally tragic theme depicting the Flight from Troy, *exemplum pietatis*, are addressed to exhibit examples of art drawing from specific episodes which represent pathos and elicit cathartic responses from the audience. The artists discussed in this group reveal the ways in which their art has achieved its mission to converse symbolically through isolated images and to preserve the memory of such images for posterity. Unlike the narrative format of the *Aeneid* cycles in which a sequence of multiple themes presented the story as it unfolded methodically up to its resolution, the painters and sculptors of this genre were faced with capturing one crucial scene frozen

in time and in space. I have selected for analysis several works among a plethora of models exemplifying the above mentioned themes, and I have followed the same chronological sequence as that of Vergil's text.

In Chapter 1 under the rubric of "Cameos and snapshots" the initial physical description of the Wooden Horse and the purpose for its construction were provided in the explication of Vergil's verses (ii.13-20).<sup>58</sup> The structure made of cut pine is as large as a mountain and has been erected with the aid of Minerva to represent an offering on the goddess' behalf for the Greeks' safe return home. Filled within its cavernous belly are chosen specimens of Greek warriors sitting in ambush until their ultimate release at the hands of Sinon.<sup>59</sup>

One of the earliest depictions of this theme appears as a relief on a Cycladic vase, c 670 BC (Fig 25). The windows through which the heroes peer out confirm the hollow belly of the beast and the extent to which the warriors are placed *penitus* throughout. This pictorial antecedent of Vergil further details the wheels cast under the feet of the monster, *rotarum. . . lapsus* (ii.235-36) and illustrates the final stage in which the



invaders of Troy have exited their hiding place and are besieging the city (ii.265-67).

In the Augustan Period (Fig 26) and continuing throughout the Middle Ages the Wooden Horse of the *Aeneid* cycles has on various occasions taken form in less than the hyperbolic proportions of Vergil's favorite adjective, *ingens*.<sup>60</sup> Since the interpretation of the epithet is relative, we see a wide gamut of its depiction ranging from the size of a hobbyhorse to the more appropriate Vergilian comparison of a mountain. The early Italian Renaissance, however, reaches a middle ground in a representation of the equine figure painted by Biagio d'Antonio (1446-1516)<sup>61</sup> on a cassone panel which features the subject as the focal point of his composition (Fig 27). Biagio's horse is of a moderately convincing proportion for its strategic purpose, but its curvature resembles the normal anatomy of a living horse rather than the architectural joints of Vergil's *feri curvam compagibus alvum* (ii.51).

Approximately five hundred years later Lovis Corinth<sup>62</sup>, inspired by the same classical theme, rendered his interpretation of the siege of Troy in a painting

(Fig 28) almost replicating the horse of Biagio in proportion, curvature, angle of view, and in overall composition. By comparison a modern version exemplifying the more jagged wooden seams of Vergil's machine is evidenced in the tourist attraction at the entrance to the excavation in Hisarlik (Fig 29).<sup>63</sup> Here, the theme of the Wooden Horse manifests itself in an actual building through which viewers can enter and become a part of the visual experience.

A unique interpretation of the Wooden Horse (Fig 30) surfaced recently in the late twentieth century which actually was inspired by Homer's version of the tale of Troy. Anthony Caro<sup>64</sup> in his exhibition entitled "The Trojan war" departed from the conventional image of the figure and elected to isolate one aspect of the literary version. Attention is diverted from the horse itself to the wheeled platform which actually transports the statue through the gates of Troy. The result is a visual synecdoche of the theme which reveals the sophisticated imagination and innovative prowess of its creator.

Finally, the entry which epitomizes the mood of

Vergil's sack of Troy without the element of satire or any contrived stylization is the painting of the Trojan Horse (Fig 31) by the French artist, Henri-Paul Motte (1846-1922). The stately posture of the towering statue proleptically placed against the architectural walls of Troy successfully captures the historical significance of that fateful day. Motte's depiction of a crucial juncture in the narrative elicits a vicarious fear and anticipation in the observer and alerts him to the fate of the Trojans *quibus ultimus esset ille dies* (for whom that day was their last, ii.248-49). This particular work more than adequately illustrates the *exemplum doli*, an image which remains permanently lodged in the memory of the viewer.

Vergil's pictorial narrative of the demise of Laocoon and his two sons (ii.199-227) has undoubtedly helped to immortalize the legendary priest for over fifteen hundred years before the renowned "Laocoon group" (Fig 32) was unearthed in 1506.<sup>65</sup> In my first chapter I placed the exegesis of Vergil's passage under the heading "Cinematic progression" because the action of the poet's version took place in a cyclic pattern and unfolded in a

series of frames depicting the individual stages of the story.<sup>66</sup> Such seemingly contradictory classification can pertain to the difference of interpretation shared by two major figures of the eighteenth century, Johann Winckelmann (1717-1768), and Gotthold Lessing (1729-1781). In 1764 Winckelmann, in his publication entitled *History of ancient art (Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums)*, expressed his preference for the Vatican Laocoon group over Vergil's poetic account, stating that the Greek statue illustrated artistic restraint and a portrayal of inner peace, which Vergil's poem lacked in the loud utterances ascribed to the Trojan priest.<sup>67</sup> Refuting this assessment of Horace's *ut pictura poesis*, Lessing in his subsequent edition, *Laocoön, or the boundaries of painting and poetry (Laokoön, oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie, 1766)* demonstrated that the provinces of poetry and those of the plastic arts were not the same. In sculpture and painting the artist is restricted to capturing one moment in time and in space; in poetry the standards are not as binding, and therefore allow the writer to present a succession of things in time and to become narrative in format.

Lessing was therefore successful in his attempt to draw the essential distinction between poetry and the plastic arts, each governed by its own medium. In his only completed volume of a projected three-volume critical work, he enlarged the sphere of creative writing to include all truth and released it from the bounds that revered beauty as the highest law in art.

The following models of the Laocoon theme which I have chosen to exemplify the aesthetics of pain, also illustrate the static quality of sculpture and painting, and thus fall within the criteria of evaluation which Lessing proposed.

The earliest example and the one closest to the writing of the *Aeneid* appears on a fresco from the ruins of Pompeii, *Laocoon after Vergil*, Wandgemälde in the House of Menander, dating before 79 AD (not illustrated).<sup>68</sup> The priest adorned with a fillet around his temples is grasping one of the serpents with his right arm extended. The younger son, already dead, lies on the ground; the elder son is still entwined while the second serpent is attacking the father, its head threateningly approaching the head of Laocoon. The

depiction, by virtue of its composition is definitely inspired by Vergil's poem.

Many representations of the Laocoon theme, however, apparently derived from the marble antique of the Rhodian sculptors. One of the earliest known three-dimensional adaptations of the Laocoon group appeared in a relief by Antonio Lombardo (c 1458-1516) who had come to Ferrara from Venice in 1506, the very year that the antique statue was rediscovered. Shortly after his arrival Alfonso d'Este, having ascended to the position of duke, procured Antonio's services as court sculptor. One of his first commissions from the duke was realized in this relief entitled *The forge of Vulcan* (Fig 33) in which the figure of Laocoon without his sons was placed to the left of Vulcan's forge. According to Wendy Stedman Sheard<sup>69</sup> the purpose for the incorporation of the Laocoon figure in Antonio's relief was to aid in the campaign to embellish Alfonso's "studio" with classical motifs. The sculptor's choice of subject was at first meant to flatter his employer, but it then became a personal symbol for the duke, and finally progressed to a metaphorical self-portrait of Alfonso himself in his

struggle with the papacy, representing his sense of anguished patriotic martyrdom.<sup>70</sup> It is also Sheard's thesis that Titian included in his second bacchanal, *Bacchus and Ariadne* (not illustrated) the Laocoon figure which was not only influenced by the antique sculpture, but by the re-creation of it in Antonio's relief of *The forge of Vulcan*. With Alfonso as his patron, it would have behooved Titian to incorporate the figure in his painting to enhance further the dukes reputation as a connoisseur and collector of antiques. Another political motive could be found in Titian's use of the Rhodian piece. In 1520 the artist employed the body of Laocoon for his *Risen Christ* in the altarpiece which he painted for the church of San Nazaro e Celso in Brescia. For the head, however, he replaced the anguished expression of the Trojan priest with the more ideal one of nobility, serenity, and divinity. This conflation of the Christ/Laocoon figure representing sacrifice probably appealed to the papal legate who commissioned the work by its reference to the popes collection of antiques in the Vatican.<sup>71</sup>

Added to the earlier representations of the marble

statue is the etching of Laocoon by Marco Dente in 1527 (Fig 34) which was taken from a drawing in Düsseldorf. In the drawing the serpent grasped by Laocoon's left hand is detailed "mit einem Phantasiekopf" (with a fantastic head)<sup>72</sup>, and the other serpent's head is missing. Another engraving of Marco Dente (Fig 35) renders the more pictorial version of the narrative in the style of the Vatican Vergil with the priest's uplifted arms gesturing appalled despair. This is the Laocoon that Raphael chose to portray his *Lucretia* with the same flung-arm gesture. The *dolor* which the Trojan priest symbolized in the antique statue and in Vergil's epic is thus translated to the despair and exaltation of *Lucretia* who in a narrative moment is frozen forever beyond freedom of choice.<sup>73</sup> This Dente engraving also contains another detail that not only mirrors the element of "cinematic progression" discussed in Chapter 1, but also reflects Vergil's text. The twin serpents are presented in two stages of their agenda: in the background they are leaning over the sea headed to shore with their crests raised above the waters (ii.205-206); subsequently they are entwined around Laocoon and his two sons (ii.213 ff).



The temple of Minerva proleptically placed to the left with the inscription "Minervae Sacrum" possibly foreshadows the final flight of the two invaders as they take refuge in the goddess' shrine. (ii.225-27). The temple in the farther horizon is possibly that of Poseidon.

In 1741, more than two hundred years after Dente's engravings of Laocoon, PS Bartoli etched his rendition of the theme entitled *Engraving after the Vatican Vergil* (Fig 36). The two versions are similar in content and composition. Bartoli repeats the multi-scenic progression of the serpents: Laocoon's arms are both raised to the heavens as he endures his sufferings standing opposite the two temples, and the altar at which the sacrifice of the bull is to occur is detailed in the landscape. The Bartoli etching, however, does include figures not appearing in the Dente model. The former illustrates a priestly Laocoon beside the altar with axe in hand juxtaposed to the sacrificial bull. The multi-scenic device of the serpents is repeated in the progressive role of Laocoon, from sacrificing priest to sacrificial victim. Also the Bartoli Laocoon dons a

flowing cape as he stands with his two sons of a much younger variety, "puttohaften Söhne"<sup>74</sup> girt to his side. All of the Vergilian trappings in the picture attribute the depiction of the story to its epic source.

The century which unearthed the Vatican Laocoon spurred more sculptors to depict the theme as evidenced in the works of Baccio Bandinelli, and Vincenzo De' Rossi.<sup>75</sup> In the seventeenth century many terracotta sketches and models by Italian baroque sculptors surfaced which, for notable mention, were ascribed to Stefano Maderno, Bernini, and Rusconi. In the early seventeenth century the *exemplum doloris* could be evidenced in modified versions of the Laocoon myths, some adhering to the structural composition of the antique, but some blending both the sculptural and the poetic antecedents. One such example is found in *Allegorie des Schmerzes* with the caption "Dolore" after Cesare Ripa (Fig 37). With this direct allegorical approach, the artist uses Laocoon without his sons as a vehicle to portray the human emotion of pain and futility. Restrained by the coils of the serpents the figure is unable to extricate his arms to make his plea for any outside intervention. The

anguish in his face and the tense arch of his back presage his ultimate doom.<sup>76</sup>

One of the most famous adaptations of the sculptural group also emerged in the early seventeenth century. The *Laocoon* (Fig 38) of the visionary El Greco (Domenicos Theotocopoulos 1541-1614) captured the angst of the legendary priest and his two sons in a painting with the same musculature which prevailed in the antique model. There are significant differences, however, in his interpretation of the victims in his two-dimensional medium. The canvas allows for a narrative embellishment which can introduce additional themes not present in the original Rhodian work. Because of the more generous space the three figures connect only tangentially and are accompanied by two additional nude figures to the right who function as mysterious on-lookers. Speculation has long yielded their possible identity as either Apollo and Artemis or Poseidon and Cassandra, but recent conjecture points to a biblical connection in Adam and Eve.<sup>77</sup> This thesis is based on the fateful apple which the male figure holds in his left hand. Allegedly, in addition to defiling the sacred wooden horse with his spear, Laocoon

had also engaged in intercourse with his wife within the temple precincts of Poseidon. For this sacrilege both Laocoon and the Biblical sinners had to pay. Thus El Greco's painting symbolizes *dolor* which stems from *hamartia* or an act of *hubris*.

A structural analysis of the painting apprises the viewer of the same rules of composition heeded by the Rhodian sculptors with regard to the circular motif and how it functions. Obviously, it is conducive to the serpentine subject matter, but it also comports appropriately with the musculature of the figures, which in collaboration keeps the eyes of the observer within the confines of the composition.<sup>78</sup> For instance, the figure of the son to the left gracefully leans into the picture in arabesque fashion and directs one's attention to Laocoon and the other son. The figures strategically placed on the right look back into the landscape, and thus divert the eyes of the viewer back into the painting and render it self-contained. Two other aspects of El Greco's *Laocoon* involve the background: the artist has chosen for the tragic event his picturesque Toledo, looming as the City of God which could reveal religious

or political overtones;<sup>79</sup> and in the left-center of the canvas over Laocoon is a horse which references the wooden structure in the *Aeneid* and one possible cause for Laocoon's demise. Thomas Hoving<sup>80</sup> deems it a "glimpse of hell" with its macabre colors of dead whites, lambent greens, and blue-blacks. He concludes that "once observed, the struggles of the doomed family are burned into one's mind."

William Blake's modified copy of the antique sculptural group in his line engraving of *Laocoon* (Fig 39) in 1820 could have been the result of his interest in hieroglyphics. David Bindman<sup>81</sup> suggests that Blake's image of Laocoon could have been foreshadowed by a print of Garnet Terry (1744-1817) published in 1793. Like Blake, Terry was a copy engraver by profession, and in the latter's emblematic figure of *Daniel's great image* the apocalyptic purpose was to presage the approaching Destruction of Antichrist, the Beast, the Whore, and the False Prophet. Bindman contends that *The great image* was believed by Blake to be read as a hieroglyph of Babylon which stood for "the degraded material state of man in the present age." Thus the line engraving of the

"academic" Laocoon could have been intended as a hierglyphic image which Blake would have used to symbolize with imagery his political convictions.

With the advent of abstraction and surrealism in the first half of the twentieth century, one figure emerges who tends to manipulate the subject matter rather than the pictorial means of its presentation. Paul Nash (1889-1946) draws from nature for his landscape, but his symbolism is manifested on several levels.<sup>82</sup> The theme of confinement is expressed with sea-walls, fences, and enclosed gardens. Snakes also represent for the artist the same concept of circumvallation with their ability to constrict, and in the context, the photograph of 1938 entitled *Laocoon* (not illustrated) achieves the appropriate result. More specifically it is a gelatin silver print from the original negative which depicts a sculptural composition suggesting the arched serpentine movement seen in the original antique model. The structure in the photograph is superimposed on a board fence which spans the print horizontally and further substantiates the motif of incarceration.

A decade later Alexander Calder (1898-1976)

constructed his *Laocoon* (Fig 40) engaging a combination of materials: painted sheet metal, string, and wire.<sup>83</sup> The elements representing the twin serpents are white globes suspended on two separate rods that connect to a single hyperbolic extension of the base which, in turn, anchors the sculpture and depicts the figure of the Trojan priest.<sup>84</sup> The mobility of the abstract components which symbolize the serpents, provides a scintillating quality to the sculpture which extends 190.5 cm in height, and 304.8 cm in breadth.

Other examples of twentieth century art originating from the *Laocoon* motif appear in the form of a parody. Such is the iconoclastic satire in *Laocoon, just plug it in* (Fig 41) of 1963 by Eduardo Paolozzi. The collage apparently sets out to undermine the Classical icon about to be electrified into motion as a kitsch toy. Sarat Maharaj<sup>85</sup> gives her interpretation of Paolozzi's *Laocoon* anagram - *Kakafon Kakkaoon lakaoon Elektrik Lafs* - stating that it is an anality that "captures this element of kitsch's irreverent laughter against high culture's seclusions and solemnities."

*Laocoon and nun* (Fig 42), 1983-84 by Sidney

Goodman<sup>86</sup>, represents another somewhat satirical version of the Laocoon motif, but with a new twist. A "woman of the cloth" is superimposed in the central foreground in front of "twin Laocoons" while a single child seemingly sinks into the background with a hand raised in supplication. Apparently, there is some religious overtone in the liturgical figure officiating with an ambivalent expression of pleasure and disdain. The duality of the apocopated Laocoons and the appearance of only one son in the background provide several clues for solving the riddle. Perhaps nescience challenges the viewer as much as the erotic innuendos tantalize him.

The most current illustration of the antique group, and the final entry in this catalogue is the *Laocoon* by Roy Lichtenstein (Fig 43) of 1988.<sup>87</sup> Bold linear strokes roughly echo the compositional design of the original version, but with minimal attention to trivial detail. The result is an undulating network of motion which integrates the famous statue with the landscape and creates a consistent pattern throughout. This uniformity of pattern slightly down plays the subject in its mission to blend positive with negative shapes. Such stylistic



efforts are reminiscent of works by Matisse, Picasso, and DeKooning.

For generations the Laocoon group has elicited multiple interpretations since it was unearthed in the first decade of the sixteenth century. The Italian Renaissance witnessed the emergence of various copies of the antique which adhered closely to the original version, both in structural design and in texture. With the advent of professional engraving the theme was often modified to pay homage to Vergil's descriptive narrative and to incorporate into the landscape items such as the altar, the bull, and the proleptic appearance of the serpents before landfall. By embellishing their composition with such detail the engravers' reliance on the Roman poet was well documented. Whether the motive of the artist was strictly allegorical or political, his image of Laocoon symbolizing *exemplum doloris* has been perpetuated by both sources, the visual and the poetic, the one acknowledged as the genesis of the design, the other, the agent which poetically preserved its memory and kept it alive for more than fifteen hundred years and beyond.

One of the most compelling scenes of the epic is Aeneas' nocturnal flight from Troy with the aged Anchises on his back and Ascanius attempting to keep up with his father's footsteps. This historical episode marks the beginning of a series of events that culminated in the founding of Rome, and for that reason both Vergil's pagan contemporaries and the Christians of later centuries assessed to it a significant importance. The pivotal role of Rome in history as the center of Christendom is symbolized by the image of *pious Aeneas* exhibiting his loyalty for the gods, his country, and, in particular, his father. Thus the motif symbolizes not only God's plan for human posterity through Christianity, but it serves as a transition between pagan and Christian worlds.<sup>88</sup>

In antiquity the most common occurrence of the subject appeared on the reverse of coins (Fig 44). Prints after Raphael and Giulio Romano mirror the forms of Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius, a possible testimony that the thematic composition derived from ancient coins.<sup>89</sup> Other ancient representations detailing the flight from Troy can be found in frescoes and reliefs,

such as the Pompeian mural, c AD 70 (Fig 45) which survived the eruption of Mt Vesuvius in AD 79. Aeneas' flight continued to be illustrated in the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance, but it was not until the High Renaissance that the subject came into its own when the center of artistic activity shifted to Rome and the papal sphere. From the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries this image representing the *exemplum pietatis* was interpreted on several distinct but sometimes interrelated levels: "as an historical-cultural symbol, as a moral injunction, as an artistic example, and as a self-referential statement."<sup>90</sup> The following examples of the subject attempt to illustrate these various interpretations and the motives which perpetuated their production.

During the early sixteenth century in his fresco *The fire in the Borgo*, 1514/15 (Fig 46), Raphael incorporated a figure carrying his father on his back in an attempt to rescue him from the fire. This related image of Aeneas and Anchises immediately elicits a familiar symbol of Rome and links this historical event to the context of the painting in which Pope Leo IV miraculously is

extinguishing the flames in the quarter next to St Peter's. Thus an instant comparison is drawn between the Trojan Aeneas and the Pontiff with political overtones which suggest an attribution of *pietas* to both figures.<sup>91</sup>

Vergil's "filial piety" was chosen by Andrea Alciati to represent the emblem *PIETAS FILIORUM IN PARENTES* (Fig 47) for his *Viri clarissimi, emblematum liber* of 1531. Anchises assumes an insessorial position on the shoulder of Aeneas as the two figures embark on their flight. The simplified landscape is delineated with flames rising from the buildings of Troy. In the second half of the sixteenth century other variations of Alciati's theme surfaced such as the woodcuts of Jost Amman in 1567 (Fig 48) and the *Niederlandisch* version in 1591 (Fig 49).<sup>92</sup> Both illustrations are embellished with greater detail and a fluidity of motion as evidenced in the more angular stride of Aeneas and the undulating flames in the horizon.

Throughout most of the sixteenth century the subject of Aeneas' flight emerged with a focus on father and son alone, as evidenced in Raphael's fresco and in the *emblemata* of Alciati and his followers. Toward the end

of the century, however, greater attention was being directed to the inclusion of Ascanius and Aeneas' wife Creusa. Perhaps one of the best known paintings of this period in which all four figures are represented is *The flight from Troy* of Frederico Barocci in 1589. The Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II had ordered the painter from Urbino to create for his imperial collection a work containing something other than a religious subject. The answer to his request materialized in a depiction of this secular Vergilian theme which suited the traditions of both pagan and Christian Rome to which the emperor was heir. In addition to the political motive, Barocci was meeting the demands of groups which were interested in artistic reform. His paintings implemented unprecedented use of color and refinement of light which the subject matter of the burning city at night required. By incorporating all four familial figures within the same frame, Barocci was able to symbolize the fear of a child, the sorrow of a wife and mother, the heroism of a man, and the undying faith of old age.<sup>93</sup> Although the painting of 1589 is lost, the artist rendered a second version in 1598 (Fig 50) at the commission of Giuliano della Rovere,

and it subsequently entered the collection of Scipione Borghese where it remains today as a part of the family's treasure.

Other painters near the turn of the century were also intrigued with nocturnal landscapes which depicted spectacular conflagrations. Jan Brueghel the Elder,<sup>94</sup> known as "Hell Brueghel,"<sup>95</sup> was the leading proponent of a Flemish Baroque revival of Netherlandish tradition that began with Bosch and continued with the inferno landscapes of Herri met de Bles. Brueghel combined Bosch-like monsters and settings with classical heroes including Aeneas, Juno, and Orpheus. In his *Aeneas carrying Anchises out of burning Troy* of 1595-96 (Fig 51) the intricately detailed illustration of the family in their flight occupies only a small portion of the painting in the lower right foreground. The primary figures of Aeneas, Anchises, Ascanius, and Creusa are included, surrounded by a host of Trojans, all of whom are highlighted against a tapestry of darkness. The background which demands approximately two thirds of the canvas is a dramatic panorama of flames which silhouette the buildings of Troy in the distance and complete the

double thematic format.

Following in Brueghel's style for detailing inferno scenes, is Adam Elsheimer whose version of the theme entitled *The burning of Troy and the flight of Aeneas* (Fig 52) was completed at approximately the same time as that of the Flemish model.<sup>96</sup> The figures of Aeneas and Anchises bear a resemblance to their related image in Raphael's fresco *The fire in the Borgo* some eighty years earlier. Like the former representation emphasis is seemingly placed on the heaviness of the burden rather than on Aeneas' forward stride. As in the Brueghel painting, the artist has employed chiaroscuro to delineate the figures and buildings which fade into the background, but the highlighted group in the foreground occupies a greater proportion of the canvas than Brueghel's. In 1600, however, Elsheimer drastically altered the composition of the two subjects by placing both hands of Anchises firmly clenched around Aeneas' temples as the hero lunges forward with head cast down.<sup>97</sup> The medium has shifted from "oil on canvas" to "cover-paint on paper" in this simplified but more cinematic interpretation of the Trojans' exodus. Other

fire-lit nocturnal subjects were treated by Elsheimer with both classical and biblical antecedents, and they continued to be painted with frequency into the seventeenth century by Rubens and Rembrandt.

Barocci's formulation of the flight from Troy had established an artistic example for artists of subsequent generations. Shortly after acquiring the 1598 canvas by the painter from Urbino, Scipione Borghese commissioned Gianlorenzo Bernini (1589-1680) to sculpt a life-size version of *Aeneas and Anchises* (Fig 53) to enhance his collection. At once the sculptor faced the restrictions placed on him by the sixteenth century theoretical debate, known as the *paragone*.<sup>98</sup> This supposition acknowledged a comparison between the idioms of sculpture and painting and their relative strengths thereof. Barocci had exploited the use of brilliant color and chiaroscuro to portray the sorrowful emotions of Aeneas and his family as they embarked on their flight. The sculptor, being denied these technical advantages, had to resort to other means to express the essential meaning of the subject. In addition to these restraints he had to encounter the technical challenge of carving one figure



supporting another within a confined space. The noted Florentine sculptor, Giambologna (1529-1608) had accomplished this feat in the previous generation in his *Rape of a Sabine woman*. Whereas the older sculptor had implemented the *figura serpentinata*, the corkscrew formula, Bernini chose to "stack" the figures, placing particular emphasis on a more forcefully directional stride for Aeneas. Rosasco critiques Bernini's marble with a comparison to the Barocci model. She argues that the sculptor has successfully attempted to stress the "three ages of man" in his family grouping as well as a fulfillment of divine will suggested by Aeneas' "purposeful stride and visionary gaze." By comparison, "Barocci's figures seem to skitter across the picture plane like paper dolls blown by a fiery wind."<sup>99</sup>

Bernini's *Aeneas and Anchises* prompted the French to participate in this artistic tradition since they too could trace their heritage to legendary founders who were among the heroes accompanying Aeneas on his flight from Troy. Both artistic and nationalistic motives are thus attributed to the commission of the sculpture by Pierre LePautre (1660-1744) (Fig 54) which was signed and dated

1716 and has stood in the Tuileries Gardens in Paris since 1717. In collaboration with the royal sculptor Francois Girardon, LePautre initially used Barocci's version as a point of departure, but a comparative analysis suggests a strong resemblance to the two figures in Michelangelo's *The deluge* in the Sistine Chapel (Fig 55) which, in reversed scenario, emphasizes the heaviness of the burden which the father supports. LePautre modified the painted prototype by replacing the dangling arm of the son with the hand of Anchises who clutches the wrist of Ascanius. The heavy gaze of Aeneas is derivative of the resurrected *Christ* of St Maria sopra Minerva.<sup>100</sup> This Aeneas group has always been considered LePautre's most famous work and the most celebrated of French versions of the flight from Troy.

A second major effort to compete with the Italian versions of Aeneas' flight shifts back to the idiom of painting. Carle VanLoo (1705-1765),<sup>101</sup> like LePautre, also uses the famous work of Barocci as his point of departure, but opts to illustrate a scene somewhat earlier in the narrative. It is the moment at which Anchises is receiving the Lares from Creusa that VanLoo

chooses to depict, with a greater emphasis on the animation of Anchises than has previously been observed. The "spiral" motif employed to render the flames in the distance, and also to delineate the figures themselves, is derivative of the artists of the Venetian school such as Veronese and Pellegrini. With regard to the theory of the *paragone*, discussed earlier, the full form of the figure of Creusa is rendered in both VanLoo's and Barocci's paintings, a spatial feature which the idiom of painting allows. By contrast, however, the three-dimensional version, as seen in the statues of Bernini and LePautre, is replaced by an "elliptical" Creusa suggested only by Ascanius' plaintive glance backward in search of his missing mother. VanLoo's canvas responded to the demand for serious history paintings<sup>102</sup> of his day, and it has been designated as the artist's masterpiece. His *Flight from Troy* (Fig 56) has been copied in reverse by N Dupuis in 1737, an engraving which attests to the painter's continuing reputation.

One final entry representing the flight from Troy, comprises several terracotta models of the design which have now been attributed to Laurent Guiard (1723-1788).

The first is a terracotta group c 1750 in the Princeton Art Museum (Fig 57) which is believed to be a study for his *Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius* (Fig 58) which the sculptor exhibited at Versailles in 1753. A second plaster group in the Musée Granet, Aix-en-Provence is signed and dated 1766. Finally, another terracotta group which the Louvre has recently purchased has also been attributed to Guiard and bears a significant resemblance to the afore mentioned model. These similarities all pertain to VanLoos's painting, speculated to be Guiard's source of interpretation. This belief is based on the premise that VanLoo had been appointed as director of the Ecole Royale des Elèves Protégés in 1749 where Guiard was his student. Emulating his master's famous work in a reversed three-dimensional composition would have paid homage to the school's director and a logical motive for his choice of subject and its execution. A brief comparison of the two approaches reveals almost identical postures of Anchises lunging to the side and the same structural relationship which Ascanius has to his father and grandfather. The incorporation of the remnant of a column has also linked the sculpture with the landscape

of VanLoo's painting. Two major departures from his master, however, are Guiard's shift of focus from Anchises to Aeneas and the absence of Creusa. The first difference structurally renders Aeneas as the pivotal force of the composition, the intermediary of old age and youth.<sup>103</sup> The omission of Creusa (a structural restraint mentioned earlier) gives artistic license for the searching gaze of Ascanius which merely suggests his mother's presence.

Guiard's motives for his choice of depicting the flight from Troy are varied. At first he was driven by a competitive spirit to emulate the older masters by submitting to their authority and thus attempting to achieve his goals through political tactics. In later years, because of his inability or refusal to comport with figures of power and his defiance thereof, he was banished from his country. His futile attempts toward readmission were manifested in the reproduction of small statues depicting Aeneas' flight, perhaps now his output motivated by a personal identification with Aeneas with whom he shared the same plight.<sup>104</sup>

Representations of the flight from Troy remained

lodged in a literary and artistic tradition which had lasted for many generations. In the mid-eighteenth century and continuing into the Neoclassical and Romantic Ages the *exemplum pietatis* which the theme symbolized began to take on a different role. The relationship between father and son now symbolized the relationship between generations which dealt with themes of rebellion against authority and the consequences that ensued.<sup>105</sup> An antithetical vision of the heritage of antiquity emerged in this modern era which iconoclastically altered its function. *Pius Aeneas* had now yielded to *filius recalcitrans*. Nevertheless, the monumentality of Vergil's narrative will never vanish from the minds of humanists, nor will the poet's purpose ever be misinterpreted on the day of reckoning.

The images representative of the Wooden Horse, Laocoon, and Aeneas' flight from Troy have illustrated through metaphor the abstracts of deception *dolus*, suffering *dolor*, and devotion *pietas*, respectively. Through symbolic imagery Vergil has depicted the burdens of Aeneas' past which subsequent generations have applied to their own individual human experiences. The tradition

of artistic representation has witnessed political, moral, allegorical, and personal motives for the enhancement and perpetuity of these themes which continue to flourish *in saeculum saeculorum*.

#### Landscape: the history painters

The poetic landscapes of Vergil provided an appropriate venue for history painters in which to demonstrate not only their virtuosity for handling the medium, but also to express some moral, political, or didactic point which would activate the intellectual curiosity of the spectator. A parallel between the art of poetry and painting had already been drawn by the Greek poet Simonides who argued that "painting is mute poetry, poetry a speaking picture."<sup>106</sup> Horace's synopsis of this theory, *ut pictura poesis*, is applicable in the present context, although it did not comport well with Lessing's critical assessment of the Laocoon group discussed earlier.<sup>107</sup>

This final category exemplifies the genre of historically charged landscapes which derived from

passages in the *Aeneid* and emerged over a two hundred year time span from the seventeenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Because their oeuvre displays a methodical progression in the development of the "literary landscape" during this period,<sup>108</sup> I have chosen Nicolas Poussin and his contemporary, Claude Lorrain as models for the Renaissance, and JMW Turner whose efforts brought the genre of landscape painting to its height in the latter half of the Neoclassical Age. A comparative analysis of their individual style, their motives, and their choice of subjects reveals the differences and similitudes among them and what particular facet of their art achieved a notable rank in the tradition of historical landscape painting.

Nicolas Poussin (1593/94-1665) was considered during his life-time and immediately afterwards, the doyen of painters, and, with the exception of Raphael, the only one to equal the achievements of the ancients.<sup>109</sup> His austere and noble image came to represent the embodiment of artistic virtue. Two biographers of the twentieth century, Walter Friedlaender and Anthony Blunt, undertook a study of the painter's intellectual context to assist



in the interpretation of his work. They described Poussin's interest in history as that of an antiquarian concerned primarily with the accurate depiction of historical detail.<sup>110</sup> The blending of naturalism with human subjects, while some derive from historical or mythological sources, seemed to attribute a more respectful status to the genre of landscape painting, and this thesis continued to accelerate throughout the seventeenth century. It was only the matter of degree with which the painters chose to interpolate these subjects that distinguishes their individual style. Poussin was one of two great artists of his generation who had effectively produced historic landscapes.<sup>111</sup> For the purpose of this study, three examples of mythological/historical themes appear in the catalogue of his *oeuvres* which deal with specific passages from the *Aeneid*. The first and most controversial is *Dido and Aeneas* (Fig 59) which was dated c 1624 when exhibited in Paris, 1960. Christopher Wright<sup>112</sup> is skeptical of this assignment because the work bears a close resemblance to other paintings by Poussin which display the artist's development in the later 1630s. The controversy stems

from the fact that, even though the right hand side of the composition is close to the *Toronto Venus presenting arms to Aeneas* (discussed ahead), the four naked figures on the left are a drastic departure from Poussin's style with regard to their realistic and anecdotal treatment. Wright suggests that the inconsistency can be attributed to a possible "improvement" which the work had subsequently undergone, and he is hopeful that a cleaning of the picture will support his hypothesis. Nevertheless, this Vergilian theme, apparently inspired by the fourth book of the epic, demonstrates the painter's dominant use of landscape, and the canvas remains one of Poussin's largest scale works which also reveals his attempt to rival such contemporaries as Pietro da Cortona.<sup>113</sup>

The second and third examples, thematically derived from Bk viii of the *Aeneid*, are two interpretations of the same subject to which separate dates have been assigned. The *Toronto Venus presenting arms to Aeneas* (Fig 60) is the earlier of the two, dated c 1636 at the Parish exhibition in 1960. On stylistic grounds the composition of the Canadian version reveals a greater interest in the landscape background than its later

counterpart. Natural elements concentrate the tightly knit group of figures on the central plane as an enthusiastic Aeneas gazes at his magic armor. The later painting in Rouen (Fig 61) dated 1639,<sup>114</sup> exhibits Poussin's interest in repeating a particular theme with a different composition.<sup>115</sup> In this second attempt at portraying mythological subjects, the artist has exchanged an informal romanticism for a more calculated depiction from which much of the personal emotion inherent in the earlier version has been removed. Instead of a thrilled Trojan hero approaching his armor with an expression of excitement, the Rouen painting portrays him in a classical pose with a perfunctory gesture of gratitude as Venus looms overhead supported by a group of cupids. The former naturalism has become contrived and replaced by what Poussin interpreted as morally, intellectually, and historically correct. According to Wright, a possible explanation for the paucity of works relating to the Aeneas legend which was so favored by Claude Lorrain, his friend and neighbor, originated from the painter's own failure to see anything more in the poet than his concern for narrative and the

setting of idyllic moods (the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics*).<sup>116</sup> Perhaps this lack of profundity in Vergil accounted for the more formal stance of the Trojan hero in the Rouen model, an image which emphasized Aeneas' piety for which he was rewarded by his mother's gift. It is apparent that a more noble depiction of the subject would lend credence to the literary attribute of *pietas*. If this were his intent, the later painting of the scene represents one of Poussin's most felicitous compositions.

Claude Lorrain (1600-1682) was the second of the two artists of the seventeenth century who effectively produced historic landscapes. Already indicated as the first, Nicolas Poussin would often accompany his Lorraine contemporary on excursions to sketch from nature views of the Roman Campagna. Joachim von Sandrart (1606-1688), a German artist and later a critic who published his biography of Claude in 1675, was quoted ". . .we went on horseback, Poussin, Claude Gellée and myself, as far as Tivoli to paint or draw landscapes after nature."<sup>117</sup> Even though the two artists started with the same material, their interpretation of the landscape was diametrically opposed. The strongest and most obvious difference lay

in Claude's seeming inability to paint the human figure, an assessment levied by critics who dictated the general standards of the day. Even his friend Sandrart, quoted above, attests to this deficiency as well as another of his biographers, Filippo Baldinucci (1624-1696) who echoes the criticism.<sup>118</sup> The point of departure in a comparative analysis of the two landscape painters thus hinges on this alleged "defect." One could argue that with an attempt to compensate for his shortcoming, Claude made the prospect itself the subject of his painting. The eye moves unimpeded to the horizon and the source of light, and then returns to examine the foreground in a leisurely manner. Placed unobtrusively in the foreground, often placed over to one side, but not blocking the prospect, are a few figures that moralize or mythologize the composition.<sup>119</sup> Thus emerges an interplay between horizon and foreground, an exchange between natural and human elements which relate pictorially to the mediating shapes of trees and other natural phenomena. By contrast, in the history paintings of Poussin, even though the setting is landscape, the prospect is blocked in the foreground and middle

distances by human figures which become his subject. The Claude landscape prioritizes the prospect which relegates the figures to a secondary role. Poussin reverses the formula by superimposing his human figures in the center of the landscape which becomes subordinate to his subject.<sup>120</sup> Unlike his contemporary, Claude was more favorably disposed to Vergil's story of Aeneas, as evidenced by his comparatively larger output of the theme.

The National Gallery in London held an important exhibition devoted to the work of Claude Lorrain in 1994. It was curated by Dr Humphrey Wine, keeper of seventeenth-and-eighteenth-century French paintings and author of a book published in the same year to accompany the exhibition.<sup>121</sup> The thrust of this effort was not so much the artistic legacy of the man as it was an assemblage emphasizing Claude's use of narrative and literary sources for pictorial representation.<sup>122</sup> Foremost among the literary texts which furnished the artist's subject matter were the Bible, Vergil, and Ovid. Pertinent to this study are the eight works which are derivative of the *Aeneid*, six belonging to the period

1672-82, the last ten years of Claude's career. I have chosen to explicate four paintings of this group which can be traced back to specific passages in the epic, and illustrate the artist's design and allegorical purpose.

The first, *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos* (Fig 62), was painted in 1672, probably at the commission of a French patron who was possibly a member of the LeGouz family, seigneurs du Plessis.<sup>123</sup> It bears Claude's own inscription: ANIUS ROY. SACER[D]OTE [DI] APOLLO. - ANCHISE-ENEAS.<sup>124</sup> Vergil's account of Aeneas at Delos (Bk iii.73 ff) provides the artist with the literary source describing King Anius, *vittis et sacra redimitus tempora lauro* (iii.81), his head crowned with laurel as he points out the shrine to Aeneas, Anchises, and Ascanius. That Claude also consulted another source, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, is apparent in the inclusion of the two sacred trees in the landscape, olive and palm, to which Latona clung when giving birth to Apollo and Diana. Two anonymous figures in the upper right corner overlook a relief on the roof balustrade of Anius' home depicting Apollo and Diana killing the giant Tityus because of his attempt to rape their mother. Apollo's shrine in the

background echoes the architecture of the Pantheon in Rome, a reminder that the oracular prophecy of Apollo destined a permanent home in Italy for Aeneas and his companions. Finally, the golden eagles placed at the corners of the pediment possibly allude to Jupiter, the father of Apollo, and to the Roman Empire.<sup>125</sup> It is difficult to find the actual source for the various mythological and literary references in the painting. Whether they originated from the patron, an adviser, or by Claude himself, an assumption can be drawn that the endeavor was to please a patron who would be impressed by such academic learning.

During these last ten years of Claude's productivity his paintings adhered more closely to their textual sources and to greater allegorical detail. *Aeneas at Delos* set the precedent for these historical landscapes, but patrons were beginning to commission canvases in pairs which would correlate in thematic content and allude to circumstances in their own personal life. The second entry of Claude's Vergilian subjects, *Landscape with the arrival of Aeneas before the city of Pallanteum* (Fig 63) executed in 1675, is a pendant of another



painting, *Landscape with the father of Psyche sacrificing at the Temple of Apollo* (not illustrated) executed in 1662. The earlier work, derived from the *Golden ass* of Apuleius, had been commissioned by Angelo Albertoni (1624-1706); the latter was requested by his son Gasparo (1646-1720), who married the sole heiress of Cardinal Altieri in 1667. The implicit allegory drawn from *Father of Psyche* reveals the similar circumstances in which the father of the young girl prays and offers sacrifices to Apollo to help find a husband for his daughter. In a reversed scenario Angelo had ambitiously negotiated a marriage between his son and the noble heiress of Altieri. *The arrival of Aeneas*, completed thirteen years later, was interpreted as alluding to the arrival of Gaspar at the height of Roman society by marrying into the Altieri clan, just as Aeneas had reached Italy and was kindly received by the noble King Evander.<sup>126</sup>

*The landing of Aeneas at Pallanteum* is drawn specifically from Bk viii.26 ff and is thematically linked with Apollo at Delos as the partial fulfillment of the god's prophecy which destined Italy as the settling place for the Trojans. Utmost attention has been devoted

to topographical accuracy according to the text, as evidenced by inscriptions in a preparatory drawing which labels the citadel of King Evander, Rome's Aventine Hill, and the ruined hill towns of Janiculum and Saturnia. As the central action of the painting, Claude depicts Aeneas showing the olive branch to Pallas with two galleys detailed, a scene further authenticating the source. Nevertheless, there are minor departures from Vergil's text worth noting. The first is the artist's diplomatic attempt to confirm the Altieri family's claimed descent from Aeneas by painting the family arms on the flag of the hero's ship.<sup>127</sup> Two other deviations of the text can be observed. The first is Claude's rejection of heavily wooded groves on both sides of the Tiber, as Vergil had verbally suggested in the poem; the second is the artist's decision to place Aeneas standing on the prow of the ship rather than speaking from the high stern. In defense of these changes, I think that compositional exigency demanded these minor changes to allow for a more spatial prospect in the landscape. I also concur with Dr Wine that Claude believed the proximity of the two major figures, Aeneas and Pallas, would better serve the

story's drama.

The final pair of paintings to be discussed in this format are Claude's *View of Carthage with Dido and Aeneas* (Fig 64) in 1676, and *Landscape with Ascanius shooting the stag of Silvia* (Fig 65) in 1682. Both were commissioned by Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna (1637-1689), the artist's most important patron in his later years. Once again, as on previous occasions, Claude's inscriptions on the first painting, *AENEAS ET DIDO* and *CARTHAGO*, explicitly provide the viewer with the literary topos, although a lack of greater specificity in the sequence of events in Bk iv can render some interpretations problematic. Since Aeneas has remained in Carthage with Dido for one year, what particular moment in the time frame is Claude depicting? In his inventory of works, the *Liber veritatis*, Claude has indicated, with a folio reference to the edition of the *Aeneid* which he was using, a passage which would correspond to Bk iv, 130-50.<sup>128</sup> These lines pictorially describe a Dido and Aeneas just after dawn outside the gates of Carthage preparing to go on a hunt. Claude has excluded from his painting the prancing steed splendid in purple and gold and

champing at the bit. On the other hand, he has introduced the wide-pointed hunting spears, *lato venabula ferro*, the keen scented hounds, *odora canum vis*, and a portrayal of Dido closely adhering to Vergil's text with tresses knotted into gold, *crines nodantur in aurum*. Storm clouds loom overhead which foreshadow the couple's refuge to the cave and the consummation of their love. This passage would obviously document Claude's particular source because of the various parallels. Two other questions surface, however, which concern the gesticulation of both Dido and Aeneas and the problematic harbor setting which is antithetical to this particular part of the text. Speculation proposes several interpretive alternatives. If Dido is pointing to the temple of Juno, symbol of marital fidelity, there appears to be a reference to her first meeting with the Trojan leader, at which time she respected the vows of wedlock. Conversely, if it is determined that the Carthaginian queen is pointing to the ships in the harbor, immediately there arises a sense of anticipation foreboding *peripeteia* and a tragic outcome. Aeneas' gesture of ambivalence seems to represent his conflict between love

and duty as he is strategically placed in the painting between Dido and Ascanius. Another proposal for interpretation is that Dido is extending her arm in the direction of both the temple of Juno and to Aeneas' ships which would carry him away, a thesis which would explain the harbor setting and would also allude to both past and future scenes of Bk iv. By the multiple interpretation of Claude's painting the artist may have realized his possible intention. Overall, *View of Carthage*, Claude's last seaport painting, carries tragic overtones regardless of any felicitous attempts to mitigate the circumstances. Even the architecture is more severely delineated than in the earlier seaport scenes and lends itself to the tragic import.<sup>129</sup>

The second Colonna pendant and Claude's last painting is *Landscape with Ascanius shooting the stag of Silvia* which, unlike its companion piece, shows a single moment in time as well as illustrating specific lines of Vergil's text, Bk vii 475-510. Both paintings seem to symbolize the destruction of love: in the first pendant, by Aeneas' abandonment of Dido, in the second, by Ascanius' killing of the stag beloved of Silvia. The

structural and thematic components of the two paintings comport as a transitional unit by the reversed placement of the columns to the right of *Dido and Aeneas*, and to the left in the *Ascanius* model. The huntsmen and dogs likewise emerge from the same directions respectively. In the same tradition as *Landing of Aeneas at Pallanteum* in which the Altieri family arms were painted on the flags of Aeneas' ship, Claude had alluded to his patron by depicting a separate characteristic of the Colonna arms, with an unfluted column in one, and with a Corinthian capital in the other. This conflation of the architectural motif reinforced the unity of the pair with a variety of detail and further blended the two pendants with regard to their similar themes. Finally, the poetic nature of the landscape has been enhanced by the elongated figures which relate to the vertical columns, and the modulations of silvery greens and blues.

At a glance, the motives of the patrons who commissioned these works seem quite noble, but further observation perhaps renders them political, or at times, even self-aggrandizing. Colonna's own philandering caused his wife to leave him in 1672, and even though he

showed no remorse until the very end,<sup>130</sup> there can be read a personal biographical significance to these last two pendants with regard to their symbolic destruction of love.

Claude's history paintings were manifested in the form of poetic landscapes which, like poetry, allowed for multiple interpretations. In the tradition of Vergil, his narrative style has encouraged a plurality of different meanings for different people. His subtlety of delivery and mastery of the effects of light have shaped the paintings of eighteenth and nineteenth century British artists such as Richard Wilson and JMW Turner. Indubitably Claude's unsurpassed imitations of nature have assigned an importance to the genre of landscape painting which would flourish for the next two hundred years.

Joseph Mallard William Turner (1775-1851), the third entry for history landscape painters, paid homage to his seventeenth century predecessor from Lorraine by requesting that *Dido building Carthage* of 1815 be hung in the National Gallery next to Claude's *Embarcation of the Queen of Sheba*. This is clear testimony that Turner

wished to demonstrate his consummate skill equaling that of the old master,<sup>131</sup> and it is also an affirmation of his reliance on the tradition of classical landscape painting which Claude helped to establish and whose works contributed to its perpetuity.

Like his earlier model, Turner was drawn into the Aeneas legend for a variety of reasons. As a Romantic, he was intrigued by the peregrinations of the Trojan hero which provided him with themes conducive to history painting, considered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to be the most elevated of artistic representation. In the context of the rise and fall of great empires, the references made to Troy, Carthage, and Rome in the *Aeneid* afforded him even more material which he could treat allegorically to suggest the relationship between Britain and Rome, and during the Napoleonic Wars, those between Britain and Carthage, and France and Rome. That British kings could trace their heritage back to Brutus, Aeneas' grandson, and that the hero's fulfillment of a prophecy which would lead to the establishment of Rome, symbol of western civilization, both provide cogent explanations for the artist's interest in the story of



Aeneas.<sup>132</sup>

Eleven paintings comprise Turner's inventory of works which represent themes either directly or obliquely derivative of the *Aeneid*. With one exception (an early canvas reflecting the style of the eighteenth century painter, Richard Wilson) all paintings reveal the strong influence of Claude Lorrain with respect to their compositions, lighting effects, and general atmosphere inherent to the classical landscape tradition. Gerald Finley has suggested several reasons for Turner's attraction to the Claudean format in his Aeneas pictures. The French painter had already set a precedent for the multiple depiction of episodes from Vergil's poem in which he frequently incorporated the rising and setting of the sun. This daylight feature Turner adapted to symbolize the rise or decline of a civilization,<sup>133</sup> to sustain a sense of naturalism in his landscapes, and to establish a temporal framework to which the *Aeneid* often adhered.<sup>134</sup> Claude's reliance on literary antecedents and, in particular, his eminently poetic depiction of Vergil's lines, drew Turner closer to his French predecessor with regard to their mutual interest in the

relationship between painting and poetry, *ut pictura poesis*, and the restrictions imposed on both media.

Of the eleven pictures treating the Aeneas legend, eight thematically concern Dido and Aeneas and represent a sequence of major events occurring during Aeneas' sojourn in Carthage. The remaining three works are depictions of Aeneas and Deiphobe, the Cumaean Sibyl, and each portrays events foreshadowing their descent to the Underworld.

The first of Turner's Carthaginian paintings to be exhibited at the Royal Academy was *Dido and Aeneas* (Fig 66) in 1814. The catalogue entry for the work included the appended lines from Bk iv of Dryden's translation of the *Aeneid*<sup>135</sup> which relates how just after dawn Dido and Aeneas meet outside the gates of Carthage to embark on the royal hunt which efficaciously results in the consummation of their love. The landscape is Claudean in concept, but there are notable topographical and compositional differences between Turner's *Dido and Aeneas* and Claude's *View of Carthage with Dido and Aeneas* (Fig 64). The nineteenth century model places Carthage on the banks of a river which replaces the coastal

background of the French version. Turner's landscape is reminiscent of the verdant countryside of the Thames near Richmond,<sup>136</sup> which holds classical affiliations and was favored by the artist. His composition has undergone a somewhat radical change in the comparatively subordinate role of the figures to which Claude had earlier assigned a more prominent status, and which he had placed spatially in groups with one-point perspective to allow for the viewer to assess their relative importance in the composition and in the narrative.<sup>137</sup> By contrast, Turner's landscape is less geographically mapped out, and there is a greater fluidity from the modulation of one or two predominating hues. For Robert Hunt,<sup>138</sup> a contemporary critic for the *Examiner*, *Dido and Aeneas* was a highly poetic image which united the "natural effects of light and atmosphere with the classical harmony of an idealized panorama."<sup>139</sup> William Hazlitt,<sup>140</sup> another contemporary, expressed his contradictory views of the painting in the *Morning Chronicle* by arguing that the two hues of bituminous browns and purples in their gradations of light pigments served to dematerialize the fabric of the city and cause it to blend indeterminately with the

gold-tinged lagoon and its surroundings. He contended that this feature along with the diminutive figures of Dido and Aeneas worked against easy legibility. It is this writer's assessment, however, that an examination of the evolution of classical landscape painting, dating respectively from Poussin, through Claude, and up to Turner, reveals a gradual diminution of the human figure which purports to attribute a greater importance to the prospect which is tantamount to Turner's cynosure, the sun.

A second painting illustrating the Dido and Aeneas theme, *Dido building Carthage* (Fig 67), was exhibited at the Royal Academy in the following year, 1815. The Claudean pendant, *Embarcation of the Queen of Sheba* (Fig 68), mentioned earlier, possesses a different architectural structure which contains the composition with a horizontal shoreline at the bottom and continues upward in a series of planes parallel to the picture plane at the horizon. In Turner's painting the rising sun splits the picture vertically down the middle, dissolving the Claudean harbor into a vortex, and removing any vantage spot on which the observer can

stand.<sup>141</sup> This basic compositional motif of the *Dido building Carthage* is this vortex which recedes into the horizontal distance. This opening up of the "harbor" does provide what appears to be the mouth of a river which is a more appropriate suggestion for the coastal location of Carthage than in the 1814 painting.

There is a similar story line shared by both pendants. When the Turner painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1815, the artist extended its title in the catalogue: *Dido building Carthage; or the rise of the Carthaginian Empire --- First book of Virgil's Aeneid*. Even before this embellishment in the catalogue entry, he had previously added these very words in English to the painting which appear on a wall carved in stone at the far left of the canvas. Apparently he desired to strengthen the association between the two works by alluding to similar pervading circumstances: just as the Claude pendant shows the queen and an implied foreign rival, so is Dido destined to encounter Aeneas.<sup>142</sup>

Two years later, in 1817, Turner exhibited a sequel to the 1815 picture, entitled *Decline of the Carthaginian Empire* (not illustrated). The strong influence of Claude

Lorrain continues with its seaport composition and stage-like setting. Of utmost significance is the sequential relationship of the two pendants which allows for a progressive representation of the theme and theoretically links the visual idiom to the successive verses of poetry. By affording this narrative quality to the two works, the restrictions imposed on the artist are reduced, and the traditional theory of *ut pictura poesis* is validated.<sup>143</sup>

The very titles, *Dido building Carthage* and *Decline of the Carthaginian Empire*, verbally suggest the passage of time, but pictorially Turner has achieved the same effect by placing the orient sun in the central horizon of the former work, and the occidental sun in the latter. This light source is the strongest and most apparent pictorial agent for Turner's symbolism in these Carthaginian models. Finley states that they "link times of day with states of society, providing an efficacious association between natural process and civilization and thereby, perhaps, suggesting the helplessness of man in the determination of his fate".<sup>144</sup> That Turner appended to all his Aeneas pictures (subsequent to *Dido and Aeneas*

of 1814) verses from his unpublished poem, *Fallacies of hope*, lends credence to the importance he assigned to the role of fate, certainly a reminiscence of the same theme in Vergil's epic. There is further thematic interplay by way of metaphor which alludes to alternating circumstances within specific time frames. In the foreground of *Dido building Carthage* Ruskin noted the group of children launching a toy boat which symbolized Carthage's future in maritime trade. To the right is a tomb on which is inscribed the name of Sychaeus, Dido's husband whose murder by her brother resulted in her flight from Tyre to North Africa and her subsequent founding of Carthage. In the companion piece, *Decline of Carthage*, a statue of Mercury appears against a building on the far left, which is a reminder of the god's mission instructing Aeneas to cease his liaison with Dido. Finley also argues that it has not been observed that Mercury's image as god of commerce is a sad reminder of Carthage's former status in the maritime trade industry. In addition he calls our attention to another heretofore unobserved link between the companion pieces. In the central foreground of *Decline of Carthage* there is a

metaphorical reference with a depiction of a crown encircling an oar, a poignant reminder of the tragic love affair between Dido and Aeneas and a symbol of the enmity between Carthage and Rome which, according to Vergil, resulted from the couple's illicit union.<sup>145</sup> Turner appended to this painting of 1817 the following lengthy explanatory note: "Rome being determined on the overthrow of her hated rival, demanded from her such terms as might either force her into war or ruin her by compliance; the enervated Carthaginians, in their anxiety for peace, consented to give up even their arms and their children." The artist had expressed his political opinion on the consequences of expansion by war and trade.<sup>146</sup> K Dian Kriz contends that the forfeiture of power for a nation as strong as Carthage was tantamount to being emasculated.<sup>147</sup> She sees, through "visual rhetoric," disconsolate figures that gather beneath Turner's ominous sunset as symbols of feminization and slavery. In the foreground a feminized figure of a male nude is flanked to the left by a mother clinging to her child, soon to be sold into slavery, and to the right by a woman overcome by grief.<sup>148</sup>



Although the 1817 pendant may not have represented Turner's sole intent to depict the image of slavery in North Africa, it does, according to Kriz, "serve to fantasize the East as feminized, enslaved, given over to luxury, and in moral and political decline." Therefore, the solid figures of Roman soldiers in the left middle ground, and the Roman ships in the harbor appear in direct contrast to the helpless victimized Carthaginian citizens. Their inconspicuous presence seems more as a role for witnesses to Carthage's own self-destruction, rather than a role as victors.<sup>149</sup>

Another painting which was influenced by the companion pieces discussed above is *Dido directing the equipment of the fleet* in 1828. Finley quotes C Powell<sup>150</sup> who suggests that the thematic content of the picture, a departure from the *Aeneid*, possibly stemmed from an opera performed in London in 1827. The libretto apparently supports this claim by telling a story of how Dido's suitor, Iarbus, spurned by the queen, in revenge attempts to set fire to the city and then escapes by sea. Thus, at this juncture in the story Turner chose to depict her as she prepares the fleet for hot pursuit.

The remaining pictures concerning the Dido and Aeneas theme treat episodes occurring from the time that the Trojan hero arrived in Carthage to his departure for Italy. Each work alludes either to the past or future, or both, with visual references in the story line which link them in a sequential pattern. These last four paintings of the artist's career are believed to have been executed at the same time in a "rotation" manner,<sup>151</sup> and they were exhibited as a group at the Royal Academy in 1850, a year before Turner's death.

The first of these paintings (now destroyed) is *Aeneas relating his story to Dido* in which the artist has presented the queen as an exotic temptress<sup>152</sup> seated with Aeneas aboard a large vessel in a locale similar to Venice.<sup>153</sup> Dido's demeanor could possibly relate to Dryden's translation (or his embellishment of a passage) describing Venus' detection of a spark already existent between the couple.<sup>154</sup>

The second painting, *Mercury sent to admonish Aeneas*, links the past with the future by the strategic placement of three figures representing Aeneas and Cupid facing a seated Mercury.<sup>155</sup> Perhaps the messenger god

symbolizes Aeneas' destiny which the hero must choose over his personal love for Dido, symbolized by Cupid.

The third painting, *The visit to the tomb*, is apparently Turner's own innovation, for the scene appears nowhere in the *Aeneid*. As in the second model the theme reaches back into the past and into the future by references symbolizing deceit and betrayal. Dido stands<sup>156</sup> with Aeneas and Cupid next to the tomb of Sychaeus depicted on the left. Turner had incorporated the burial monument of the queen's husband earlier in *Dido building Carthage* before the advent of Aeneas. Here Cupid is interpreted as illicit love which causes Dido to forsake her vow of marriage to Sychaeus, and the god becomes a symbol of deceit; Aeneas proleptically stands by to foreshadow his betrayal of the queen when he later departs from Carthage.

The fourth and final painting of the 1850 exhibition is the *Departure of the fleet* which presents the ships of Aeneas as they sail from Dido's harbor. The queen is depicted twice in the composition: once, in the lower foreground in a fainting posture, and again, positioned on the funeral pyre preceding her suicide.

To each of these four paintings is appended a verse from Turner's *Fallacies of hope*, respectively:

(1) "Fallacious Hope beneath the moon's pale crescent shone, Dido listened to Troy being lost and won"; (2) "Beneath the morning mist, Mercury waited to tell him of his neglected fleet"; (3) "The sun went down in wrath at such deceit"; and (4) "The orient moon shone on the departing fleet; Nemesis invoked, the priest held the poison cup." The full impact of all four works is realized again by Turner's incomparable use of light which "breaks the barrier of sea and sky and pours down into the foreground with its human actors."<sup>157</sup>

The eight paintings discussed above have all addressed the theme of Dido and Aeneas in which different aspects of the story were depicted. The three remaining works, however, concentrate on a simple episode from the text and portray the account of Aeneas and Deiphobe, the Cumaean Sibyl, in preparation for their descent and sojourn into the Underworld.

The first picture of this group, entitled *Aeneas and the Sibyl* (Fig 69), is one of two versions of the same theme which dates back to 1798. It bears a marked

resemblance in style to the eighteenth century history painter, Richard Wilson.<sup>158</sup> The Sibyl stands in the center middle ground of the picture holding aloft the Golden Bough in her left hand, while pointing with her right hand to the entrance of Hades located on the shore of Lake Avernus. Next to the prophetess stands Aeneas with his Trojan followers positioned to the right and facing a smouldering altar where sacrifices have been made to the infernal gods before Aeneas' descent to the Underworld.

The second version of the theme which Turner completed c 1814-15 is *Lake Avernus: Aeneas and the Cumaean Sibyl*. This work still retains the "Wilsonian emblem" or historical group of people in the foreground while the landscape and horizon occupy the background. However, now Turner has reduced the size of the emblems to tiny figures so that they appear as specks of color superimposed against the immense receding landscape.<sup>159</sup> By use of the diminutive forms the composition has now taken on a Claudean air, with no obstruction to the sunlit horizon and a greater emphasis on the prospect. Turner has embellished this second version with greater

detail, such as in the relief sculpture on the right depicting a possible Aeneas, sword unsheathed, about to engage in combat with a multi-headed monster (Cerberus?).<sup>160</sup> Another addition to the picture is Chryses, the priest of Apollo, who is not represented in Vergil's text. Finley suggests that the second version of the theme was meant to replace the 1798 painting and was commissioned by Sir Richard Colt Hoare to hang with Wilson's *Lake Nemi* in his cabinet room at Stourhead.<sup>161</sup> Since Lake Nemi was associated with the temple of Diana (goddess of the moon), and Lake Avernus, with the temple of Apollo (god of the sun and brother to Diana), it is possible that Turner would have been fascinated with the juxtaposition of these antithetical motifs. Finley contends that the introduction of the figure of Chryses, priest of Apollo, in the second version could be a subtle reference to the opposition between Apollo, god of light, and Hades, the realm of darkness.

The final picture representing the subject of Aeneas and the Sibyl is *The golden bough* exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1834. As in the second entry of this group, Turner has derived his composition and style from the

Claudean model, but he has amplified the landscape and again has minimized the figures in the foreground. Both Chryses and Aeneas have been removed to provide the Cumaean prophetess with a command of the newly extended space. She continues to hold aloft the magical Golden Bough which is displayed more prominently than in the earlier versions. Thus with Aeneas' absence from the picture the *ramus aureus* appears to have acquired a symbolic role as a metaphor for Aeneas' journey to Hades. Further embellishment is realized in the introduction of foxes, a snake, sarcophagi, and tombs, the latter two items foreshadowing the Plutonian landscape which the Trojan hero is to survey.<sup>162</sup> In the center of the composition is a large fire surrounded by a group of dancing women. The scene is reminiscent of a similar group of dancers in an engraving which appeared in Dryden's *Aeneis VII*, and this illustration could have been Turner's source for the depiction.<sup>163</sup> The fire could possibly represent the sacred fire of Hestia (Vesta) which had traditionally been transported from the mother city to another location where a new city was to be established. Consequently, if these flames are those

which have been carried by Aeneas and his followers to Italy, the dancers which Turner has placed around them are the six Vestals, and the new fire alludes to the foundation of Rome.

Verses from Turner's *Fallacies of hope* were attached to the majority of the *Aeneid* paintings, and their content has elicited emotional responses from observers who have heeded the verbal allusions to the artist's visual presentations. It is evident from his verbal and visual rhetoric that Turner assigned a significant role to fate, the principal theme of Vergil's epic. Among the eleven paintings depicting the Aeneas legend, the eight concerning Dido and Aeneas all dealt with the conflict between love and duty and portrayed Dido as the symbol of obstruction to the hero's fulfillment of his destiny. Conversely, the three works treating the Sibyl and Aeneas theme presented Apollo's prophetess as the succor<sup>164</sup> who instructed Aeneas on how to find the Golden Bough and how to perform the sacred rites to propitiate the infernal gods. She guides him through Hades to meet Anchises who reveals the future role his son is to play in the founding of Rome. Perhaps this revelation was



pictorially translated by Turner's expression of Hope, the intermediary between earth and sky -- the sun.

The classification assigned to the genres of art <sup>165</sup> which have been inspired by the *Aeneid* coincide with those divisions in Chapter 1 which categorized the pictorial qualities of Vergil's epic. Thus "Cinematic progression" is alligned with "The *Aeneid* cycles"; "Comeos and snapshots", with "Symbolic imagery"; and "The Vergilian landscape", with "The history painters". Within this format I have attempted to correlate a structural analysis of the text with the interpretive process of the artists and possibly provide the appropriate criteria with which to validate an adherence to the tradition of *ut pictura poesis*.

## Notes: Chapter 2

- <sup>1</sup> *Poetics* II. 1.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid* VI 19-21. Aristotle makes the analogy of plot-design by stating that a canvas smeared with random spots of color does not please as well as a portrait done in outline.
- <sup>3</sup> *Ars poetica*. 1-13.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid* 361-365.
- <sup>5</sup> RW Lee, "Ut pictura poesis: the humanistic theory of painting," *Art Bulletin*, xxii, (1940) 197.
- <sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium* III. 346 f-347 c 1905.
- <sup>7</sup> Lucian, *Eikones* 8 (*Images*). See Lee n 6.
- <sup>8</sup> Lee, op cit n 6, 197. Petrarch, *Dialogo della pittura intitolato l'Aretino*, Florence, 1735 (first ed Venice, 1557), 116.
- <sup>9</sup> *Ibid* 201.
- <sup>10</sup> Von Dorothea und Peter Diemer, "Zu Den Bildern Der Berliner Veldeke-Handschrift, *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, vol 43 (series 3) (1992) 19-38.
- <sup>11</sup> Jennifer Klein Morrison, "Apollonio de Giovanni's *Aeneid* cassoni and the Virgil commentators," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (1992) 26-44. This is the most thorough account of the artist's cassoni that I have found regarding the interpretive process by way of ancient and contemporary commentators of Vergil. Consequently, her article has been my major source in collaboration with her reliance on the research of Ellen

Callmann. See n 13.

<sup>12</sup> EH Gombrich, "Apollonio di Giovanni: a Florentine cassone workshop seen through the eyes of a humanist poet," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 18 (1955) 16-34. From a poem of Ugolino Verino praising a painting depicting the burning of Troy and other scenes from the *Aeneid*, the poet named Apollonio as the author of an epigram of ca 1458 from which Gombrich made his assessment. The painting is now believed to be lost or destroyed.

<sup>13</sup> Ellen Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 40.

<sup>14</sup> Morrison, 27 ff.

<sup>15</sup> Craig Kallendorf, *In praise of Aeneas: Virgil and Epideictic rhetoric in the early Italian Renaissance* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1989) 58-59.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid 61.

<sup>17</sup> Boccaccio recounts the story of Dido's circumstances which caused the flight to Carthage and her vow of chastity respecting her marriage to Sychaeus. This is consistent with Vergil's text in which Venus, disguised as a huntress, relates these events to Aeneas and Achates, (i.335-370). The major point of departure in Boccaccio's version is the specific reason for Dido's suicide, which Morrison argues, marks a crucial difference in his interpretation of Dido.

<sup>18</sup> Morrison, 35.

<sup>19</sup> Kallendorf, 14.

<sup>20</sup> Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philisophos morales*, in *Fulgentius, the mythographer*, ed and trans by Leslie George Whitbread (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971) 127.

<sup>21</sup> Bernardus Silvestris, *Commentum super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii*; translated as *The Commentary on the First Six Books of the Aeneid commonly attributed to Bernardus Silvestris* by Earl G Schreiber and Thomas E Maresca (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979) 25-26.

<sup>22</sup> Morrison, 37.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid 38.

<sup>24</sup> See Cristelle L Baskins, *Cassone painting, humanism, and gender in early modern Italy*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998). In Chapter 3 of her book particular emphasis is placed on the allegorical function of Camilla who appears with great frequency in fifteenth-century domestic paintings, especially on wedding furniture. In addition, a discussion on the etymology of her name ensues, accompanied by her genealogy. The theme of the female warrior is treated also by Matteo di Giovanni who depicted the maiden's infancy in the first panel, and her military exploits on the second. Giovanni di Ser Giovanni, *Lo Scheggia*, also rendered the scene of the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia juxtaposed with the demise of Camilla, but reversed the sequence of the two events by placing the marital event first in his version in the *Ecouen* panel.

<sup>25</sup> Morrison, 40.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid 41.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid 42 and n 59, 47.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid 42. See also Graham Hughes, *Renaissance cassoni, masterpieces of early Italian art: Painted marriage chests 1400-1550*, Starcity Publishing Burnt House Cottage, Duke's Green Alfriston, Polegate, Sussex, BN 26 5TS (1997), and Art Book International, 1 Stewart's Road, London SW 8 4UD (1997). Hughes suggests that in the late quattrocento and early quintocento the emphasis on thematic content for cassoni shifted from pleasure and love to gallantry and battle. This topic is addressed in the second section of this chapter, entitled *Isolated*

*themes and symbolism in cassoni.*

<sup>29</sup> B Davidson, "The Navigazione d'Enea tapestries designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria," *The Art Bulletin*, v 72, (Mar 1990) 35-50.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid 38, n 19. Also see Davidson, "The *Furti di Giove* tapestries designed by Perino del Vega for Andrea Doria," *The Art Bulletin*, v 70, (1988) 445-46. This article precedes the publication of the above.

<sup>31</sup> See L Nees, "Le quos ego de Marc-Antoine Raimondi. L'Adaptation d'une source par Raphael," *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, nos 40-41, (1978) 18 ff.

<sup>32</sup> Davidson, "The Navigazione d'Enea tapestries," 36 and n 110.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid 49, n 54. Speculation is that they could have vanished in 1849 at Rome during the siege involving the French and Garibaldi's forces.

<sup>34</sup> Davidson comments that the Chatsworth sketch is more roughly drafted than the Hamburg drawing, indicating that the former was produced more rapidly and at the nascent stage of the design. Given the fact that the two drawings differ significantly in format, composition, and style, nevertheless they resemble the banquet of Dido and Aeneas in the lower right corner of Marcantonio's engraving. Whereas the Chatsworth drawing retains two characteristics of the engraving: a bearded and crowned Aeneas and a false Ascanius embracing the queen, the Hamburg drawing depicts a clean-shaven Aeneas wearing a Trojan cap while Ascanius simply kneels at the feet of Dido.

<sup>35</sup> Based on the conjecture that the cartoons for the Neptune salon were non returned to the Dorias, they apparently were retained by the weavers who continued to produce the tapestries, sometimes with minor modifications. Davidson draws comparisons between the two tapestries, pointing out that both detail a bearded Aeneas, but both pieces also choose the kneeling Ascanius of the Hamburg drawing rather than the embracing figure

of the Chatsworth version. The weavers have also embellished their design with the addition of a luxuriant landscape and decorative columns.

<sup>36</sup> The seventh tapestry, discussed later, measures approximately 18 3/4 feet wide. Davidson, 41.

<sup>37</sup> This is the third of three scenes in Marcantonio's engraving which renders the intervention of gods to determine the fate of Aeneas. The first appears in the *Quos ego* which dominates the print with its central placement. The second, already mentioned, occurs in the upper left corner of the engraving. If the seventh tapestry of the Spanish collection would be added to the Genoese group, the presence of Mercury in the roundel could be interpreted as a conflation of two incidents involving Jupiter: one, in his discourse with Venus concerning Aeneas' fate, and the other, with Mercury's reprimand of the hero's dalliance in Carthage.

<sup>38</sup> Davidson, 45. The attribution of this tapestry to Perino is determined by a copy of a lost drawing of the scene with the designer's name inscribed on a step beneath the throne. The common practice to enlarge and embellish the model is evident in the widening of the steps and the stretching out of the middle section in the weaving of the tapestry. Another departure from the Louvre drawing and Vergil's text is that in the tapestry Ilioneus, who is the eldest of the crew, according to Vergil, and who sports a beard in the drawing, is portrayed as a beardless young man.

<sup>39</sup> See n 30.

<sup>40</sup> Davidson, 46. To explain the seventh tapestry in the Madrid collection one possibility is that Perino may have designed two sets of drawings and that the cartoons for both series could have been used for the Spanish group.

<sup>41</sup> Davidson, 49, n 54.

<sup>42</sup> F Winkler, "Der unbekannte Sebastian Vrancx," *Pantheon*, 22 (1964) 322-34.

<sup>43</sup> LW Ruby, "Sebastiaen Vrancx as illustrator of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Master Drawings*, 28 (Spring 1990) 54-73

<sup>44</sup> Brant's woodcuts for this edition of the works of Vergil that came out from the presses of Johann Gruninger, one of the best printers of Strasbourg around 1500, knew a considerable success and was reprinted several times, notably at Lyons and Venice between 1517 and 1552.

<sup>45</sup> Ruby, 63. Ruby points out three occasions in which Hollar replicates the backgrounds in his etchings of Roman ruins after Vrancx. The first is taken from *Aeneas enters the underworld* and copied in Hollar's print entitled the *Baths of Diocletian*; the second is the image of smoke rising out of a building and an arch through which Aeneas is about to enter in Vrancx's *In the underworld* duplicated in Hollar's print after Vrancx, *The round building*; and last, the grotto in *Vulcan forging Aeneas' arms* apparently could be taken for duplication in Hollar's series. See G Parthey, *Wenzel Hollar: Beschreibendes Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche*, Berlin (1853) nos 1103, 1104, 1110, and 1112.

<sup>46</sup> Winkler, (1964) 325.

<sup>47</sup> Ruby, 58.

<sup>48</sup> FJ Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp (1883) 469 ff.

<sup>49</sup> Ruby, 70. The specific titles of these *oeuvres* are listed and grouped by books of the *Aeneid* accompanied by the specific lines of the text and their location.

<sup>50</sup> T Rabb, "Sebastian Brant and the first illustrated edition of Virgil," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 21, no 4 (Summer 1960) 196.

<sup>51</sup> E Langmuir, "Arma virumque. . . Niccolò dell'Abatte's *Aeneid* Gabinetto for Scandiano," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976) 151-70. Langmuir

discusses dell'Abatte's cycle, stating that his twelve panels were so similar to scenes from Brant's cycle, that he must have had in his possession an immediate edition of Brant from which to work.

<sup>52</sup> There appears to be a different calculation in the number of Brant's woodcuts. Ruby lists 137, Oursel counts 143 in his article.

<sup>53</sup> Rabb, (1960) 197.

<sup>54</sup> See Walter Liedtke, "Addenda to Flemish paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 27, (1992) 110. Liedtke links the works of Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601-1678) to his father, Jan Brueghel the Elder and discusses the inferno scenes of the latter and the influence of Bosch in the Baroque period. Also see Ruby, 72, n 41. There are two versions of the Vulcan subject by Brueghel and Jan Balen, one of which was burned in Berlin, the other, formerly in Bonn. A third version of the same theme entitled *Allegory of fire* is located in the Galleria Doria Pamphilz.

<sup>55</sup> J Goldsmith, *Leonaert Bramer's illustrations for Virgil's Aeneid* (PhD diss, University of California, Berkeley (1981)).

<sup>56</sup> EKJ Reznicek, *Nostra di Disegni Fiamminghi e Olandesi*, exh cat Florence (1964) 57ff. Reznicek suggests that Rubens copied Vrancx's work, and he believes it to be copied from one of Vrancx's paintings in Hamburg.

<sup>57</sup> Ruby, 69.

<sup>58</sup> Chapter 1, "Comeos and snapshots," 34-35.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid 39.

<sup>60</sup> Brigitte Mannsperger, "Das Stadtbild von Troia in Vergil's Aeneis," *Antike Welt*, 26, no 6 (1995) 463. The Trojans pull the wooden horse into the city while Cassandra tries in vain to prevent them. In the background a temple with an outside staircase. Wall painting from early Augustan period in the House of



*Menander.*

<sup>61</sup> See Graham Hughes, *Renaissance cassoni*, (London: Art Books International, 1997) 176.

<sup>62</sup> Peter Nisbet, "London: Lovis Corinth," *The Burlington Magazine*, 139 (Apr 1997) 272-73.

<sup>63</sup> Mannsperger, op cit 465.

<sup>64</sup> Karen Wilkin, "Anthony Caro: the Trojan war," *American Ceramics*, 11, 4, (1994) 18-27. Wilkin reviews the 1994 exhibition with great enthusiasm. She describes Caro's *Trojan Horse* as a massive steel and wood platform on primitive stoneware wheels that displays the characteristics of a flatcar, a locomotive, and a behemoth combined.

<sup>65</sup> See n 23, Chapter 1.

<sup>66</sup> My visual presentation of the theme in Chapter 3, "Res latentes: visual abstractions," conforms with this "frequentative" structure, thus retaining the visual-narrative format. For the purpose of exemplifying traditional models of the motif, their representations more appropriately fell into the category of "Cameos and snapshots/Symbolic imagery."

<sup>67</sup> See Nigel Spivey, "The depiction of suffering in Classical art: the audition of Laocoon's scream, *Apollo*, 148, 437 (July 1998) 3-8.

<sup>68</sup> Erika Simon, "Laokoön und die Geschichte der antiken Kunst," *Archaeologischer Anzeiger*, 43, 4 (1984) 651.

<sup>69</sup> Wendy Steadman Sheard, "Antonio Lombardo's reliefs for Alfonso d'Este's studio di Marmi: their significance and impact on Titian," *Studies in the History of Art*, 45 (1994) 321-22.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid 321. The purpose and motivation for Antonio's relief are almost identical with that which spurred the symbolic parallels in Perino's tapestries for Andrea Doria. See 162-163, Chapter 2.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid 322.

<sup>72</sup> Simon, op cit 660.

<sup>73</sup> Patricia Emison, "The singularity of Raphael's *Lucretia*," *Art History*, 14 (Sept 1991) 381-83.

<sup>74</sup> Simon, 649.

<sup>75</sup> Detlef Heikamp, "Die Laokoöngruppe des Vincenzo di Rossi," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz*, 34, 3 (1990) 352-53.

<sup>76</sup> Simon, 668-69.

<sup>77</sup> One major reason for the ongoing mystery of the two figures on the right is that El Greco never finished them. Manuel B Cossio in 1908 identified them as Apollo and Artemis with his thesis that El Greco used for his source the account of Arctinus of Miletus instead of Vergil's poem. Apollo punishes the priest for having desecrated his temple with the sexual union of his wife and the subsequent birth of his two sons, while Artemis, his sister, looks away. Camon Aznar suggested that the pair represents Poseidon for whom Laocoon was making his sacrifice, and Casandra who was able to foresee the attack. Sanchez Canton contrued the figures as Epimetheus and Pandora, while Palm in 1969 departed from the pagan iconographical source to declare them as Adam and Eve because of the apple in the former's hand. However, according to Vetter, the apple is used to allude to the beauty contest which had occurred earlier among the goddesses, and, therefore the two figures could represent Helen and Paris.

<sup>78</sup> See 23 and n 24, Chapter 1.

<sup>79</sup> See Marek Rostworowski, "El Greco's *Laocoon*: an epitaph for Toledo's comuneros?," *Artibus et Historiae*, 14, 28 (1993) 77-83.

<sup>80</sup> Thomas Hoving, "Eleven," *Connoisseur*, 218 (Sept 1988) 114-21.

<sup>81</sup> David Bindman, "William Blake and popular religious imagery," *The Burlington Magazine*, 128 (Oct 1986) 717-18. See also Robert N Essick, *William Blake printmaker*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1980.

<sup>82</sup> Merlin Inqli James, "New York City Art Gallery; Pallant House, Chichester, England; exhibits," *The Burlington Magazine*, 131 (Dec 1989) 865-66.

<sup>83</sup> *Laocoon* (painted metal, string, wire, 1947)," *Art Forum*, 34 (Oct 1995) 47. The photograph is to advise of an auction on contemporary art to be held at Christie's in New York in November 1995.

<sup>84</sup> It is not uncommon for a work (especially abstraction in the twentieth century) to be named *post factum* by its resemblance to a familiar subject.

<sup>85</sup> Sarat Maharaj, "Pop art's pharmacies: kitsch, consumerist objects and signs, the unmentionable," *Art History*, 15 (Sept 1992) 347-48.

<sup>86</sup> "Laocoon and nun," (drwg, 1983-84), *Arts Magazine*, 59 (May 1985) 31.

<sup>87</sup> Luis Camnitzer, "Roy Lichtenstein," *Art Nexus*, 12 (1994) 58.

<sup>88</sup> Betsy Rosasco, "A terracotta Aeneas and Anchises attributed to Laurent Guiard," *Record of the Art Museum*, Princeton University 45, 2 (1986) 5.

<sup>89</sup> Ugo da Carpi after Raphael, in Caroline Karpinsky, ed, *The Illustrated Bartsch* 48 (New York 1983) 167-68.

<sup>90</sup> Rosasco, *op cit*, 4

<sup>91</sup> John Shearman, "The Vatican stanza: functions and decorations," Italian lecture (British Academy, 1971), *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 57 (1972): 58, n 149.

<sup>92</sup> Jürgen Rapp, "Adam Elsheimer Aeneas rettet Anchises aus dem brennenden Troja," *Pantheon*, 47 (1989) 118-19.

<sup>93</sup> Rosasco, 6.

<sup>94</sup> Walter Liedtke, "Addenda to *Flemish paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, 27 (1992) 110.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid* n 5, 112.

<sup>96</sup> Rapp, 123.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid* 117.

<sup>98</sup> Rosasco, 6.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid* 7. I disagree with Rosasco's assessment of the earlier two-dimensional version on the same principle as that presented by Lessing in his rebuke toward Winckelmann in the nineteenth century. Subscribing to the theory that the plastic arts cannot adhere to the same rules as those which pertain to the literary arts, one can apply the same argument to the distinction between painting and sculpture.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid* n 32. Hans Kauffmann cited the figure by Michelangelo as an important source for Bernini's Aeneas (*Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini*, 37).

<sup>101</sup> Michel-Francois Dandré-Bardon, *Vie de Carle VanLoo* (Paris, 1765), 17. VanLoo's biographer mentions the advantage of the artist's choice of subject matter, for it quelled the criticism for his frescoed ceiling in the church of St Isidoro in Rome, and it opened up the opportunity for his painting to be compared with Barocci's depiction of *The flight from Troy* which was currently held in high regard. His talent was so well acknowledged by the pope that he received a knighthood and an honorable citation.

<sup>102</sup> See Jean Locquin, *La Peinture d'histoire en France de 1747 à 1785* (Paris, 1912) for the crisis of history painting in eighteenth-century France. VanLoo, known as the greatest living French painter, became the head of the Ecole Royale de Elèves Protégés in 1749 and was named *premier peintre* in 1762, (Louis Courajod, *Histoire de L'école des beaux-arts au xviii siècle: L'école royale des élèves protégés* (Paris, 1874) 31-32.

<sup>103</sup> Rosasco, 10.

<sup>104</sup> Ibid 10-11.

<sup>105</sup> Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) dealt with the theme of the rebellious son as early as 1765 in drawings entitled *The ungrateful son* and *The punished son*. In 1769 he exhibited two paintings, *The death of a father mourned by his children* and *The death of a cruel father abandoned by his children*. See Rosasco, n 57.

Reflecting the further history of a modified Aeneas and Anchises theme is a painting by Jean-Baptiste Regnault entitled *The deluge* (Salon of 1789) which depicts a son carrying his father to safety at the cost of abandoning both his wife and baby.

<sup>106</sup> See Chapter 2, 146; and Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium III* 346 f.

<sup>107</sup> Lessing, *Laocoon, or the boundaries of painting and art*.

<sup>108</sup> Ronald Paulson, *Literary landscape: Turner and Constable*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982) xi. Paulson identifies the genre as representing "the tradition of landscape painting that legitimated itself by using the landscape as a backdrop for human activity."

<sup>109</sup> Claire Pace, *Félibien's life of Poussin*, (London: A Zwemmer Ltd, 1981) 11. Pace singles out Poussin's four most important early biographers: Sandrart, Passeri, Bellori, and Félibien. Each knew the painter personally at some particular stage in his career, and each dealt with different aspects of his life.

<sup>110</sup> Genevieve Warwick, "Poussin and the arts of history," *Word and Image*, 12 (Oct/Dec 1996) 333.

<sup>111</sup> Jack Lindsay, *Turner the man and his art*, (New York: Franklin Watts, inc, 1985) 35.

<sup>112</sup> Christopher Wright, *Poussin paintings a catalogue raisonné*, (New York: Hippocrene Books Inc 1985) 183.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid 183.

<sup>114</sup> See Pace, op cit, *Notes to Félibien's text*, n 151.6 for the assigned date. Also see Wright, op cit, 75 and 191 for the name of his patron, Jacques Stella.

<sup>115</sup> Wright, 75.

<sup>116</sup> Ibid 191.

<sup>117</sup> Wright, 258. Wright, in his random quotes of Poussin's critics, remarks that the artist was one of the most written about painters of all times.

<sup>118</sup> Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain. The paintings*, vol 1 (New Haven: Yale University Press 1961) 49, 56.

<sup>119</sup> Paulson, op cit 48.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid 48.

<sup>121</sup> Humphrey Wine, *Claude the poetic landscape*, (London: National Gallery Publications Limited) 1994.

<sup>122</sup> Laura Suffield, "Claude: artist of the aristocracy," *The Art Newspaper*, 5 (Jan 1994) 16.

<sup>123</sup> Wine, op cit 96.

<sup>124</sup> Michael Kitson, "The Altieri Claudes and Virgil," *Burlington Magazine*, volume no 102 (1960). Kitson noted that Claude used the Italian translation of the epic, *L'Eneide di Virgilio del Comendatore Anibal Caro*, Rome (1625). Reference to Anius as *sacerdote* is found on p 75 of that edition, first published in Venice in 1581. See Wine, n 100.

<sup>125</sup> Wine, 96.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid 50.

<sup>127</sup> Ibid 98.

<sup>128</sup> Kitson, op cit 76.

<sup>129</sup> Wine, 100.

<sup>130</sup> *Famiglie Celebri di Italia*, 13 vols, Milan, 1819-69, xi, 1837, Colonna di Roma, table xi. Also see Wine, 52.

<sup>131</sup> Paulson, 63.

<sup>132</sup> Gerald Finley, "Love and duty: JMW Turner and the Aeneas legend," *Zeitschrift fur Kunstgeschichte*, 55(53), 3 (1990) 377.

<sup>133</sup> See Paulson, chap 8, "The revolutionary aspect: the sun," 80-82, regarding *Dido building Carthage*. Also see Martin Butlin and Evelyn Joll, *The paintings of JMW Turner*, New Haven/London (1984) cat no 135. Finley, n 8, p 378.

<sup>134</sup> See J Ziff, "JMW Turner's last four paintings," *Turner Studies*, iv, i (1984) 48, 51. Finley, n 10.

<sup>135</sup> Turner used Dryden's version, *The works of Virgil containing his Pastorals, Georgics, and Aeneis, translated into English verse; by Mr. Dryden*, 2nd ed, London, 1698. The engraved plates contained in the early illustrated editions of Dryden's *Aeneis* were adapted from those designed by Cleyn and engraved by Hollar for Ogilby's 1654 edition of Vergil's works. See Finley, n 2, p 376. He contends that Turner often drew his compositions from the illustrations in these early editions. Also see Chapter 2, 30-32 for a comparative analysis of Cleyn's *Quos ego* with that of Vrancx, Raphael, Rubens, and Perino.

<sup>136</sup> Finley, 380. Turner was so fond of the area that he purchased land at Twickenham in 1807 and built Sandycombe Lodge there between 1812 and 1813. See K Dian Kriz, "Dido versus the pirates: Turner's Carthaginian paintings and the sublimation of colonial desire," *Oxford Art Journal*, 18 (1995) 117-18. Kriz appropriates sexually charged language to explain the "visual rhetoric" in Turner's paintings. She suggests that Turner "made North Africa appear as a locale with qualities which would make it ripe for penetration by the imperial powers of Britain and Western Europe." Turner's imaginative landscape,

according to one contemporary critic, is "the artist's rejection of topographical accuracy in favor of an all-encompassing fantasy. . ." and stems from a reading of Bk iv supposing "it to distain a reference to any particular quarter of the world," Royal Academy Exhibition, *Champion*, (May 1814) 149.

<sup>137</sup> Ruiz, op cit 119. This spatial ordering is manifested in the stately procession of the classical architecture on the right which leads at a right angle to the central vanishing point at the harbor's mouth.

<sup>138</sup> [R Hunt], "Royal Academy exhibition," *Examiner*, 29 May 1814, 349. See Ruiz n 12.

<sup>139</sup> Ruiz, 120. See A Heminway, "Genius, gender, and progress: Benthamism and the arts in the 1820's," *Art History*, 16, 4 (Dec 1993) 619-46, for Robert Hunt's criticism based on his progressive politics.

<sup>140</sup> [W Hazlitt], 'Royal Academy,' *Morning Chronicle*, 3 May 1814.

<sup>141</sup> Paulson, 80-82.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid 64.

<sup>143</sup> See Finley, 381.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid 382.

<sup>145</sup> Finley, 382-83.

<sup>146</sup> Lindsay, 82.

<sup>147</sup> Kriz, 124.

<sup>148</sup> Ibid 128. Kriz interprets *Dido and Aeneas* and *Dido building Carthage* as engendered with beautiful feminine qualities of the East which attract the male gaze of the West. See n 136 in this chapter for Kriz's sexual/political references.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid 126.



<sup>150</sup> C Powell, "Infuriate in the wreck of hope: Turner's vision of Medea," *Turner Studies*, II, i (1982) 17, n 15.

<sup>151</sup> Finley (n 35) remarks that when Turner was living in Chelsea, Mrs Booth observed that the four paintings were placed in a row and that the artist would work on them simultaneously, going from one to the next, in rotation, until they were completed. JW Archer, 'Reminiscences,' *once a week*, 1 February 1862, 166 (reprinted *Turner Studies I*, i, 1981, 36).

<sup>152</sup> Ibid 384. This is Finley's own interpretation of Dido in the painting.

<sup>153</sup> Finley, n 40, refers to Butlin and Joll, op cit 430; and Ziff, op cit 47, who interpret an emphasis on the opulence and sensuality of the affair of Dido and Aeneas, anticipating the liaison between Anthony and Cleopatra in Egypt.

<sup>154</sup> Nowhere does this scene take place in Vergil's text.

<sup>155</sup> The thematic content of the painting is problematic in two respects: that Cupid (not Ascanius) is depicted next to his father; and that Mercury, whom Turner included in the title, is not immediately identified. The only adult male figure, besides Aeneas, is seated donning a helmet and a red cloak. The head apparel is typical of that worn by the messenger god, but the color of the cloak (I believe) possibly alludes to a liturgical reference and suggests the crimson regalia of the Cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church. Thus the divine intervention from the pagan world of Vergil is manifested in a contemporary Christian context. Finley calls attention to the similarity of Mercury's pose with that depicted in the engravings of the earlier Dryden editions of the *Aeneis*.

<sup>156</sup> As in the second picture, *Mercury sent to admonish Aeneas*, Finley suggests that the pose of Dido in *The visit to the tomb*, is modeled after an engraving in an early edition of Dryden's *Aeneis* (III, opp p 327).

<sup>157</sup> Lindsay, 155. Lindsay suggests that Turner believed that he was nearing the end of his life, and that he made

a strenuous effort to complete these four paintings to be exhibited together as a farewell gesture. Unlike the more optimistic painting *Dido building Carthage*, the mood had become more solemn in these last works which stressed Aeneas' failure as a lover, a theme which possibly was a self-projection of the artist himself.

<sup>158</sup> Finley, 388. This work is believed to have been based on a drawing of an early patron of Turner, Sir Richard Colt Hoare and possibly was intended for a companion piece for Richard Wilson's *Lake Nemi* which was in his patron's collection. See John Gage, "Turner and Stourhead: the making of a classicist?," *The Art Quarterly*, xxxvi, i, (1974) 73.

<sup>159</sup> Paulson, 66. The Wilsonian emblem becomes smaller and smaller in all of Turner's subsequent landscapes and progresses to wholly Claude compositions.

<sup>160</sup> Gage, op cit 73.

<sup>161</sup> Finley, 388.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid 389. See Gage, 74.

<sup>163</sup> This is a third reference to Turner's use of an engraving from an early edition of Dryden's *Aeneis*. In this illustration from *Aeneis VII* (opp p 466) the female figure on the far left of the engraving and the figure with her back exposed to the immediate right bear a strong resemblance to the pose of Turner's women in the painting. See Finley, n 64.

<sup>164</sup> Finley, 390.

## CHAPTER 3

## Res latentes: visual abstractions

If poetry is defined as the essence of a characteristic quality attributed to an object, act, or experience, consequently, by its very nature the idiom falls under the rubric of verbal abstraction. From this premise an even more cogent argument arises for the further appropriation of Horace's *ut pictura poesis* to include visual abstraction as poetry's "sister" counterpart. This syllogism provides a point of departure for my thesis that it is possible to render pictorially the themes of the *Aeneid* in the genre of abstract expressionism which captures merely the essence of Vergil and focuses on the intrinsic nature of his epic. The human figure becomes elliptical and is replaced by those images which portray specific scenes from the narrative format and elicit visually the solemn moods which the poet depicted with descriptive verbal discourse. Such images basically comprise the attendant

circumstances which function as props against which the scene of action unfolds. Since the majority of Aeneas' exploits are superimposed on a tapestry of darkness and are played out in the context of insidiousness originating from divine intervention and supernatural phenomena, the theme of the visual presentation is entitled *Res latentes*. The canvases possess some of the elements inherent to the three pictorial genres discussed in the first chapter. The triptych format mirrors the frequentative nature of "Cinematic progression" and the multi-scenic depictions of the *Aeneid* cycles; the "monster" collages, the Wooden Horse, the Cyclops, and Fama, echo those reliefs frozen in time and space and recall the exegeses of "Cameos and snapshots" and the models for "Symbolic imagery" with their delineated sculptural qualities; and the final entry detailing the landscape of the Underworld has yielded to a diptych format to convey the dichotomy of the Underworld in the transition from darkness to light. It is derivative of the exegeses from the Vergilian landscape of Chapter 1 and elicits the inferno landscapes of Brueghel and Elsheimer, and the Cumaean paintings of Turner. The

second pendant of this pair, with its monochromatic tones of whites, symbolizes Aeneas' apocalyptic sojourn in the Underworld and the ineluctable fate of man and the immortality of his soul.

RES LATENTES: CATALOGUE

Triptych I	1	NOTUS
	2	EURUS
	3	AFRICUS
Triptych II	4	GEMINI ANGUES
	5	LAOCOON
	6	GEMINI DRACONES
Triptych III	7	MACHINA FATALIS
	8	CYCLOPS
	9	FAMA
Diptych I	10	TARTAREUM VESTIBULUM
	11	LETHAEUS AMNIS

## TEXTUAL SOURCES AND COMMENTARIES

## Triptych I

1	NOTUS	167.6 x 167.6 cm
2	EURUS	167.6 x 167.6 cm
3	AFRICUS	167.6 x 167.6 cm

## Textual Source:

Incubuerunt mari totumque a sedibus imis  
 una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis  
 Africus et vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus:  
 (i.84-86)

At the same time, Eurus, Notus, and Africus with frequent gusts lay upon the sea and plow the open waters from their lowest depths; they roll vast waves toward the shores.

## Commentary:

The composition of the individual paintings depicting the storm sequence hinges on the direction from which the winds emerge. For the visual presentation the chronological order of the first two entries in the text has been reversed. The negative shape located at the bottom of each canvas illustrates the source of their domain. Notus, the south wind, logically originates from the central lower region and is self-contained by its symmetrical design. Eurus, the east wind, positioned in the lower right quadrant, and Africus, the west wind, emanating from the left, are joined in an elongated unified arch. All three works elicit the monosyllabic close of *aquae mons*.

## Ancillary Sources:

The thematic *res latentes* is drawn from:

Sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris  
hoc metuens molemque et montis insuper altos  
imposuit, regemque dedit qui foedere certo  
et premere et laxas sciret dare jussus habenas.  
(i.60=63)

But the all-powerful father, fearing this (their intemperance), hid (the winds) in dark caves and placed upon them a mass of lofty mountains, and he gave them a ruler who would know how to control them by specific agreement and how to give them free rein when commanded.

Further language depicting the figure of incarceration appeared earlier:

. . .Hic vasto rex Aeolus antro  
luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras  
imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.  
(i.52-54)

Here in a huge cave King Aeolus represses the wrestling winds and the howling storms with his command and restrains them with chains and a prison.

The positive shape of each canvas arises from a pictorial conflation of mountain, cave, and sea, as evidenced in *vasto antro*, *speluncis atris*, *montis altos*, *cavum montem*, and *vastos fluctus*. Highlights and modulation emanate from:

Intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether  
(i.90)

The heavens thundered, and the sky flashes with frequent lightning.

Finally, each cinematic frame of the group is



contained by a shroud of darkness originating from the formulaic:

. . .ponto nox incubat atra.  
(i.89)

Black night broods over the sea.

The three abstractions strive to comport faithfully with the pictorial account of Vergil's text.

Music Evocation:

Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Die Hebriden  
(Fingals-Höhle)

Richard Wagner: Der Fliegende Holländer



1 NOTUS

167.6 x 167.6 cm



2 EURUS

167.6 x 167.6 cm



3 AFRICUS

167.6 x 167.6 cm

## Triptych II

4 GEMINI ANGUES 147.3 x 213.3 cm

## Textual Source:

Ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta  
 (horresco referens) immensis orbibus angues  
 incumbunt pelago pariterque ad litora tendunt;  
 pectora quorum inter fluctus arrecta jubaeque  
 sanguineae superant undas;

(ii.203-207)

Behold, however, twin serpents from Tenedos over  
 the tranquil deep (I shudder in retelling) with  
 huge coils lean over the sea, and, side by side,  
 they stretch to the shores; their breasts raised  
 over the water and their blood-red crests overcome  
 the waves;

5 LAOCOON 147.3 x 213.3 cm

## Textual Source:

. . . Illi agmine certo  
 Laocoonta petunt, et primum parva duorum  
 corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque  
 implicat et miseros morsu depascitur artus;  
 post ipsum auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem  
 corripiunt spirisque ligant ingentibus; et jam  
 bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum  
 terga dati superant capite et cervicibus altis.

(ii.212-219)

They seek Laocoon in a straight line, and at first  
 each serpent having embraced the small bodies of  
 the two sons entwines them and feeds on their  
 wretched limbs with their fangs; afterwards they  
 seize Laocoon himself going for aid and bearing  
 weapons, and they bind him with their huge coils;

and now, having embraced his middle twice, and twice having put their scaly backs around his neck, they overcome him with their head and their lofty necks.

6 GEMINI DRACONES 147.3 x 213.3 cm

Textual Source:

At gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones  
effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem,  
sub pedibusque deae clipeique sub orbe teguntur.  
(ii.225-227)

But the twin dragons in a gliding motion escape to the top of the shrine, seek the citadel of savage Minerva, and hide under the feet of the goddess and under the circle of her shield.

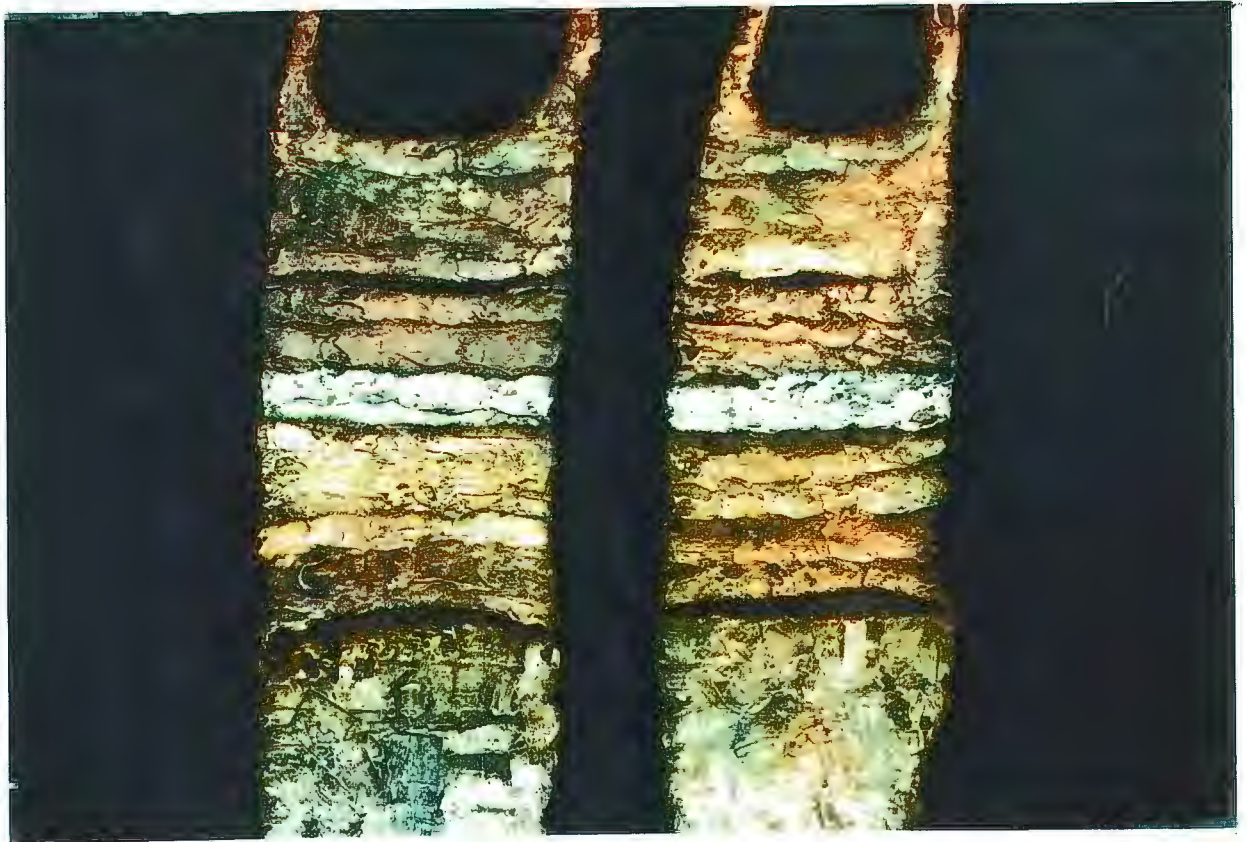
Commentary:

The winds in Bk i and the serpents in Bk ii are depicted with language which renders pictorially the "cinematic progression" discussed in Chapter 1. With the same concept the "Laocoon group" has been executed to portray visually the approach of the predators, their attack on Laocoon, and their refuge to the temple of Minerva. A synoptical view of the triptych reveals a semblance of the victim's name spelled out to be fragmented by a visual tmesis. In the first component of the triptych the serpents appear with their breasts *arrecta* over the waters and thus delineates the vertical leg of the L. With circular motion suggested by such a verbal palette as *amplexus*, *implicat*, *spiris*, *amplexi*, and *circum*. . .*dati*, the second entry accomodates the appropriate shape of the circle and spiral pertinent to their sanguineous agenda. The final canvas of the group describes the serpents as they escape to their sanctuary in a gliding motion *lapsu* which suggests a horizontal

movement to complete the second leg of the L. This brings a close to the fragmented structure of the visual presentation originating from the concept of the verbal tmesis in *circum. . . dati*. The titles of the three paintings are taken from the poet's own employment of the language, and partly, with reference to the commentary of Servius concerning the names of serpents contingent upon the location of their appearance.

Music Evocation:

Gustav Holst: Mars, Bringer of War  
(The Planets)



4 GEMINI ANGUES

147.3 x 213.3 cm





5 LAOCOON

147.3 x 213.3 cm



6 GEMINI DRACONES

147.3 x 213.3 cm

## Triptych III

7 MACHINA FATALIS 193.0 x 157.5 cm

## Textual Source:

. . .scandit fatalis machina muros  
feta armis.

(ii.237-238)

Teeming with arms the deadly machine mounts the  
walls.

## Music Evocation:

Dimitri Shostakovich: Symphony No 10  
Third Movement

8 CYCLOPS 193.0 x 157.5 cm

## Textual Source:

Vix ea fatus erat summo cum monte videmus  
ipsum inter pecudes vasta se mole moventem  
pastorem Polyphemum et litora nota petentem,  
monstrum horrendum, informe, ingens, cui lumen ademptum.  
(iii.655-658)

Hardly had he finished speaking when we see on the  
top of a mountain the shepherd Polyphemus himself  
moving himself among his flocks in a great mass and  
seeking the familiar shores, a horrific monster,  
shapeless, huge, and bereft of sight.

## Music Evocation:

Zoltan Kodaly: Hary Janos Suite

## Textual Source:

Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,  
 Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum:  
 mobilitate viget virisque adquirit eundo,  
 parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras  
 ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.  
 (iv.173-177)

Immediately Rumor goes through the great cities of Libya, Rumor, than whom there is not any evil more swift: she thrives on mobility and she acquires strength by going, small at first because of fear, soon she raises herself into the air and proceeds on the ground and then hides her head among the clouds.

## Ancillary Source:

Illam Terra parens. . .  
 progenuit pedibus celerem et perniciousibus alis,  
 monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,  
 tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),  
 tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.  
 (iv.178-183)

Mother Earth gave birth to her, swift of foot and nimble wings, a horrible monster, huge, who possesses just as many feathers on her body, as many watchful eyes beneath (marvelous to say), as many tongues, just as many mouths resound, and she pricks up just as many ears.

## Music Evocation:

Hector Berlioz: *Songe d'une nuit Sabbat*  
 Symphony Fantastique  
 Fifth Movement

Commentary:

All three monsters possess a hyperbolic quality expressed by Vergil's favorite adjective, *ingens*. Visual echoes of the circle and the curve are evidenced from the "Laocoon" triptych and the "storm sequence" of the first group. For the sake of conformity I have abided by a stylized design in the execution of the entire exhibit and have attempted in the process to be faithful to the poet's text.



7 MACHINA FATALIS

193.0 x 157.5 cm



8 CYCLOPS

193.0 x 157.5 cm



9 FAMA

193.0 x 157.5 cm



## Diptych I

10 TARTAREUM VESTIBULUM 203.2 x 254.0 cm

## Textual Source:

Porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnae,  
vis ut nulla virum, non ipsi excindere bello  
caelicolae valeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,  
Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta  
vestibulum exsomnia servat noctesque diesque.  
(vi.552-556)

There is a huge gate placed opposite and pillars of solid adamant that no force of man, not even the heaven-dwellers themselves, strong enough to cut down in war; an iron tower looms upward to the air, and Tisiphone perched above, girded with a bloody mantle, sleeplessly guards the entrance by day and by night.

## Music Evocation:

Bela Bartok: Music for Strings, Percussion and Celesta  
First Movement

11 LETHAEUS AMNIS 203.2 x 254.0 cm

## Textual Source:

Interea videt Aeneas in valle reducta  
seclusum nemus et virgulta sonantia silvae,  
Lethaeumque domos placidas qui praenatat amnem.  
(vi.703-705)

Meanwhile Aeneas sees in a remote valley a recessed grove and resounding thickets of a forest and the river Lethe which flows past peaceful abodes.

## Music Evocation:

Richard Strauss: Tod und Verklärung

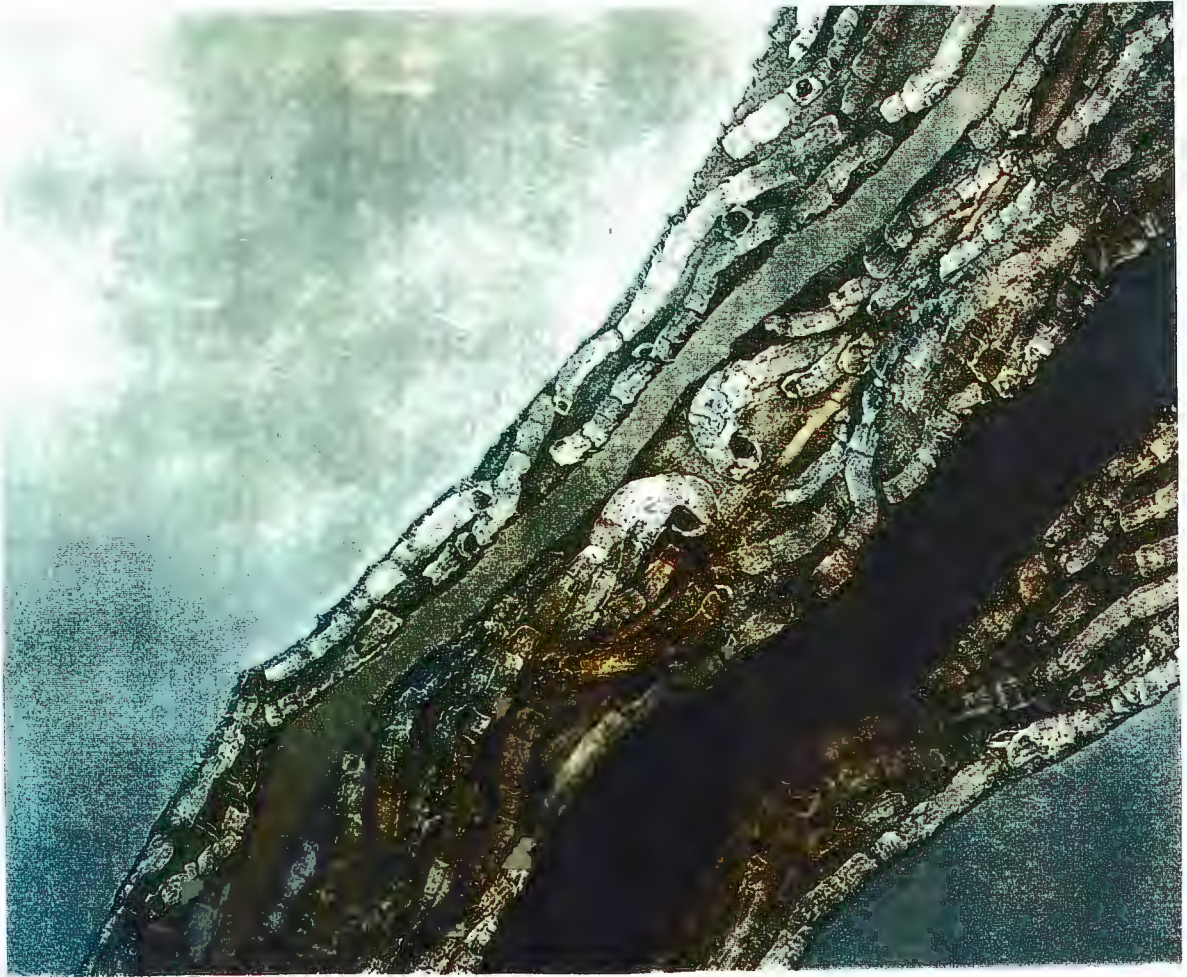
## Commentary:

The canvases of the Vergilian landscape are the largest in dimension of the earlier triptychs by virtue of the fact that negative space is a predominant motif in the text. To accommodate the panoramic aura of the poet's design, depth and infinitude are the priorities required for these "field" paintings. With the transition from the darkness of Tartarus to the light of the Lethaeian stream, a theme of concealment, *res latentes*, has now yielded to a theme of rebirth and revelation. A sense of symmetry and balance can be evidenced by the flanking of the exhibition with depictions of the water: the first, with the destructive force of the stormy sea over which loom death and desolation; the latter, with the tranquil flow of the river Lethe and a more promising tone of salvation through brightness and light. The shift in format from triptych to diptych reflects the dual theme of light and darkness which the landscape of the Underworld conveys. An attempt has been dared to present visually the cohesiveness of Vergil's epic and to bring about another interpretation of the *Aeneid*.



10 TARTAREUM VESTIBULUM

203.2 x 254.0 cm



11 LETHAEUS AMNIS

203.2 x 254.0 cm

## CONCLUSION

In an evaluation of the structural components of the *Aeneid*, the most cogent source of data for analysis derives from the poet's words and what they convey. This verbal palette is the means by which the pictorial elements of the epic are created. Specific passages selected for explication have revealed the power of Vergil's language to portray visually his subjects, their actions, and the tapestries on which they are superimposed.

Since structural composition has been the major focus of research in Chapter 1, it would be appropriate to review the findings on three separate levels. Under the rubric of "textual-visual" is the first and most technical of these categories, which concerns the strategic positioning of words and the frequency of their occurrence. From this source emerges a compositional substance and unity achieved by the repetition of words and their grammatical modifications within a given frame. The *Tartareus Phlegethon* passage reveals the most abundant and dramatic examples of such parallels.<sup>1</sup> Other pictures with similar dual references and strategic

placement of words appear in the verses depicting Etna, the Cyclops, Cerberus, and the *inanis* passage describing the surrealistic landscape of Elysium. A variation on this process can also be found in the multiple references of a word through synonyms. In particular, the "storm and shipwreck" and the "twin serpent" passages are ideal paradigms to illustrate the verbal depiction of the sea and its fury, with such assortments that provide colorful nuances and guard against monotony.<sup>2</sup> With this schema of verbal antecedents and parallels the poet effects an interwoven pattern which provides verbal continuity and a sense of cohesiveness.

The second division of evaluation addresses the "pictorial-visual" qualities of the epic which are the origins of those images emanating from Vergil's composition. Again, the words are the predominant issue, and their connotations in a specific context provide the reader with vivid pictures emerging through color, shape, and movement. Since the prevailing themes in these exegeses have occurred within an atmosphere of angst and abandonment, the appropriate choices for color were those words which negated its existence. Thus, black and any

synonymous verbal agents suggesting darkness, set the tone and the mood for the majority of these verses. Highlights, however, are provided by the intermittent employment of words connoting fire and blood<sup>3</sup> or by such natural phenomenon as moonlight.<sup>4</sup> Exceptions to these scenarios of dark mood are the pastoral depictions in which the landscape assumes a radiant glow with such a chromatic array as purple, gold, green, and white. Similar color ensembles adorned the athletic competitions in the funeral games of Bk v, and the "golden bough" and the "Elysium" realm of Bk vi.<sup>5</sup>

Shape and movement have been manifested in such language that visually delineates the spiral, curve, or circle motif.<sup>6</sup> In the genre of "Cinematic progression," I discussed three sets of verse which dealt with circular movement and a cyclic theme: (1) the whirlwind of the storm suggests a circular pattern and is conducive to the destructive forces which pervade the passage; (2) with similar convexity the twin serpents make their assault on Laocoon and his sons, as they entwine the victims with their coils; and (3) the simile of the mistletoe renders the parasite encircling the tree in a language

reminiscent of the serpentine agenda. All three episodes begin at a particular juncture and evolve in a cycle of events played out until a return to the circumstances from which they commenced.<sup>7</sup> Some instances of the "circle" motif are merely ornamental and provide the shape pertinent to the pictorial context. Exemplifying such scenarios, among others, are: (1) the balls of fire emitted from Etna; (2) the circular eye of Polyphemus compared to the lamp of Apollo or a Greek shield; (3) any references to the sun or moon; and (4) the global shape of the universe in the process of creation and evolution from the *spiritus* passage of Bk vi.<sup>8</sup>

Occupying the final category for evaluation is "thematic content." In the Introduction, the first reference to Vergil's thematic design is in the context of the headings for the three pictorial genres comprising Chapter 1: "Cinematic progression," "Cameos and snapshots," and "The Vergilian landscape." These individual genres of painting are each conducive to their own thematic content respectively and lend themselves to the portrayal of specific programmatic detail. For instance, "cinema" suggests a theme of motion; "cameo or



snapshot" elicits the idiom of portraiture or relief; and "landscape" would ineluctably conjure up images of the terrain. Consequently, the nature of the theme on its most elemental level is contingent on the genre in which it falls. Yet, upon a synoptical examination of these divisions, there surfaces an overriding theme of concealment, *res latentes*, which becomes a thematic *idée fixe* throughout the *Aeneid*, and, in particular, dominates all three divisions of the thesis. This "abstract" theme<sup>9</sup> plays out its role against the pictorial tapestry of martial and pastoral settings. A review of this manifestation reveals a different source for its occurrence in each of the three genres. In "Cinematic progression" there is the theme of concealment and release at the hands of divine intervention: (1) Jupiter confines the winds in a mountain, Aeolus, at the bid of Juno, unleashes the destructive forces to shipwreck Aeneas and his crew, and Neptune repels the winds and restores the calm of the sea; (2) from their pelagic source of hiding the twin serpents suddenly embark from Neptune's sea, attack Laocoon engaged in a ritualistic sacrifice in honor of the god, perform their sanguineous

deed, and seek refuge in the temple of Minerva;

(3) finally, a more auspicious occasion presents itself to Aeneas in the passage of the twin doves sent by Venus to aid in the discovery of the golden bough hidden in a dark oak.

In "Cameos and snapshots" the theme of concealment stems from the stealth and insidiousness of man: (1) the Wooden Horse is the huge cavern in which the Greek warriors lie in ambush for their strategic attack on Troy upon their release from their captivity by Sinon; (2) Ulysses awaits in hiding to overcome Polyphemus whose eye lies hidden in his brow; (3) in her nocturnal flight, *Fama* grows in strength and size and hides her head among the clouds, as she surreptitiously spreads her infectious gossip to man for propagation.

The excursion through Hades, the principal topic of "The Vergilian landscape," provides another instance of "things hidden," since the entire abode is buried beneath the earth's surface and confines not only the mysteries of human existence, but it is the place for the incarceration of evil-doers from the Upperworld, and a temporary stay for the more righteous citizens awaiting

purgation and a return for reanimation. One final illustration supporting *res latentes* appears in the body's confinement of the soul and its release at death, as Anchises didactically expounds on the doctrine of reincarnation.

In Chapter 2 the focus has shifted from an evaluation of structural components of the *Aeneid* to a survey of artistic expression subsequently stemming from the epic and the various sources of motivation which led to its productivity. The presentation exemplifying these works is in the form of a *catalogue raisonné* which is prefaced by a rationale for the appropriation of Horace's ancient maxim, *ut pictura poesis*. The classifications assigned to the three divisions of art in this chapter correlate respectively with the three pictorial genres addressed in Chapter 1.<sup>10</sup> Thus, "Cinematic progression" is aligned with the "Aeneid cycles;" "Cameos and snapshots," with "Symbolic imagery," and "The Vergilian landscape," with "The history painters." This survey of art, spanning approximately two thousand years, includes the multiple illustrations of the *Aeneid* for didactic purposes in the text, and the ornamental *cassoni* of the

late Trecento and early Quattrocento in Italy. The occurrence of the Aeneas legend, however, is most evident in the Early and High Renaissance where it reached its peak, primarily, in the depiction of Aeneas and his encounters with obstacles which he must overcome to fulfill his destined role as founder of Rome. Initially, the characteristic responsible for the popularity of the theme is the *pietas* which Vergil has instilled in his hero on behalf of his gods, his country, and Anchises, his father. Such honorific devotion was transferred in art to engender a political self-aggrandizement for leaders of state, or to identify a patron of an artist with the virtuous traits of the Trojan hero which would ameliorate his academic and social status among his peers. With the advent of landscape painting from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, themes from the *Aeneid* became a major subject for artists, because the genre of history painting flourished as the highest form of artistic expression, and the depiction of such literary antecedents would enhance the prestige of the painter or sculptor who incorporated them in his composition.

With the exception of the *Aeneid* cycles which adhered to a more encompassing depiction of Vergil's narrative format, the principal themes chosen in traditional art were: *Quos ego*, Bk i; Dido and Aeneas, Bks i and iv; the flight from Troy, Bk ii; and Aeneas with the Cumaean Sibyl, Bk vi. In each instance a mortal or a divine being occupied center stage with visual emphasis and literary significance placed on such figures and their actions as verbally detailed in the text. The *catalogue raisonné* of art in Chapter 2 is intended to provide a continuum for the interpretive process in the evolution of artistic expression. It is at this vantage point, with a scrutinous glance to the past and a visionary gaze into the future, that I venture an attempt in Chapter 3 to perpetuate the tradition of *Ars pictoria* which flourished for two hundred years throughout the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Although my allegiance to the visual/verbal imagery of Vergil's text is not altered or diminished by any comparative analysis with my predecessors, the focus of my artistic expression has centered on different sources. Removing the human or divine figure from the composition, I have opted to

depict in abstraction Vergil's passages describing the attendant circumstances, backdrops, and props against which human and divine action takes place. Among such images are storm tossed seas, sanguine-crested serpents, towering supernatural monsters, and mythological landscapes. All canvases exemplify the elements in the pictorial genres discussed in Chapter 1, including the multi-scenic format characteristic of "Cinematic progression;" the sculptural delineation of "Cameos and snapshots;" and the panoramic depictions of the Underworld indigenous to "The Vergilian landscape." Finally, the visual abstractions, entitled *Res latentes*, reflect the prevailing theme of deception and insidiousness addressed in the verbal exegeses of Chapter 1. Such a motif is the vehicle for implementing the device of *chiaroscuro* to evoke a mood of solemnity in all the pendants until the modulatory shift to monochromatic whites in the final panel symbolizing Aeneas' epiphany and the release of the soul to resume its cyclic transmigration.

In summary, I have attempted to display Vergil's technique in the creative process through the exegeses of

selected verses from the *Aeneid*. Their comparative analyses have revealed the carefully interwoven design of the poet in his portrayal of man, his experiences, and his final destiny. Through the presentation of art traditionally inspired by the epic, and through my own abstract interpretations, I have continued to adhere to the development of the verbal with the pictorial, an assimilation by which Vergil has expressed his authentic personal creation indirectly on canvas, one man in search of an imagery to communicate to all.

## Notes: Conclusion

- <sup>1</sup> See n 123, Chap 1.
- <sup>2</sup> See p 20, Chap 1.
- <sup>3</sup> See the exegesis of Mt Etna, pp 52-55, and the Cyclops, pp 60-63, Chap 1.
- <sup>4</sup> See p 64, Chap 1; also n 101, Chap 1.
- <sup>5</sup> See pp 101-102, Chap 1.
- <sup>6</sup> Knight, 209-210. Recurrent images of the circle, or encirclement, appear throughout the *Aeneid*, such as: in the wall of Troy, Vesta's temple, the round grave, encircled by a snake, the rivers and Cyclopean walls of Hades, the Trojan Game, and the labyrinth on the temple gate at Cumae. The ancients considered the circle to be a symbol of magic, defense, and sanctity. The labyrinth, which is contoured, represents through old folk-lore the circle, and partly the cave, or the tomb, which was at first a cave, or the earth, which is the universal mother. Vergil was influenced by this psychology of mankind and realized it in his work.
- <sup>7</sup> The same cycle appears in Aeneas's excursion in the Underworld. He leaves his ship, convenes with the Sibyl, makes his descent to Hades, tours the entire realm, and ascends to rejoin his companions.
- <sup>8</sup> The cycle of man's existence, from birth to death, through purgation, and return to the Upperworld to be reanimated, is a dramatic example of the circular theme. The entire mechanism could fittingly be tagged *machina ex deo*.
- <sup>9</sup> The third chapter of the thesis is a presentation of the visual abstractions, entitled *Res latentes*.
- <sup>10</sup> The format of the exegeses and the *catalogue raisonné* has been programmed to comport with the visual



presentation in the same thematic and chronological sequence. The majority of paintings are exhibited in triptychs, thereby maintaining the same numerical structure as the verbal presentation. The change to a diptych format in the final entry reflects the dichotomy of Vergil's landscape in the underworld.

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Fig 1 Berlin,  
Veldeke-Handschrift,  
fol 53v (c 1180).

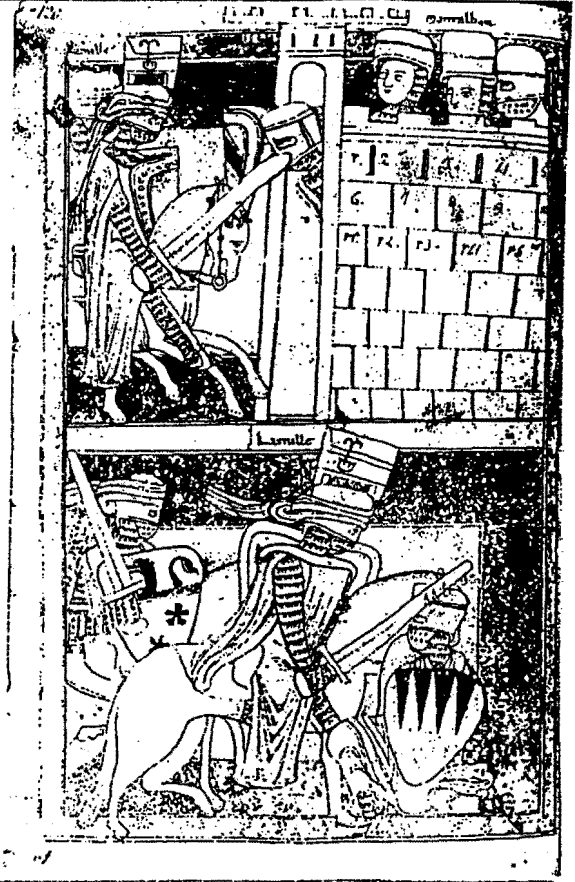


Fig 2 Berlin,  
Veldeke-Handschrift  
fol 59v (c 1180).



Fig 3 Apollonio di Giovanni, *Aeneid I*. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery. University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves.



Fig 4 Apollonio di Giovanni, *Aeneid II*. New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery. University Purchase from James Jackson Jarves.



Fig 5 Apollonio Di Giovanni, *Aeneid I*. Hannover:  
Niedersächsische Landesgalerie.



Fig 6 Apollonio Di Giovanni, *Aeneid II*. Hannover:  
Niedersächsische Landesgalerie.





Fig 7 Apollonio Di Giovanni, *Death of Camilla and wedding of Aeneas and Lavinia*. Ecoen: Musée de la Renaissance.



Fig 8 Marcantonio Raimondi, Quos Ego. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



Fig 9 Perino del Vaga, Neptune calming the tempest.  
Paris, Louvre.



Fig 10 Giulio Bonasone, Neptune calming the tempest.  
Engraving.



Fig 11 Perino del Vaga,  
*Banquet of Dido  
and Aeneas.* Hamburg.

Fig 12 Perino del Vaga,  
*Banquet of Dido  
and Aeneas.* Chatsworth.





Fig 13 After Perino del Vaga, *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas*. tapestry. Vienna.



Fig 14 Attributed to Cornelis de Ronde, *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas*. tapestry. Madrid.

Fig 15 Attributed to Cornelis de Ronde, *Jupiter sends Mercury to rebuke Aeneas*. tapestry. Madrid.

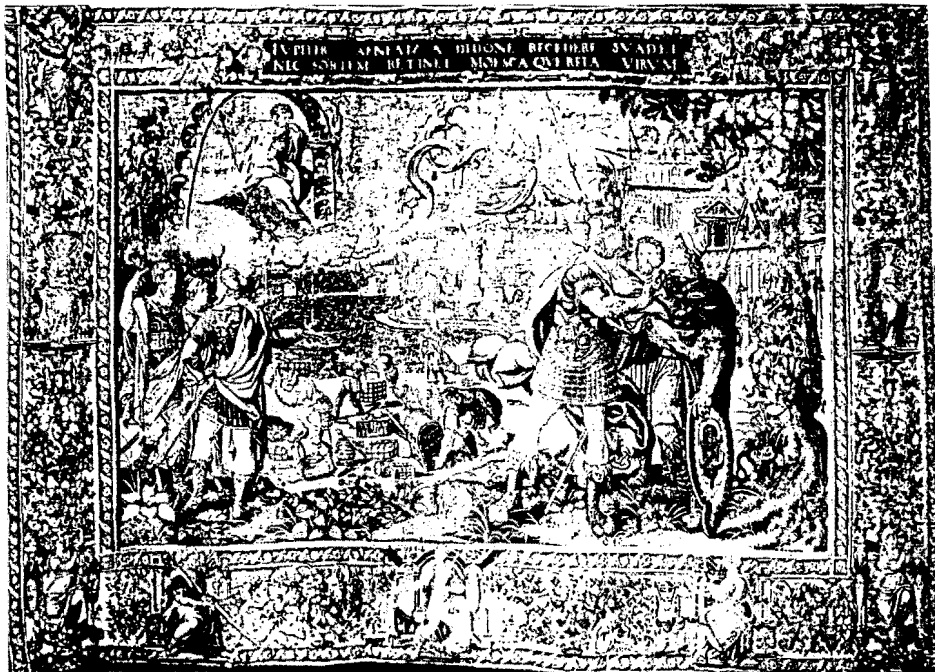




Fig 16 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *The Sow at the place Rome is to be founded. Aeneid VIII, 88 ff.* Paris.

Fig 17 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Plundering of a village.* Lenigrad.





Fig 18 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Euryalus and Nisus (?)*,  
*Aeneid IX*, 314 ff. Paris.





Fig 19 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Battle scene*, Paris.



Fig 20 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *The Feast of Dido, Aeneid I*,  
695 ff. New Haven.

Fig 21 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *In the Underworld, Aeneid VI*,  
548 ff. Paris.





Fig 22 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Euryalus' mother consoled*,  
*Aeneid IX*, 473 ff. New York.

Fig 23 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Vulcan forging Aeneas' arms*,  
*Aeneid VIII*, 416 ff. Paris.





Fig 24 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Quos Ego*, *Aeneid* I, 124 ff.  
Amsterdam.

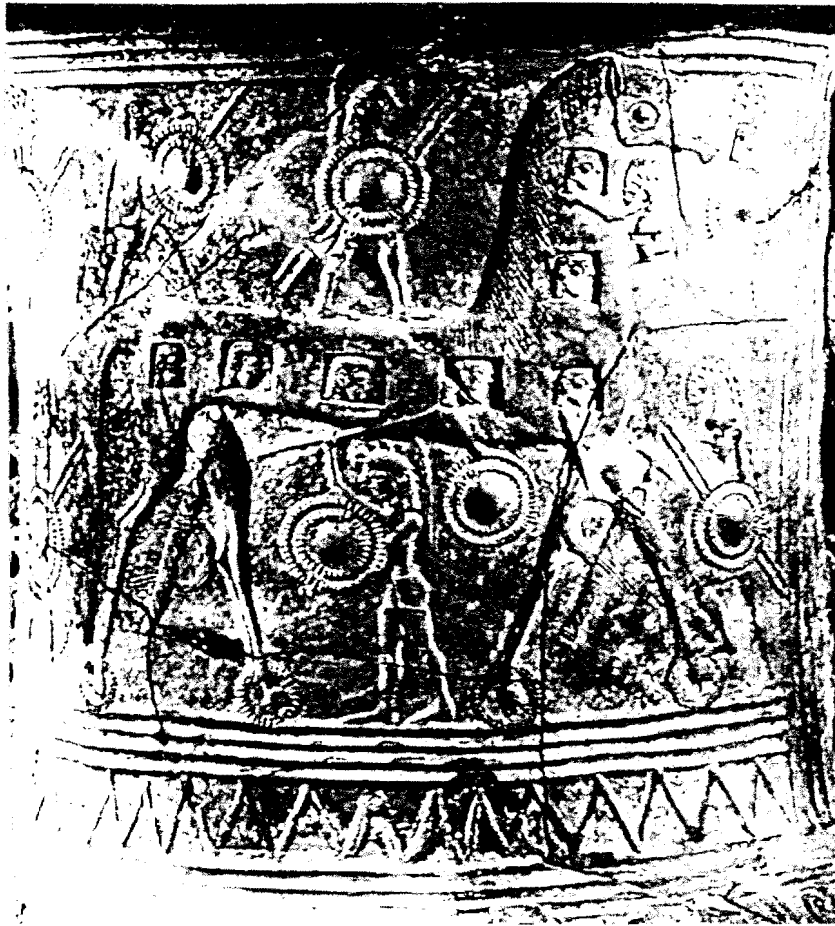


Fig 25 The Trojan horse.  
Cycladic vase  
(c 670 BC). Myconos.

Fig 26 *Das hölzerne Pferd.*  
Wandmalerei aus  
frühaugusteischer  
Zeit im <Haus des  
Menander>.



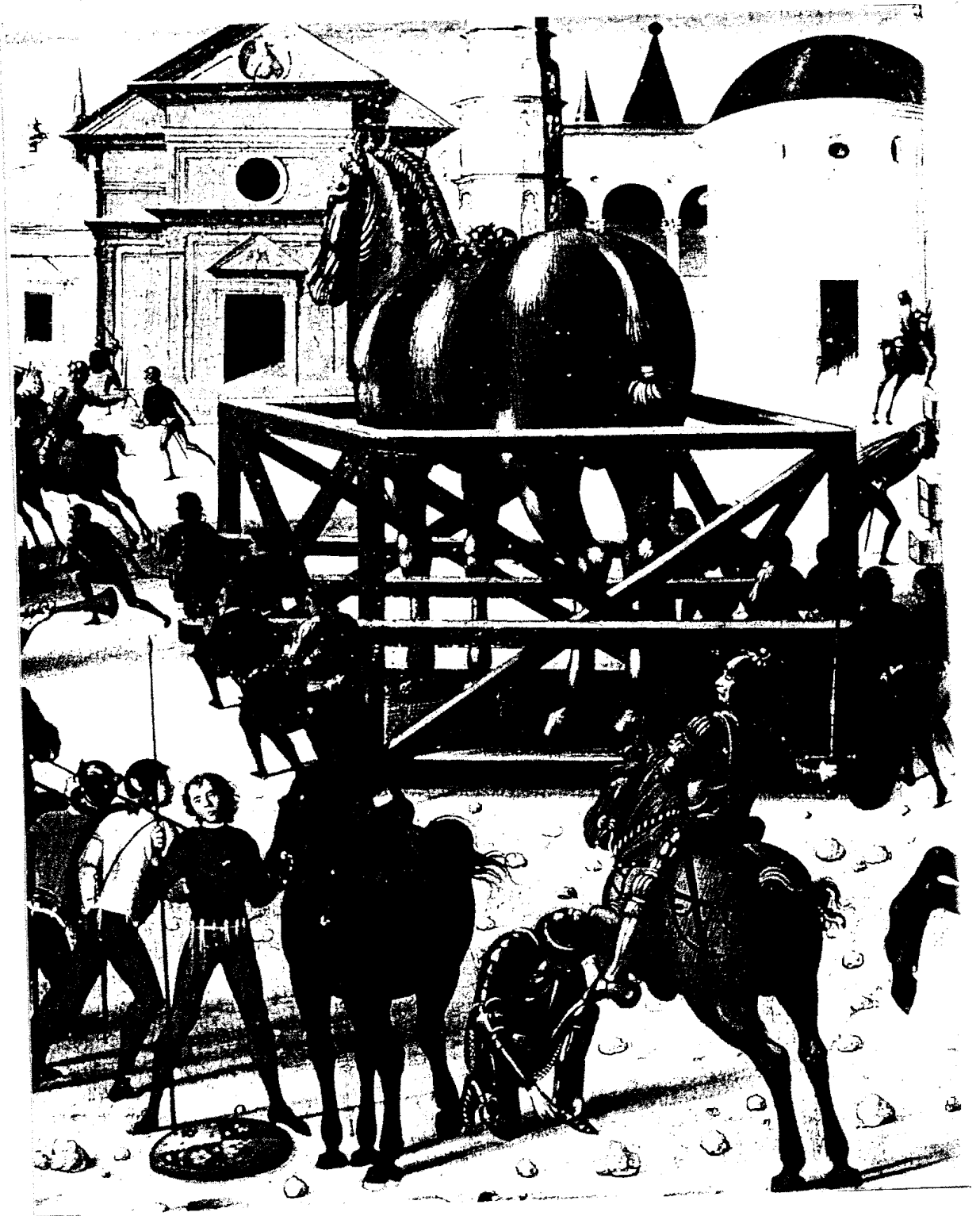


Fig 27 Biagio d'Antonio, *The Siege of Troy: the Wooden horse*. (c 1490-95).



Fig 28 Lovis Corinth,  
*Trojan horse* (1924).

Fig 29 *Das Troianische Pferd.*  
Hisarlik.



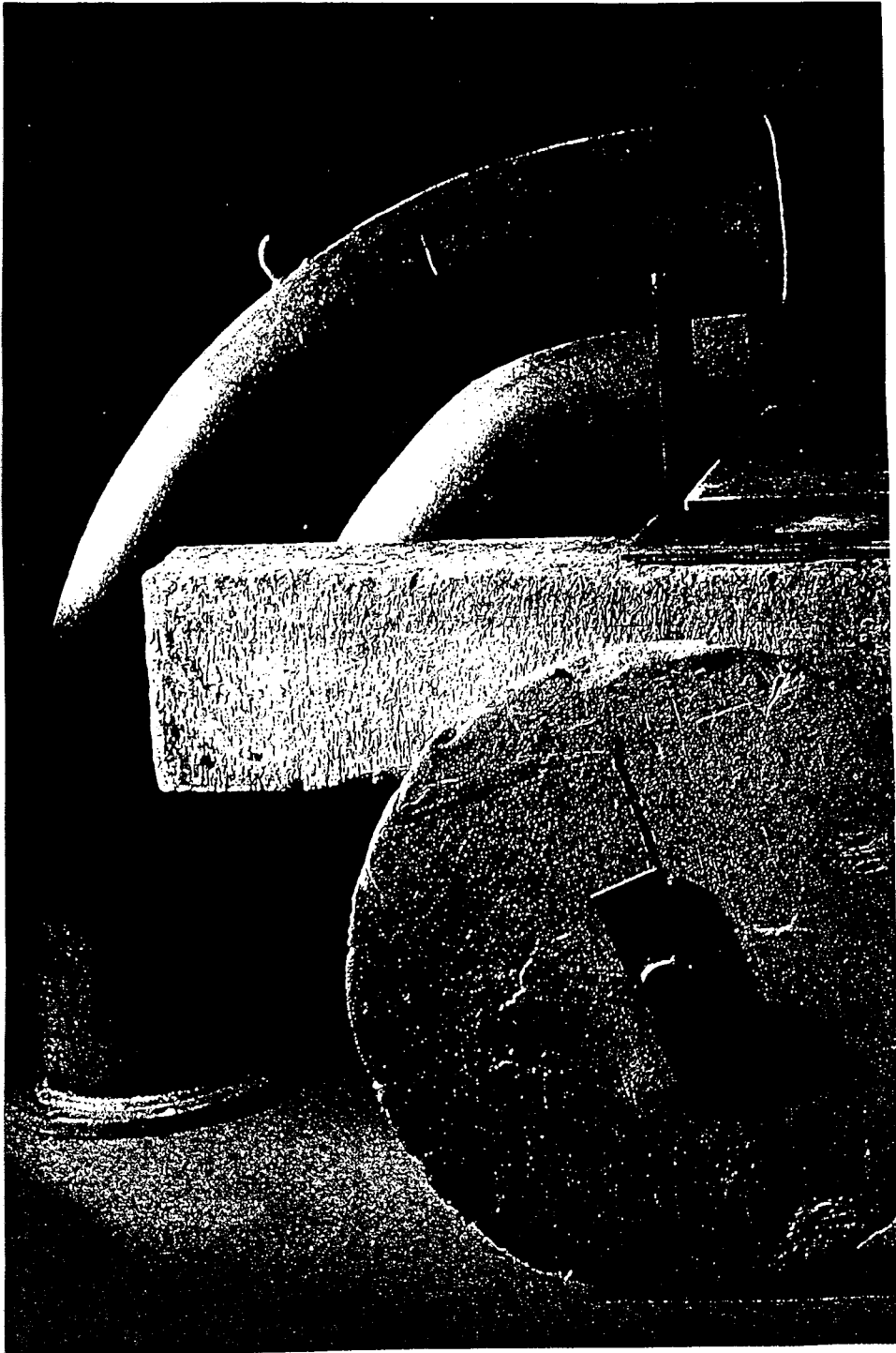


Fig 30 Anthony Caro, *The Trojan horse* (1994).



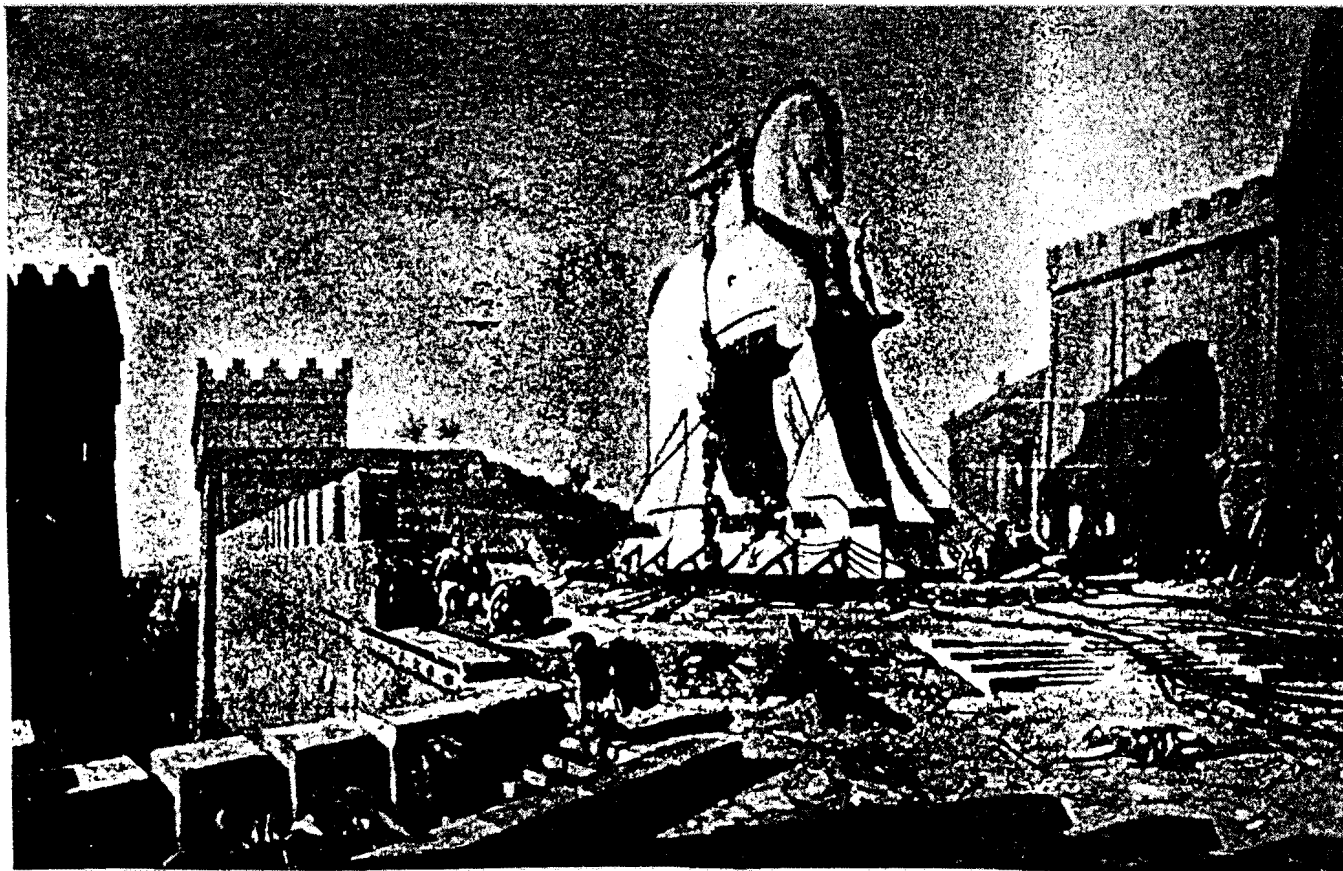


Fig 31 Henri-Paul Motte, *The Trojan horse* (1904).



Fig 32 *The Laocöon Group* (c 200-100 BC). Vatican.



Fig 33 Antonio Lombardo,  
*The Forge of Vulcan*  
*(Birth of Athena)*  
(c 1508-1511).

Fig 34 Marco Dente,  
*Laokoon* (1527).

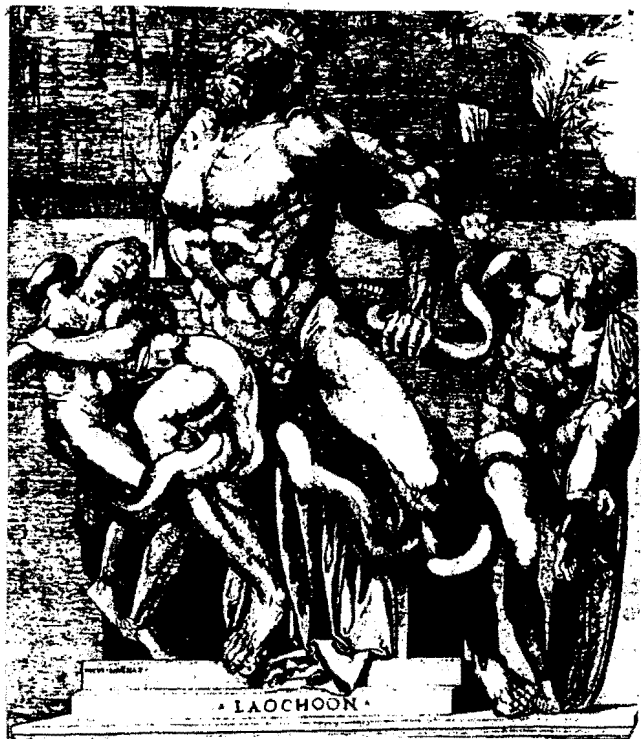




Fig 35 Marco Dente, *Laokoon* (1527).

Fig 36 PS Bartoli, *Laokoon nach Vergil* (1741).





Fig 37 Cesare Ripa, Allegorie des Schmerzes (Dolore) (1603).

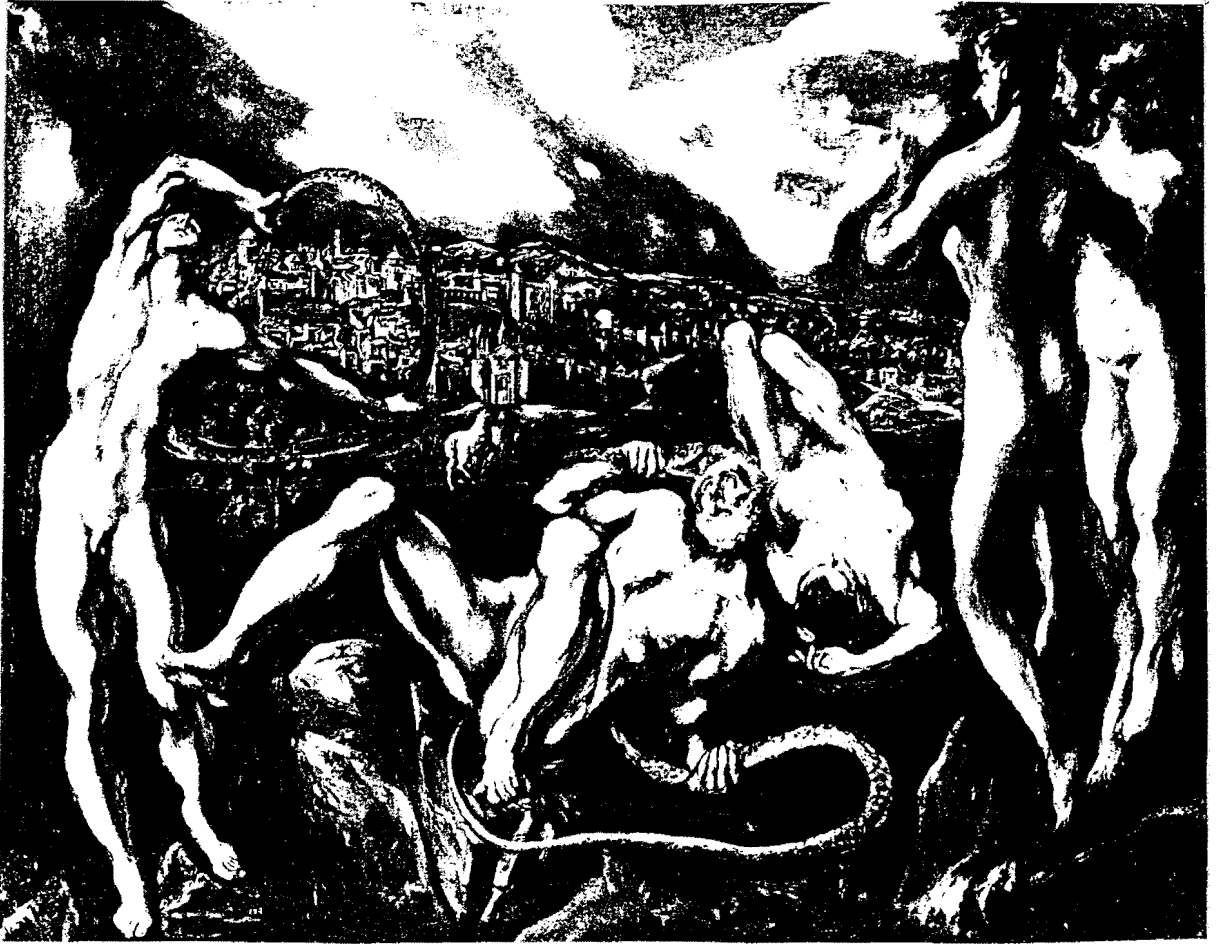


Fig 38 El Greco, *Laocoon*, (1610=1614).



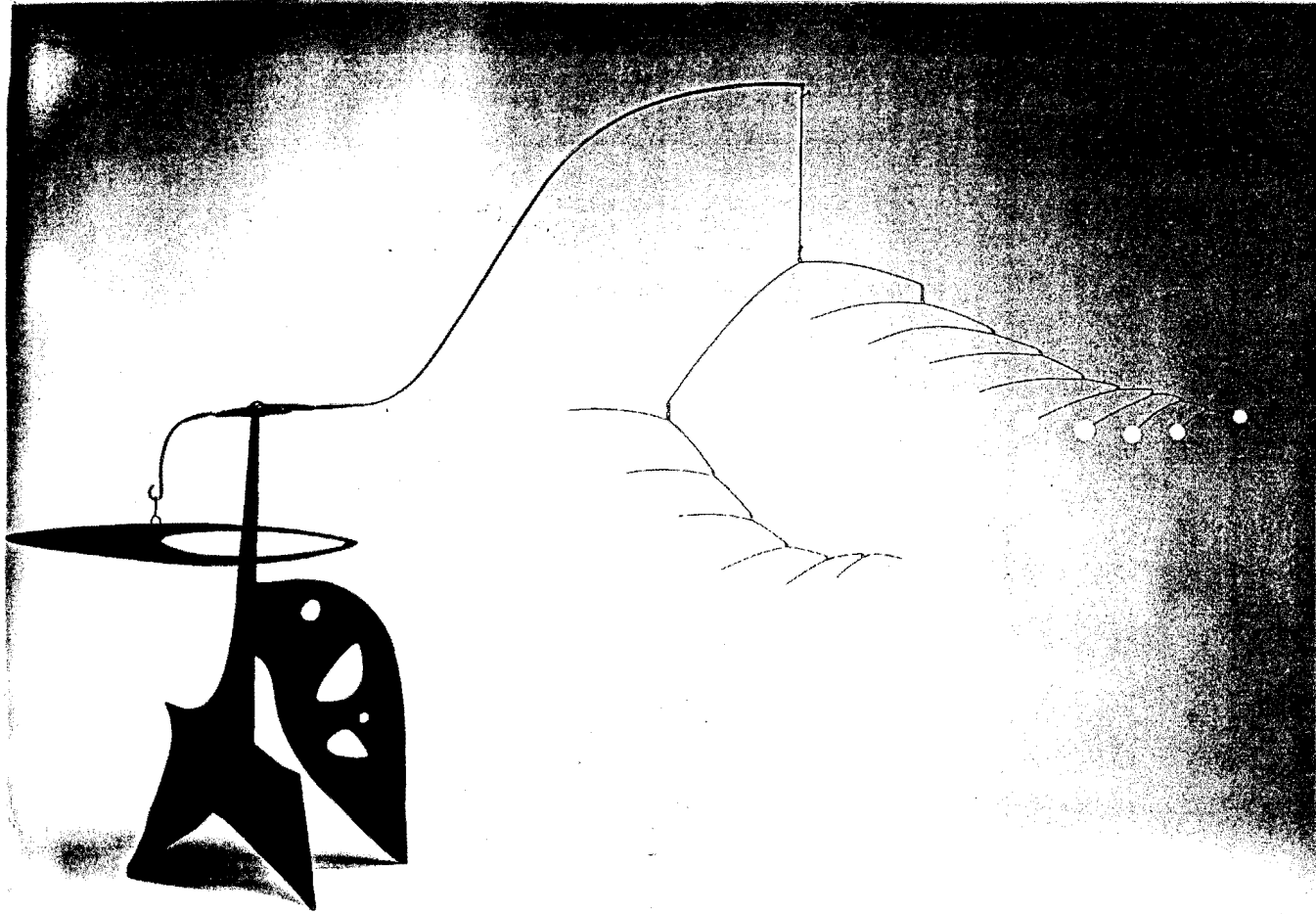


Fig 40 Alexander Calder, *Laocoon* (1947).



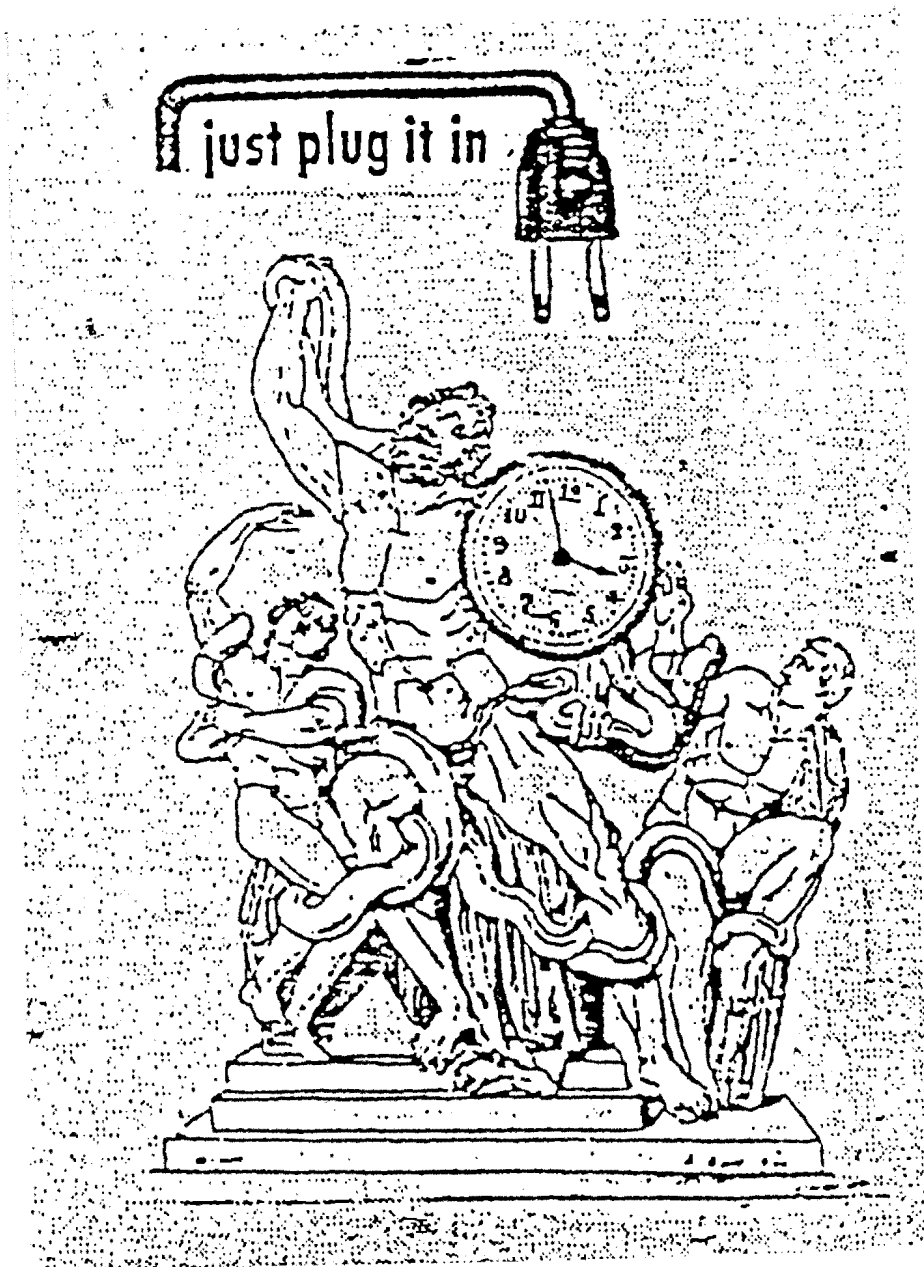


Fig 41 Eduardo Paolozzi, *Laocöon, just plug it in* (1963).



Fig 42 Sidney Goodman, *Laocoon and nun* (1983-1984).



Fig 43 Roy Lichtenstein, *Laocoon* (1988).



Fig 44 *Aeneas with Anchises on his left arm and the statuette of Athena Ilias on his right (AD 46-47).*

Fig 45 *Aeneas escaping with his father and son from the flames of Troy (c AD 70). Pompeian mural.*





Fig 46 Raphael, *The Fire in the Borgo* (1514-1515).  
Fresco. Vatican, Stanza dell'Incendio.

Fig 47 Andrea Alciati, *PIETAS FILIORUM IN PARENTES*  
(1531). Princeton.





Fig 48 Jost Amman, *Aeneas and Anchises* (1567).  
Woodcut after Alciati. *Emblemata*, Frankfurt.

Fig 49 *Niederlandisch*, *Aeneas and Anchises* (1591).  
Woodcut after Alciati. *Emblemata*, Leyden.



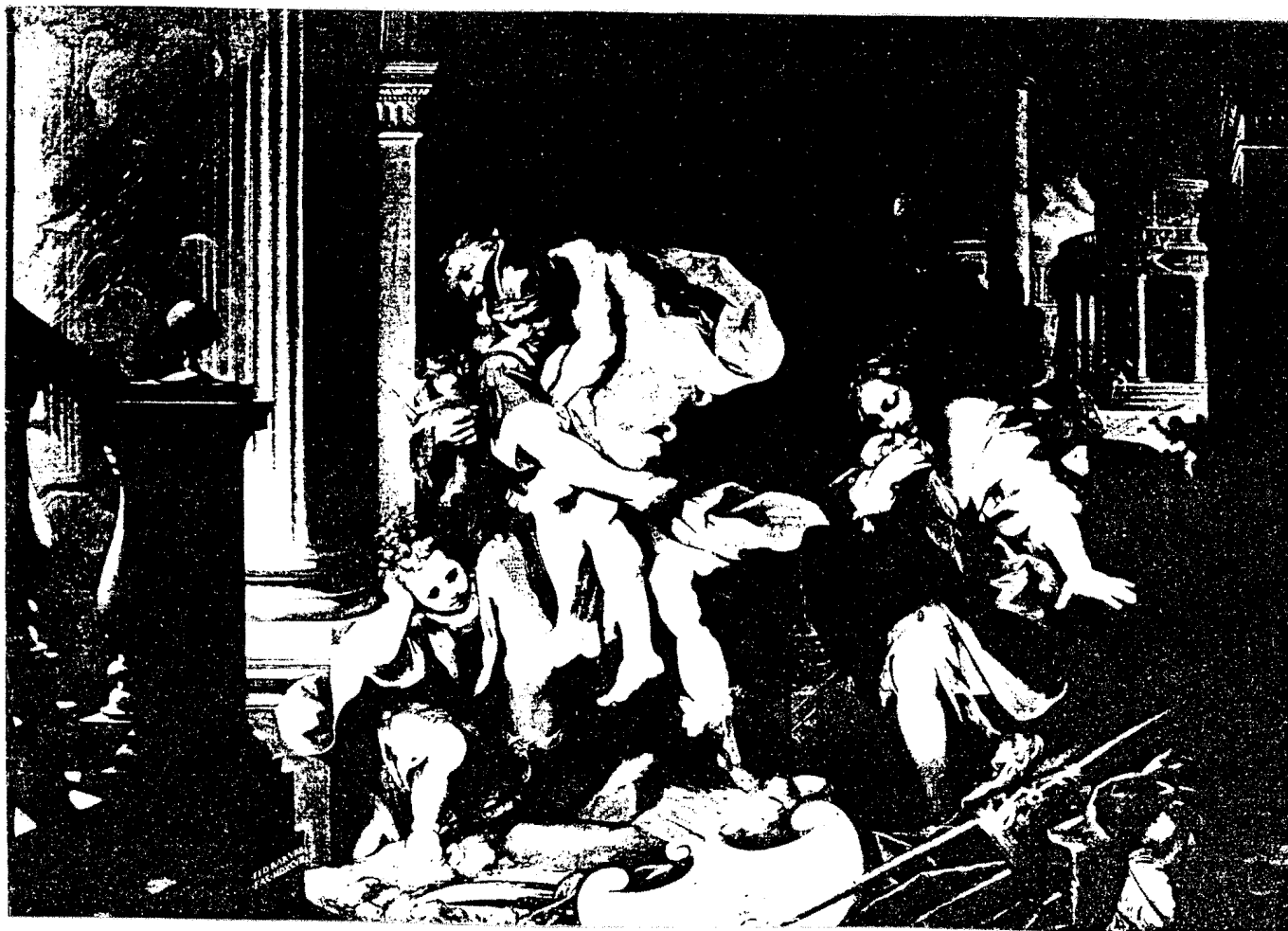


Fig 50 Frederico Barocci, *The Flight from Troy* (1598).

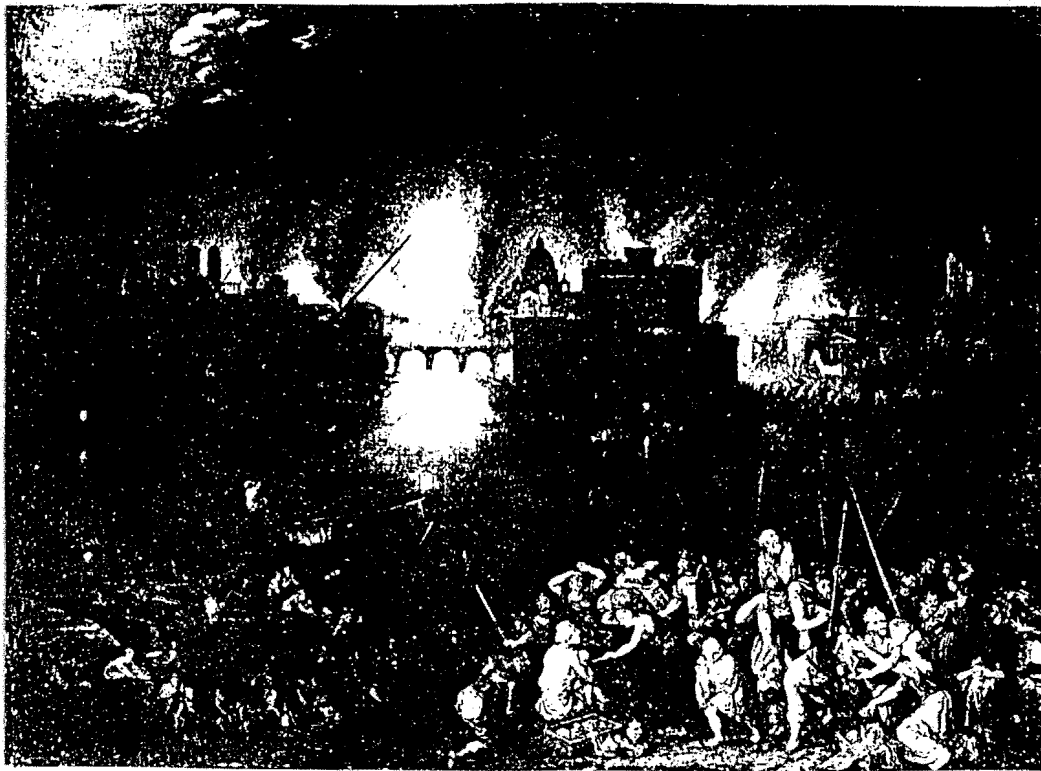


Fig 51 Jan Brueghel the Elder, *Aeneas carrying Anchises out of burning Troy* (1595-1596).

Fig 52 Adam Elsheimer, *The Burning of Troy and the flight of Aeneas* (1596).







Fig 53 Gianlorenzo Bernini,  
*Aeneas and Anchises*  
(c 1610).

Fig 54 Pierre LePautre,  
*Aeneas and Anchises*  
(1717).





Fig 55 Michelangelo, *The Deluge* (1509).



Fig 56 Carle VanLoo *The Flight from Troy* (17 29).



Fig 57 Laurent Guiard,  
*Aeneas and Anchises*  
(c 1750).

Fig 58 Laurent Guiard,  
*Aeneas, Anchises,  
and Ascanius* (1753)





Fig 59 Nicolas Poussin, *Dido and Aeneas* (c 1624).



Fig 60 Nicolas Poussin, *Venus presenting arms to Aeneas* (1636).



Fig 61 *Nicolas Poussin, Venus presenting arms to Aeneas*  
(1639).

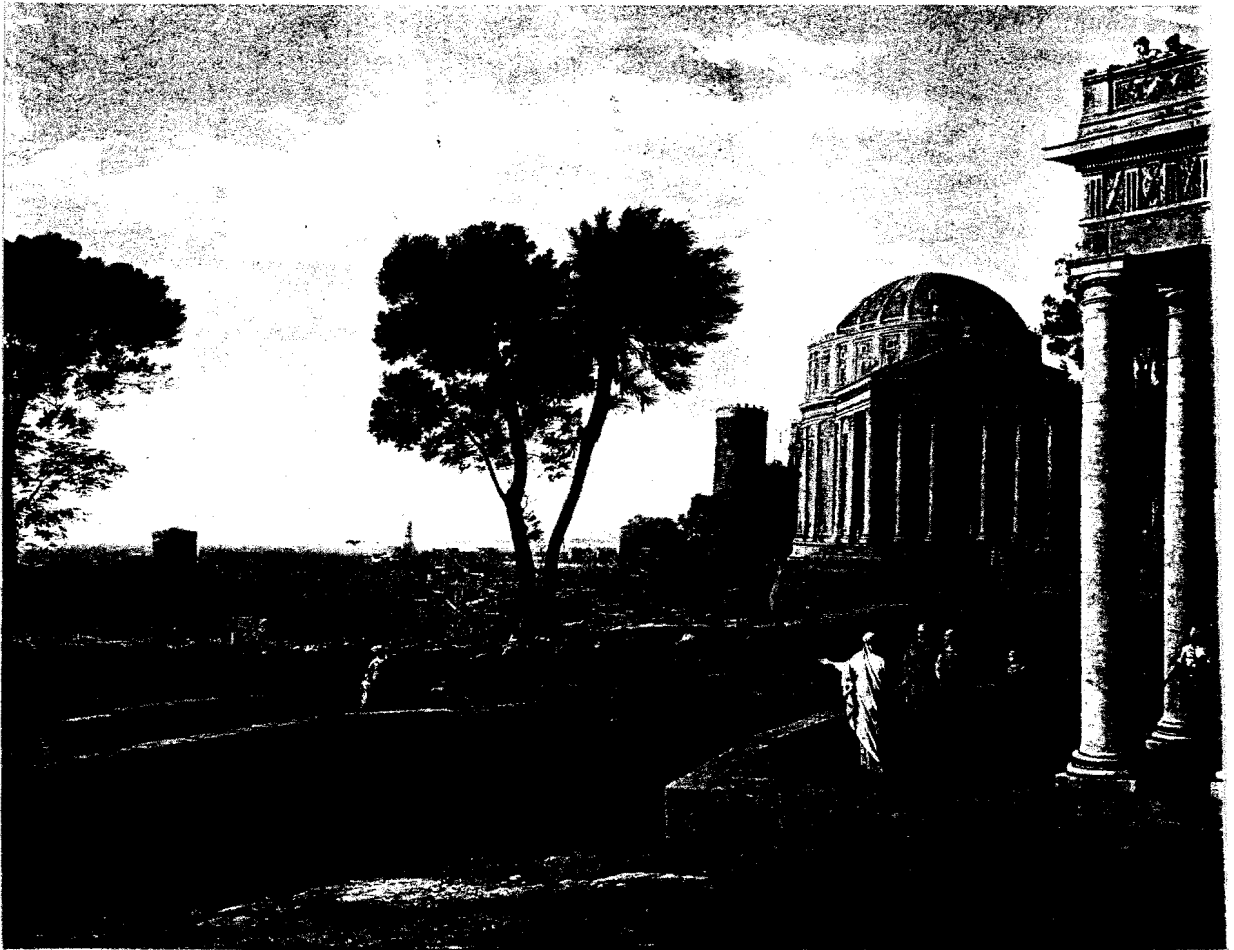


Fig 62 Claude Lorraine, *Landscape with Aeneas at Delos* (1672).





Fig 63 Claude Lorraine, *Landscape with the arrival of Aeneas before the city of Pallanteum* (1675).



Fig 64 Claude Lorrain, *View of Carthage with Dido and Aeneas* (1676).



Fig 65 Claude Lorraine, *Landscape with Ascanius shooting the stag of Silvia* (1682).



Fig 66 JMW Turner, *Dido and Aeneas RA* (1814) .



Fig 67 JMW Turner, *Dido building Carthage; or the rise of the Carthaginian Empire* RA (1815).

Fig 68 Claude Lorrain, *Embarcation of the Queen of Sheba* (1648).





Fig 69 JMW Turner, *Aeneas and the Sibyl* (1798-1800).