

Maximae Furiarum

The Female Demonic in Augustan Epic

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

BY

Rachael Cullick

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Christopher Nappa

May 2016

© Rachael Cullick 2016

Acknowledgements

The writing of this dissertation was a largely solitary process, but I was surrounded by generous support that helped make the entire process not just possible, but a pleasure. These acknowledgements cannot adequately express my gratitude, but I trust that all concerned will be as understanding of that as they have been of so much else. First I must thank my family, whose inspiration, confidence, and loving support allowed me to reach this point. I also thank the entire Classical and Near Eastern Studies department, an unlooked for Minnesota family, whose practical and intellectual support made my work here possible and joyful; this project has benefitted greatly from the learning and interest so generously shared, and the humor and caring has lightened many days. In addition I thank Salim, who introduced me to Latin and Greek in the first place and thus set me on this path; Zeyd and Joy, excellent MA companions and beloved cheering section, especially in the home stretch; Betsy, whose calm practicality was particularly appreciated in a flurry of mundane crises; Kate for her shepherding, Claire for her indulgence, and Barb for watching over us all; Nick and Michelle for being there.

Last, but certainly not least, I offer heartfelt thanks to my committee members, Spencer Cole, Nita Krevans, and Philip Sellew, for all their support and feedback over the years. Their enthusiasm and keen insight, along with the breadth and depth of their learning, has helped shape this project from its earliest days, and I count myself very lucky indeed to have had such a first audience. Finally, I thank my advisor, Christopher Nappa. From his initial mention of the Furies, through countless conversations and

fruitful questions and suggestions, his knowledge, rigor, patience, and intuition have been invaluable, and none of this would have been possible without him. I do not have words to express my thanks adequately, but he has long practice in interpreting my ellipses and will, I trust, forgive this one.

Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter 1: Furies in the Aeneid.....	37
Furor.....	38
Furies at the Fall of Troy.....	42
Chapter 2: Vergil's Harpies.....	68
Chapter 3: Provocation, punishment, & a strange new home.....	129
Fama, monster and desideratum.....	130
Iris.....	134
Dido's tragic furies.....	142
Furies in the Underworld.....	148
Chapter 4: Allecto.....	176
Summoning.....	178
Amata.....	200
Turnus.....	214
Hunt.....	227
Allecto's report and dismissal.....	238
Chapter 5: The Dirae.....	262
Chapter 6: The Furies in Ovid's Metamorphoses.....	302
Ino and Thebes.....	314
Serpentine unions and fertility.....	334
Procne and Philomela.....	342
Althaea and Meleager.....	354
The Death of Orpheus.....	361
Conclusion.....	366
Bibliography.....	372
Appendix A: The uses of <i>dirus</i>	395

Introduction

This dissertation examines the development in Latin epic of the traditional Greek Furies into a new type of demonic figure that arises in the *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. This involves 1) the changes in how they are represented in literature, 2) the role of the figures as characters within the two poems, and 3) the significance of this new type to the broader context of views of women, the supernatural, and how they intersect with provocation, punishment, and power. The poems themselves provide the starting point, focus, and primary evidence for this work, but the other two concerns will be addressed when appropriate throughout. The overall structure, however, follows the order above: the introduction provides an overview of the background from which Vergil's Furies arise, both in literature and material culture, as well as some discussion of their religious and social role; the six main chapters then proceed through the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses* in order. In the conclusion I offer a brief review of the evidence presented and the significance of the changed Furies and this new type of female demonic character in Augustan epic. Here, too, I gesture to the further developments in Latin epic of the imperial period and, more generally, to the lingering effect of these figures in the Western imagination.

There is great variety among the figures to be examined, but their depictions share several key elements: independent agency, disguise, and an emphasis on feminine and monstrous physicality. There is also a remarkable shift in the role of the Furies in particular, who become preeminent instigators of discord and disorder in a striking

departure from the Greek Furies, who are, on the contrary, closely bound to the enforcement of order. Although the Furies of Greek tragedy do bring disorder to the minds of their victims, they do so neither by stealth nor as an agent for another – the madness itself is nothing more or less than the punishment. Lyssa in Euripides' *Heracles* is the only clear model in Greek literature of a character who inflicts madness on a human to accomplish the goal of another deity, and even she seems to be called upon as nothing more than the personification of madness. In Latin epic, on the other hand, the power to overpower the minds of humans by stealth is a shared trait of the female demonic that is, in the case of the Furies, paired with the brute force of their horrifying appearance, which can paralyze human victims with horror or drive them to maddened and terrible action. Both of these aspects are very influential on later conceptualizations of demons and, to some extent, the evil and seductive power embodied in women and the oftentimes troubling desirability of their form.

I will discuss the term demonic later in this introduction, especially in relationship with monsters and the monstrous, but it will be useful here to offer a brief definition. I use demonic to denote a divine but subordinate being that is intelligent, essentially destructive, often malevolent, and with some element of physical monstrosity. Furthermore, the subordinate nature of such figures is evident in their frequent role as agent for another, whether god or a human, and they often use disguise and deception in carrying out their tasks. While this new type arises within Vergil's representations of the Furies, not all the Furies are demonic, and none are exclusively demonic. The figures under consideration in this study are not demons themselves, but their characteristics and

roles within the poems open up space for later images of demons and play an important role in the developing conceptions and imagery of good and evil as opposing forces.¹

In this dissertation I argue that Vergil added character and agency to the Furies (as well as to related figures such as the Harpies) and broadened their domain from vengeance specifically to general discord and punishment. Ovid develops these Vergilian innovations more fully, particularly in the extended treatment of Tisiphone in Book 4 of the *Metamorphoses*, and his depictions also suggest a new standard type developing from elements of Vergil's Furies. The snakes and torches with which the Furies arm themselves are the most obvious of these traits, and I draw particular attention to the fact that this makes their monstrous nature itself into a weapon. Ovid also demonstrates the flexibility of the Furies in that they regularly represent the twinned concepts of provocation and punishment, and, in a departure from all earlier representations, they are associated with the perversion of desires and relationships.

Accordingly, I have two main goals. First, to cast new light on these epics by attention to the role of the Furies and related figures within them, and second, to expose for examination the changes in the way that these figures are represented. This is particularly important because, as objects of scholarly investigation and interpretation, the Furies have tended to fall between the powerful images from Greek tragedy, and

1 I will discuss below the Etruscan religious and artistic context as a possible influence on Vergil's Furies, but will highlight here that the figures such as Charun that are conventionally referred to as demons also have the role of psychopomp (among others, Roncalli 1997, 41, referring specifically to the figures in the Tomb of the Blue Demons). This use of 'demon' that seems to refer more exclusively to the frightening nature and association with the Underworld and death is important to keep in mind when considering the female demonic figures in Augustan epic, but lacks the defining characteristics mentioned above.

literary allusions thereto, and retrojected images that assume the very innovations Vergil made and the developments they allowed. An examination of the Furies in Latin literature thus requires careful attention to all of their representations, as well as those of related figures. This is particularly important in the case of the Furies in the *Aeneid*, as their innovative nature and consequent thematic centrality can go unnoticed if the focus is simultaneously on the traditional Furies that preceded and the newly traditional Furies that followed.

My approach is therefore primarily an analysis of the literary use of the Furies and other female demonic figures, focussing rather tightly on their role within the given scene and poem, while also considering the broader cultural context in which these figures were created. In addition to the need for a new approach to the examination of the Furies in Latin literature, there is no study dedicated to their role in Augustan epic, and it is there that the Furies were fundamentally transformed and a new type of female demonic figure born. Given the wealth of scholarship on the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses*, an overview of all that touches on the Furies is impossible here, but I will mention briefly several works that are important for an understanding of their literary and cultural context.

I will then move on to discuss the Homeric Furies, which are, I will argue, an underappreciated influence on the changed Furies in Augustan epic. I will then consider their representation in Hesiod and provide an overview, necessarily brief, of the Furies' role in Greek tragedy. This evidence is important as part of the literary background with which Vergil engaged in the *Aeneid*, but it also forms the basis for our understanding of the religious role of the Furies.

The Greek background, both literary and religious, but particularly as represented in tragedy, has been most influential on interpretations of the Furies in later epic, but I suggest that the role of the Furies in the Italian context merits further consideration as a possible inspiration for Vergil's innovations. I will consider the literary evidence that predates the *Aeneid*, which is limited but suggestive, as well as the material culture that provides the majority of the Italian evidence. I will focus on artistic representations, both because they form most of the evidence and because the representations of Furies within literature are themselves newly and strikingly visual. Under this heading I will also consider, more briefly, the magical context, including references within literature.²

Literature review

As I mentioned above, most of the relevant scholarship focuses on the Greek Furies, and one of the most important works in that category is Sarah Iles Johnston's 1999 book, *Restless Dead: Encounters Between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*.

Johnston demonstrates that the Greek view of death was more varied than it has generally been viewed as being and, in particular, that the world of the dead was quite present – the dead were not disembodied and helpless shades, but could interact with the world of the living both to help and to harm. The book as a whole provides essential context for any treatment of the Greek Furies and related figures, and her chapter devoted to the Erinyes (Ch. 7) provides an analysis of the appearances of the Erinyes in Greek literature, primarily epic and tragedy. She argues that their primary concern, in both epic and

2 Although much of the evidence for magical practice is Greek, the literary references to the Furies are Latin, and the inscriptional evidence extends into the imperial period; my organizational separation should not be taken to suggest a categorical separation of magic and religion.

tragedy, is the family and wrongs done within or to it, and I agree that this is true for the most part. There are, however, different strands throughout the Greek evidence, and the Latin Furies take the domestic connection in a very different direction and become associated with a much wider range of wrongs.

Ruth Padel's 1992 book, *In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self*, discusses Classical Greek conceptions of the mind as revealed both in external figures, which is where the Furies come into the picture, and internal. Her primary sources include medical and scientific writings along with the tragedians, and her overall approach is focused on psychology. Given the increased attention to the form and attacks of the Furies in Latin epic, her discussion of representations of emotions (human and divine) as weapons in Chapter 6, "The Zoology and Daemonology of Emotion" is helpful background, especially as she points out how emotions can be portrayed as fire, "a punching blow," both lash and goad, and the bites of, among others, snakes.³ Her definition of the Furies' scope in Homer nicely brings out an aspect of divine function that is particularly important for understanding the developments of the Furies:

"Relationships bonded by blood or promises are the Homeric Erinys's sphere. All Greek divinities destroy in that territory which they protect."⁴ Padel's 1995 book, *Whom Gods Destroy: Elements of Greek and Tragic Madness*, takes a similar approach, but it is focussed on madness and more explicitly psychoanalytical. In Chapter 18, "The Two Roles of Madness. Ate's Replacements: Deception, Erinys, Madness – and Tragedy,"

3 Padel 1992, 116-119; quoted phrase from 117. She also discusses the power of wings, but seems more interested in their connection with scavenging and pollution than in predation itself.

4 Padel 1992, 165.

Padel posits that: “There are likewise two prime roles for madness in tragedy: as instrument and as punishment of crime.”⁵ This distinction in the Greek sources is particularly interesting given that the Furies in Latin literature are themselves both prompt for and punisher of crimes.

Margaret Visser's 1980 dissertation, “Erinyes: Their Character and Function in Classical Greek Literature and Thought,” takes up the female nature of the Erinyes and argues that it is fundamental to their role both as polluting forces and as associates of Necessity, tying men to the inglorious mess of women and families. I do not find her conclusions entirely convincing, particularly the equation of Erinyes and pollution, but she does raise some good questions, and her work provides a valuable overview of the role of the Furies in Greek literature.

The only work I have found devoted to the Furies in Latin literature is “Goddesses Unbound: Furies and Furial Imagery in the Works of Seneca, Lucan, and Statius,” a 1997 dissertation by Richard Gilder.⁶ The word “imagery” in his title is crucial, as he is

5 Padel 1995, 192.

6 I have recently acquired Dunstan Lowe's 2015 book *Monsters and Monstrosity in Augustan Poetry*, which does deal with the Furies and the Harpies at some length in Chapter 4, “Feminine Interiors.” While I was not able to read it before completing this study, and have not yet had a chance to engage with it thoroughly, his contribution to “monster studies” is particularly valuable given that monsters in Greek and Roman myth do not fit entirely or easily into the patterns set by later monsters. He is particularly interested in the metapoetic and allegorical roles of monsters, whereas mine is primarily literary, and I consider the Furies and related figures first as characters within the poem. This difference is evident even when we agree on what they represent. In the case of Allecto, for example, he sees her as one of the Furies, personifications of maddening desire, whereas I see her as a character that inflames such a desire. Lowe also makes a vital contribution with his work demonstrating the cultural context of the female body and the ancient Roman ideas about its loathsome and powerful physicality. His tight focus on that makes some sense in the context of his larger work, but, to my mind, makes it difficult to consider them as figures that *use* their monstrous natures but are not identical with them. It is important to consider how the Harpies and their

far more concerned with imagery associated with the Furies than he is with their role as characters themselves. As he makes clear, his primary interest is how this imagery can then transform other characters, but this can result in the problematic elision of human and divine: “Once we become familiar with the language and the activity of the divine Furies, we have the tools to recognize human Furies – even in the absence of their divine counterparts.”⁷ His work deals very briefly with Augustan epic in his introduction, and is concerned almost exclusively with the posited infectious nature of the Furies. While the imagery of contagion is very important to the actions of the female demonic figures in the *Aeneid*, and a significant part of the new type that is developing, it is a great mistake to view this as the creation of new Furies, as Gilder does, and the consistent conflation of Fury and *furor* is problematic, especially when his work relies on the idea that humans, and gods, actually become Furies when infected.⁸

Wolfgang Hübner's *Dirae im römischen Epos. Über das Verhältnis von*

emphatically feminine monstrosity might reflect Roman views of female sexuality, though I am not entirely convinced by his reading, but to see the Harpies themselves as amorous and “hate-fueled” (145) seems to me a misreading. This is even more clear in the case of the Furies, in that neither Allecto nor any of the less individualized Furies is presented in the *Aeneid* as frenzied. Overall, I found his treatment of the Furies problematic, not least because they can less easily be classed as monsters. He also deals with them very briefly, which makes sense within his context, but essentially ignores the role of the Furies in the Underworld and relegates their possible association with virtuous masculine passions to a footnote.

7 Gilder 1997, 3.

8 Even given the scope of his dissertation, it is also somewhat surprising that the only Fury in the *Metamorphoses* that he mentions is Tisiphone. In *The Epic Successors of Virgil: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition* (1993), Philip Hardie’s treatment of ideas of substitution and replication, which were taken up by Gilder, are argued much more effectively, and are much more fitting in his more conceptual approach, but I still find that the emphasis on the centrality of vengeance can lead to a problematic lack of distinction between the Furies and the vengeful dead.

Vogeldämonen und Prodigien focuses on the Dirae and their role as prodigies. I find this narrow focus on one aspect of *dirae* overly limiting for an examination of the Dirae themselves as they appear in the *Aeneid* and, especially, the larger family of related figures, but it is a valuable study of the connections around that nexus, and Hübner's illuminating analysis of the parallels between Allecto and the Dirae in the *Aeneid* has been influential.

Denis Feeney's concern with the role of the gods throughout *The Gods in Epic* (1991) is a clear influence on my approach as a whole, but his focus is, as promised, on the gods themselves, and the Furies are thus somewhat incidental. I agree wholeheartedly with his opening argument that the gods are as central to the *Aeneid* as they were to the *Iliad*; one way of framing my own project is as an expansion of that to include the lesser divinities that are an even more pervasive and active presence. Doing so does cast new light on the epics, but it does so within the invaluable context laid out in *Gods in Epic*.

The gendered aspect of the Furies, and their relatives, has not been given as much attention as it merits, but Alison Keith does address the gendering of the Furies, and fury, in her 2000 book, *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic*. In Chapter 4, "Engendering War," she argues that the Harpies and Furies in the *Aeneid* demonstrate the Roman view of "militaristic" women as intrinsically disruptive and takes them as closely tied to queens, both human and divine. She also points out a pattern of "ruthless female instigation and helpless male prosecution."⁹ As compelling as this point is, Keith's

9 Keith 2000, 71, 74.

argument is necessarily incomplete, and her discussion leaves some important questions unanswered. For example, after highlighting the presence of the Aegyptids on Pallas's baldric, she does not address what the shift of battle lust to Aeneas means, or how it complicates her argument about the "male conquest of the militant female."¹⁰ Similarly, she argues that marriages in Vergil cause wars, which is true but only partially, for they also bring peace – it is not martial power alone that gains and holds empire. Marriage in Roman myth brings union and disruption and this ambiguous nature and its relationship to the Furies is a recurring theme in this dissertation.

Debra Hershkowitz's treatment of the *Aeneid* and *Thebaid* in her 1998 book *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius* does deal with the Furies at some length, as well as providing an interesting analysis of Jupiter and the Dirae in relation to Juno and Allecto. The book as a whole raised many interesting questions, and I agree with many of her points, but I find the focus on madness itself, though important, to be problematic when tied too closely to the Furies. To view them as both representations and bearers of madness can limit our ability to understand their role in these epics, especially since the Furies are in fact portrayed as quite sane and often dispassionate.

In addition to *Restless Dead*, I should mention two valuable studies at the intersection of literature and religion: Vassiliki Panoussi's *Greek Tragedy in Vergil's Aeneid: Ritual, Empire, and Intertext* and Rush Rehm's *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*. Panoussi's focus on ritual

10 Keith 2000, 77-78, 81.

provides an illuminating interpretation of the *Aeneid*, and her discussion of maenads in Chapter 4 (“Maenad Brides and the Destruction of the City”) provides important context for the material I will examine in Chapters 3 and 4. Her analysis of the maenadic imagery and problematic resistance to marriage visible in Vergil's portrayals of Amata, Dido, the Sibyl, and Helen offers important insight into the role of the human characters under consideration. I will argue, however, that focus on the arc of the Furies throughout the poem highlights the ultimate success of the foundational role of desire and marriage while embracing its destructive potential.¹¹

The ritual and visual links between death and marriage demonstrated in *Marriage to Death* are important background for the role of the Furies in Latin epic, particularly the *Aeneid*'s Allecto, who is, I will argue, strongly connected to marriage. There is, however, a crucial difference in the use of this potent symbolic conjunction in the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses*. As Rehm cogently argues, the common thread in the Greek material is the separation and transition fundamental to both marriage and death, whereas Vergil and Ovid evoke the destructive power of the funeral torches.

Greek Literature

A detailed review of the literary history of the Furies is unnecessary here, and most of the passages referred to in this section will be considered more fully at least once within the dissertation; the purpose here is simply to provide a brief overview and highlight key

11 The dangers of female sexuality are therefore not, I would argue, “opposed to civilization” (Panoussi 2009, 126) in the *Aeneid* so much as a particularly dangerous element of it.

concepts and developments with which they are associated.¹² I will, however, itemize the relatively few references in Homer and Hesiod, which are brief and often obscure, but nonetheless underappreciated background for the new Furies in Augustan epic.

There are seven references to the Furies in the *Iliad*. First, Phoenix, in his speech to Achilles, tells of his father calling on the Furies to curse him for sleeping with his father's own mistress (“he called upon the hated Erinyes,” στυγεράς δ’ ἐπεκέκλετ’ Ἐρινύς, 9.454). The Furies are invoked in the context of, and working with, other underworld divinities, “Zeus of the Underworld” (which is to say Hades) and “dread Persephone” (Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινή Περσεφόνη, 9.457). In the same speech, Phoenix tells us of Meleager, whose mother called on Hades and Persephone “to grant death to her son, and an Erinys who walks in mist with an implacable heart heard her from Erebus” (παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ’ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς / ἔκλυεν ἔξ Ἐρέβησφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα, 9.571-72).¹³ At 15.204, when Poseidon resists Zeus’ command that he withdraw, Iris reminds him that the Furies always favor the elder brother (“you know that the Erinyes always attend to the elders,” οἶσθ’ ὡς πρεσβυτέροισιν Ἐρινύες αἰὲν ἔπονται, *Il.* 15.204). Then, in Book 21, Athena, after felling Ares with a boulder, refers to the Furies of his angry mother (“thus you would evade the Erinyes of your mother, who plots evils in her anger at you,” οὕτω κεν τῆς

12 As discussed above, Sarah Iles Johnston provides a concise and insightful discussion of the literary sources in *The Restless Dead*.

13 As Hainsworth (1993, 137-38) points out, the epithet ἠεροφοῖτις suggests invisibility and translates it as “walks in darkness,” but the power of mist to obscure does not conflict with its role as part of the air. In fact, the contrast between dwelling beneath the earth (she hears from Erebus, Ἐρέβησφιν) and working in the air seems to remain part of their nature.

μητρὸς ἐρινύας ἐξαποτίνοισ, / ἧ τοι χωομένη κακὰ μήδεται, *Il.* 21.412-13).¹⁴ These references all fit well with the idea of the Furies being closely associated with family ties and with the Underworld, but the remaining references in the *Iliad* do not clearly fit with the others.

First, Agamemnon tells the assembled Greeks that he is not to blame for the quarrel (*Il.* 19.86-88):

... ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἰτιός εἰμι,
ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς,
οἳ τέ μοι εἰν ἀγορῇ φρεσὶν ἔμβalon ἄγριον ἄτην,
ἦματι τῷ ὅτ' Ἀχιλλῆος γέρας αὐτὸς ἀπηύρων.

... But it is not I who am to blame, but Zeus and Moira and the mist-walking Erinys, who sent fierce Ate into my wits in the assembly, on that day when I myself took away Achilles' war prize.

The reason for the presence of the Erinys in this passage is obscure, but her association with both destructive folly (Ate) and the authoritative pair of Zeus and Moira is particularly suggestive given the developments in the role of the Furies in Augustan epic, as is the connection with Hera and her feminine wiliness in the inset myth that follows, in which she delays the birth of Heracles (*Il.* 19.96-134).

Later in the same exchange, when Agamemnon promises Achilles that

14 See Richardson 1993, 89 for a brief comment. As she sent Diomedes against him in Book 5, Athena mentioned that Ares had earlier told her and Hera that he would fight the Trojans and help the Greeks, but had now forgotten all (ὅς πρόην μὲν ἐμοί τε καὶ Ἥρῃ στεῦτ' ἀγορεύων / Τρωσὶ μαχήσεσθαι, ἀτὰρ Ἀργείοισιν ἀρήξειν, / νῦν δὲ μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ὀμιλεῖ, τῶν δὲ λέλασται, *Il.* 5.832-4). This passage is particularly interesting in that the mother's Erinyes are not associated with what I would think of as a crime against one's mother, as in those that concern Telemachus and Oedipus in the *Odyssey* references discussed below, but rather going against her wishes and breaking his word. This suggests that their range is not so strictly limited to violations of oaths and natural order, at least among gods, but might enact wrath more generally.

Briseis is unsullied he swears his oath thus: “Now let Zeus, highest and best of the gods, hear this first, and Earth and the Sun and the Erinyes, who punish men who swear falsely below the earth,” (ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν ὑπατος καὶ ἄριστος / Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, αἳ θ’ ὑπὸ γαῖαν / ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ’ ἐπίορκον ὀμόσση, *Il.* 19.258-60). The association with oaths is here made explicit, and it seems a natural extension of their connection with the Underworld.¹⁵

In their final appearance in the *Iliad*, at 19.400, the Furies stop Xanthus, Achilles' horse, from prophesying to him as he prepares to enter battle. The significance of this passage is not entirely clear (Johnston 1992 has the fullest treatment of the scene), but there are two elements that are of particular interest in this study: first, the association of Hera, who initiates the speech, with the Furies, who end it; and second, the apparent expansion of the Furies' role to include maintaining order more generally.¹⁶

There are five references to the Furies in the *Odyssey*: in two they are related to family order and, specifically, maternal wrath; in two others, to vengeance or punishment more generally; but the last, an obscure mythical reference, while it has no clear relation to the other examples under consideration, does offer interesting correspondences with the Furies in Augustan epic. The first reference is a hypothetical mention of what Penelope would do if evicted by Telemachos, who tells Antinous that, if she is sent away unwilling: “For I will suffer evils from her father, but a god will grant others, since my

15 See Edwards 1991, 265-66, on various possible interpretations of the specification “below the earth;” he takes it to refer only to their home.

16 Johnston (1999, 265-7) also takes up this point, focussing on the reference to the Furies in a fragment of Heraclitus.

mother will pray to hateful Erinyes as she leaves home,” (ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς κακὰ πείσομαι, ἄλλα δὲ δαίμων / δώσει, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ στυγεράς ἀρήσεται ἔρινυς / οἴκου ἀπερχομένη, *Od.* 2.134-36). The second occurs as Odysseus recounts the famous women he saw in the Underworld, including Epicasta, the mother of Oedipus. When she killed herself, “she left behind a great many pains for him, as many as the Erinyes of a mother accomplish” (τῶ δ’ ἄλγεα κάλλιπ’ ὀπίσσω / πολλὰ μάλ’, ὅσα τε μητρὸς Ἐρινύες ἐκτελέουσι, *Od.* 11.279-80).

The third appears within the inset myth of Melampus, whose son Telemachus rescues. Melampus, we are told, was imprisoned and suffering much “because of the daughter of Neleus and grievous folly, which the fearful goddess Erinys placed in his heart, (εἵνεκα Νηληϊὸς κόουρης ἄτης τε βαρείης, / τήν οἱ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ δασπλῆτις Ἐρινύς, *Od.* 15.233-34). Here the Erinys inspires wrong action, as she did along with Zeus and Moira in the *Iliad* passage above, but in the next she is paired with gods as those who punish wrongs. When Odysseus is struck by a stool while disguised as a beggar, he says: “But if there are gods and Erinyes for beggars, may the achievement of death reach Antinoos before marriage,” (ἀλλ’ εἴ που πτωχῶν γε θεοὶ καὶ Ἐρινύες εἰσὶν, / Ἀντίνοον πρὸ γάμοιο τέλος θανάτοιο κιχείη, *Od.* 17.475-76).

In the last mention of the Furies in the *Odyssey*, Penelope wishes to be taken by Artemis, just as the honored Pandarids were snatched up by the Harpies and given to the Furies. The orphaned maidens were groomed for marriage by Aphrodite, Hera, Artemis, and Athena (20.67-76), but when the time came, “the Harpies snatched up the maidens

and gave them to the hateful Erinyes to be attendants” (τόφρα δὲ κούρας ἄρπυιαι ἄνηρείψαντο / καὶ ῥ’ ἔδοσαν στυγερῆσιν ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν, *Od.* 20.77-78). This story is not known from any other source, but both the bridal context and the association of the Harpies and Furies are particularly interesting given the developments with the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*.¹⁷

Hesiod has three references to the Furies. Their birth is recorded in the *Theogony*, where they are the children of Earth and blood from the severed genitals of Ouranos (185), along with the Giants and Meliae.¹⁸ There is also a reference in the story of Zeus' birth, when Rhea seeks help from her parents “so that she might bear a son in secret and he might pay the Erinyes of her father and children, whom great Kronos of the wily mind devoured,” (... ὅπως λελάθοιτο τεκοῦσα / παῖδα φίλον, τίσαιτο δ’ ἐρινῦς πατρὸς ἐοῖο / παίδων θ’, οὐς κατέπινε μέγας Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης (471-73).)¹⁹ The remaining reference is in the *Works and Days*, and demonstrates their connection with swearing oaths: “on the fifth day, they say that the Erinyes tended Oath at his birth, whom Eris bore as the bane of oathbreakers,” (ἐν πέμπτη γὰρ φασιν Ἐρινύας ἀμφιπολεύειν / Ὀρκον γεινόμενον, τὸν Ἔρις τέκε πῆμ’ ἐπιόρκους, 803-4).²⁰

17 See Russo (Russo, Fernández-Galliano, Heubeck 1992, 112) on the myth.

18 Stephanie West, in her comment on *Od.* 2.134-6, refers to this myth in commenting on their association with family wrongs and violence (1998, 140): “The Erinyes were created as a result of the first act of violence perpetrated by a son against his father...”

19 Text from West 1966. Solmsen brackets all of line 473, but that does not effect the presence of ἐρινῦς.

20 This association seems to be taken up directly by Vergil in the *Georgics* (“Flee the fifth day: pale Orcus and the Eumenides were born,” *quintam fuge: pallidus Orcus / Eumenidesque satae*, 1.277-78), but see Sinclair 1979, 86 for the tradition of associating Ὀρκος/Orcus with the fifth day.

As we have seen, the Furies in the earliest Greek literature are associated with family bonds and avenging their violation, but their most basic role seems to be one of enforcing, adjudicating, or punishing, and, in their performance of this role, they were often summoned, or sworn upon, by humans or gods. The situation changed with Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, the final tragedy of his *Oresteia* trilogy. The innovations of this play are particularly important for this study because it was a clear influence on all later representations of the Furies. The *Eumenides* seems to have been the first time that the Furies, as the chorus, were embodied and given a role in the action, which one can see as a necessary step in the development of individual Furies as independent characters. Also important, however, is the conceptualization of their role that takes place in the trial of Orestes at the conclusion of the play. At this trial, Apollo and the Furies are the defense and prosecution, respectively, with a jury of Athenians and Athena presiding. Apollo argues for the eradication of the old order in which the Furies avenge murders of blood kin, and the corresponding importance it gives to mothers; when the jury deadlocks, Athena casts the deciding vote in his favor, while granting eternal cult to the Furies and acknowledging their power and importance. This presentation of an older, and oppositional, order is one of the innovations of the *Eumenides*, but is sometimes unjustifiably taken up by scholars addressing the Latin Furies as a required part of their role. The *Eumenides* also provided details of the way in which the Furies punished their victims: constant pursuit and the infliction of madness.²¹ This seems to have become canonical following the *Eumenides*, and these actions remain connected with them, and

21 Both aspects are emphasized in Euripides' *Orestes*, though with a focus that seems to subordinate their role to the effects on the mind of Orestes.

developed further, even when the Furies are not as clearly tied to vengeance for murder.

The trilogy of the *Oresteia* as a whole, however, is interesting not just for its many references to the Furies, but for their variety. Because the Furies in the *Eumenides* are so central and distinctive, they can tend to be treated as a definitive representation. These Erinyes do become canonical in Greek literature, to a large extent, but the *Oresteia* also includes references that complicate the simple oppositions set up in the *Eumenides*. The *Choepheroi* begins from the conflicting goals of Clytemestra and Electra, all centered on the powers of the Underworld to avenge Agamemnon's death. These powers, which Clytemestra seeks to appease and Electra to summon, are unspecified at first, but when named, the Fury is associated with law and justice, and the same context of vengeance in which Zeus is called upon.²² In the *Agamemnon*, they are also associated with justice. Clytemestra's conjunction of Dike, Ate, and the Erinyes might be taken as a reflection of her error ("By the Justice I brought about for my child, Ate, and Erinys, with whom I slew him, no expectation of fear enters my house," *μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς Δίκην, / Ἄτην Ἐρινύν θ', αἴσι τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγώ, / οὐ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον ἐλπὶς ἐμπατεῖ*, *Ag.* 14 32-34), but the chorus also associates the Erinyes more generally with the divine punishment of those who have killed and escaped justice ("For the gods

22 When Electra says "I demand justice from injustice. Hear me Earth and honored gods of the Underworld" (*δίκαν δ' ἐξ ἀδίκων ἀπαιτῶ. / κλυτε δὲ Γᾶ χθονίων τε τιμαί, Choe.* 398-399), the chorus responds, "it is law that blood shed on the ground calls out other blood, for destruction calls forth an Erinys from those who perished before who sets folly upon folly" (*ἀλλὰ νόμος μὴν φονίας σταγόνας / χυμένας εἰς πέδον ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν / αἶμα· βοᾶ γὰρ λοιγὸς Ἐρινύν / παρὰ τῶν πρότερον φθιμένων ἄτην / ἕτεραν ἐπάγουσαν ἐπ' ἄτη, Choe.* 400-404). There is also acknowledgement of the destruction this brings, as the chorus goes on to make clear, but this is a comment on the problems of justice, which both Zeus and the Erinyes enact.

are not unobservant of those who kill much, and black Erinyes in time punish the man who was fortunate without justice with a reversing withering of life,” τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ / ἄσκοποι θεοί. κελαι- / ναὶ δ’ Ἐρινύες χρόνῳ / τυχηρὸν ὄντ’ ἄνευ δίκας / 465παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾶ βίου / τιθεῖσ’, *Ag.* 462-66). This association with Justice is also explicit in Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*, when Hylas tells his mother: “May punishing Justice and Erinys punish you for them [her plans and actions against Heracles],” (ὦν σε ποίνιμος Δίκη / τίσαιτ’ Ἐρινύς τ’, *Trach.* 808-9).

The Furies are also associated with Helen and, through her, the wholesale destruction of the Trojan War: she is an “Erinys of bridal grief” in Aeschylus (νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς, *Ag.* 749), and the Erinys of Troy itself in Euripides (“Erinys of the polished citadel of Apollo,” ξεστῶν περιγάμων Ἀπολ- / λωνίων Ἐρινύν, *Or.* 1387-88). A similar conception of the Erinys as more generalized destruction is connected to Iole in Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*; as the chorus reports the death of Deianira, they refer to the great Erinys that Iole bore for the house (“This uncelebrated bride bore a great Erinys to this house,” ἔτεκ’ ἔτεκε μεγάλην / ἀνέορτος ἄδε νύμφα / δόμοισι τοῖσδ’ Ἐρινύν, 893-5). This image, along with related references to her as death and destruction, is an important, but often overlooked, part of the developing conception of the Furies, and will be discussed especially in Chapter 1.

Overall, then, there is a shift in tragedy to emphasize the association of the Furies with the murder of blood-kin, but it is also here that they come to represent a more general sort of destruction, particularly tied to Helen and the Trojan War. This tie to

Helen and generalized destruction seems to have escaped scholarly examination, but is nevertheless very important for the developments of the Furies in Latin epic. I should note here, however, that the loss of so much material makes it impossible to trace the developments completely, and it is entirely possible that there were more extensive Greek models for the Vergil's Furies in works lost to us. Furthermore, as Sander Goldberg reminds us, there were significant shifts in performance style from the Attic stage to the Hellenistic to the Roman.²³

It is also in Greek tragedy that we see the Furies consistently associated with wings, snakes, and clear imagery of pursuit and madness, and these in turn open up parallels with other figures. Visually, the presence of snakes connects them with both Gorgons and, because of her aegis, Athena, while the strong tie to madness not only recalls the connection to Ate in two of the Homeric passages, but suggests parallels in Lyssa, the personification of madness used by Hera as a weapon against Heracles.²⁴ This flexibility and greater field of potential association will become increasingly notable in Augustan epic, and it is thus a recurring theme throughout the dissertation.

Much of our understanding of the Furies' role in Greek religion is based on the literary references above, but there is some evidence that refers specifically to cult.²⁵ The

23 Goldberg 2005, 125; 119-120 on pantomime as an additional source of tragic narratives; 120-125 on Roman tragedy. The overall shift toward "pageantry and melodrama" (125) that Goldber shows is important to keep in mind as another possible influence on the strikingly visual dramatic effects in the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses*

24 In the *Eumenides*, Athena presents an image of herself that would fit well with the representations of Allecto in the *Aeneid* when she reports that she travelled to Athens "without wings, but whirring the fold of her aegis" (πτειρῶν ἄτερ ροιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος, *Eum.* 404).

25 See Wüst 1956, Visser 1980, and, for a thorough treatment of their place within the context of the broader category of the dead and powers related to them, Johnston 1999 (270-273 on their

earliest mention of Erinys seems to be in a Linear B inscription from Knossos that lists offerings of oil to various deities, including *e-ri-nu*, which is taken to be the dative of the name Erinys, though her precise role is impossible to determine.²⁶ In relation to Orestes, their most consistent mythic association, they are mentioned in Pausanias as having a sanctuary in Arcadia under the name Maniae, and their cult mentioned in the *Eumenides* corresponds to that of the *Semnai Theai* at Athens.²⁷ The other mention in Pausanias (8.25.4-9) is particularly interesting given the association of the Furies with wrath and destruction that I am highlighting. Pausanias tells us that Demeter is called Erinys near Thelpusa, and she gained the epithet after Poseidon, undeterred by her attempt to escape in equine form, earned her wrath by raping her. She is also called Lusia because she bathed herself in purification after setting aside her anger; there are statues to both representations of the goddess, and that of Erinys holds a basket and a torch (τὸ μὲν δὴ τῆς Ἐρινύος τὴν τε κίστην καλουμένην ἔχει καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ δᾶδα, 8.25.7).

As we have seen, the Furies in the Greek tradition are very closely tied to death, but there is little evidence for the fertility that is so often associated with chthonic gods.²⁸ As I will show, however, they are associated with a strange sort of fertility in Latin epic in the propelling desire for home and glory in the *Aeneid*, dark transformations in the *Metamorphoses*, and the very multiplicity of their own forms and representations. This

cult specifically).

26 Ventris-Chadwick, 200, line 8.

27 They have the name Maniae because, Pausanias tells us, it was there that Orestes was maddened for killing his mother (καὶ Ὀρέστην ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τῆς μητρὸς φασὶν αὐτόθι μανῆναι, 8.34.1). On the Semnai Theai, see Sommerstein 1989, 10-12 and Johnston 1999, 267ff..

28 Burkert 1985, 200-201.

shift toward a more active and generative function may spring in part from their new name, *Furiae*, which means not only madness but, more basically, passion. There is no evidence of cult for the Furies at Rome, but Dumézil's comment on the role of *furor* in representations of the god Mars illustrates a fertile religious context for the literary developments of the Furies in Vergil:

The ambiguous character of Mars, when he breaks loose on the field of battle, accounts for the epithet *caecus* given him by the poets. At a certain stage of *furor* he abandons himself to his nature, destroying friend as well as foe, just as the youthful Horatius, still drunk with blood, slays his sister after having slain the Curiatii. Like Horatius, however, by virtue of these very qualities of *furor* and harshness, Mars is the surest bulwark of Rome against every aggressor.²⁹

The names Erinys and Eumenides are still used in Latin poetry, of course, and I have not found any clear distinction made between the Greek and Latin names, but the latter indubitably opens up its own semantic range, as will become clear throughout this study. The Greek Furies provoke madness, but as part of their punishment; they close in upon their victims and are horrifying guardians of order. The Roman Furies, throughout Augustan epic, both provoke and punish crimes, and they do so by working upon human desires.³⁰

Latin literature

The first appearance of the Furies in Latin literature is in a fragment of Ennius'

29 Dumézil 1970, 229.

30 This dual nature is not entirely new. In Greek religion in general and the Erinyes in particular, there is not necessarily a strict divide between the conceptual oppositions of Olympian and chthonian (Scullion 1994) and it "is typical for Greek divinities to display both protective and destructive tendencies within their areas of concern" (Johnston 1999, 256).

Alexander, in which Cassandra says, referring to the Judgment of Paris, “from which judgment the Spartan woman will come as one of the Furies,” (*quo iudicio Lacedaemonia mulier Furiarum una adveniet*, 49), which picks up on the association of Helen and Erinys discussed above.³¹ The next, however, in Catullus 64, an epyllion that shares with Ennius the mythic context of the Trojan War, provides a rather startling development from the traditional imagery. Within the framing story of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis is the tale of Ariadne, depicted on a coverlet, and it is within this story that Ariadne, abandoned by Theseus, prays to the Eumenides (64.192-201):

“...
 quare facta virum multantes vindice poena
 Eumenides, quibus anguino redimita capillo
 frons exspirantis praeportat pectoris iras,
 huc huc adventate, meas audite querellas,
 quas ego, vae misera, extremis proferre medullis
 cogor inops, ardens, amenti caeca furore.
 quae quoniam verae nascuntur pectore ab imo,
 vos nolite pati nostrum vanescere luctum,
 sed quali solam Theseus me mente reliquit,
 tali mente, deae, funestet seque suosque.”

“Therefore, o Eumenides who punish the deeds of men with avenging punishment, whose foreheads wreathed with serpentine hair bear the wrath exhaled from your breast. Here! come here, hear my complaints, which I, alas! miserable one, am compelled to produce from my deepest marrow, helpless, burning, and blind with insane rage. Since they are truly born from the depths of my heart, do not allow my grief to pass away, but with just such a mind as Theseus abandoned me, alone, let him, with the same mind, stain himself and his family with blood.”

This is a traditional call for vengeance, albeit one that seems to look back to the looser Homeric idea of vengeance, but the immediate response to the prayer comes not from the Eumenides, but from Jupiter, who nods with his supreme authority (201-206):

31 XVII (d) in Jocelyn 1967.

has postquam maesto profudit pectore voces,
supplicium saevis exposcens anxia factis,
annuit invicto caelestum numine rector;
quo motu tellus atque horrida contremuerunt
aequora concussitque micantia sidera mundus.

After she poured forth these words from her mournful breast, demanding in her distress punishment for his savage deeds, the ruler of the heavens nodded from his invincible divinity; at this movement the wild earth and the seas trembled and the heavens shook the sparkling stars.

This image, brief though it is, provides a glimpse of a world in which the king of the gods and monstrous Furies work together in punishing human wrongs. It is possible, of course, that Catullus is drawing upon a source now lost to us, although the image also evokes the association of Zeus and an Erinys in the Homeric passage discussed above (*Il.* 19.87), but the suggestion of the Furies' wider authority and interactions with power will reappear in the *Aeneid* and the *Metamorphoses*.

The Fury Tisiphone appears in Vergil's own *Georgics*, in which she drives the plague across the land like a monstrous shepherdess. This image of Tisiphone is echoed multiple times in the *Aeneid* and will be discussed at the appropriate points in the following discussion. The plague that she brings is itself related to the image of inflaming, maddening lust that runs through the *Georgics*, and that is perhaps an even more important influence on the *Aeneid*.

Overall, the Furies in Latin literature continue to appear in ways familiar from the Greek sources. Often, in fact, they do so as part of allusions to tragic characters such as Orestes, thus contributing a 'tragic' element to a character or scene, such as the depiction of Dido's despair and suicide in Book 4 of the *Aeneid*.³² The Furies also, however, take

³² See Goldberg 2005, 118 on this example in particular; the whole chapter (and specific notes

on new, and newly central, roles in epic, as the action in both the *Aeneid* and, looking forward, Statius' *Thebaid* is spurred on, literally, by the Furies. While the motivation for their summoning is grounded in a desire for vengeance and the righting of past wrongs, which would fit with earlier representations, they do not appear as a natural consequence of a crime, nor even of their own volition, but are summoned to do the bidding of another. They seem to have two basic roles: spreading madness or destruction among humans on earth, and, as representatives of the Underworld, punishing crimes or witnessing oaths. Another development in the depictions of the Furies in Roman epic is that they are part of a larger family of female supernatural figures, usually explicitly monstrous, that seem to be available as instruments of divine ill-will.

Art

There is not the space here to discuss artistic representations of the Furies in any detail, but there are several consistent elements that are worth highlighting at this point.³³ They are always female and usually winged, but that trait is shared with other divine figures. Wings can also be associated with swift pursuit and attack, and the Furies are often portrayed in hunting garb in these roles. The torches that they frequently carry can fit within that context, but are also associated with chthonic divinities.³⁴ All of these are less distinctive than the snakes that the Furies regularly bear in their hands, hair, or both. They are commonly portrayed within the mythic context of Orestes, but it is clear that

above) for the wider context.

33 For a good overview, see Sarian 1986, "Erinys," in *LIMC* 3.1, 839-843.

34 Sarian 1986, 840.

their iconography has much overlap with individual mythic characters such as the Harpies, as well as less specific figures of death or vengeance.

When considering the context within which Vergil wrote, the focus has generally been on his Greek literary context, and rightly so, given the richness of the allusions, the more numerous and complete literary sources, and the ‘Alexandrian’ consciousness of his literary antecedents. Nonetheless, his Italian context is clearly significant, as Vergil himself makes explicit with his grounding of the Italians and Latium in myth and geography.³⁵ The ways in which this broader Italian context might pertain specifically to the monstrous figures in the *Aeneid* are less clear, and caution is necessary when comparing literary and material representations, but the visual and mythic context of central Italian culture is important not only as background, which could therefore have been part of Vergil’s cultural vocabulary in the same way ‘Troy’ was, but also as an element of the interest in ties to Italic antiquity and the Etruscans that was current in the late Republic and Augustan Rome.³⁶ In particular, the mythic imagery associated with Etruscan religion and views of death has illuminating similarities with Vergil’s depictions of both the Underworld and the individualized Allecto and related figures.³⁷

Even if Vergil were not directly influenced by depictions of winged monstrous

35 See Fowler 1998, Mackie 1992, Waser 1912. Aellen 1994 is useful for representations on Italian ceramics in particular.

36 Jannot 2005 discusses the “moment, between the first century B.C. and the end of the first century A.C., when the *etrusca disciplina* was widely fashionable,” (7) and mentions specifically that Vergil’s “Etruscan origins and Tuscan friendships are well known” (15). Jenkyns (1998, 100, n. 76) notes only that the “name Vergilius is widely found, but most often in Etruria.”

37 The possible connections to Orphic myth and imagery present in Vergil is worth considering, but seems less directly relevant to the images of the Furies under consideration.

figures in the broader Italic context, the comparative material makes a broader methodological point: just as gods of the Roman pantheon have their own Roman character alongside their Greek counterparts, so too might the mythic figures, the lower echelons of a pantheon, have a Latin character coextant with the Greek antecedents. Consideration of visual mythic sources from central Italy can open up ways of understanding Vergil's monstrous figures and, in particular, shed light on their more flexible functions, on the one hand, and their more physically detailed and developed forms, on the other.³⁸ Harari's comment on the difficulties of interpreting temple sculptures in a linear or narrative fashion is also worth bearing in mind when considering Vergil's gods and mythological creatures, for they provide a powerfully allusive tool in the hands of any artist, no matter what the medium:

It is true that decontextualisation and fragmentation impede, with few exceptions, any serious attempt at making a philological reconstruction.... Though this is an obvious handicap, in terms of our exegesis, it is true that

38 The flexibility of function is evident in Etruscan divinities, and interesting work has been done on the interaction with Greek religion, which of course also has gods who are far more flexible in practice than in literary canon; the richness of Vergil's religious and mythic world suggests a nexus of multivalent and ongoing influences among Etruscan, Greek, and Roman religions. This issue will be of great importance when considering the role of Juno in the *Aeneid*, particularly at the key points of initiation and resolution in Books 7 and 12. See, for example, Maria Bonghi Jovino on the potential ambiguity of both gender and function of a major deity at Tarquinia particularly in the earliest period (late 10th c. BCE). In her discussion of Greek influence on anthropomorphism, she points to the "merging, respectively, of Aphrodite with Hera - Uni" (13) at Gravisca around 550 BCE; this serves as a useful reminder that the spheres of Juno and Venus do in fact overlap considerably, and that their animosity in Trojan War stories is neither essential nor universal. Also relevant are the associations of the goddess at Tarquinia with elements of the Greek Artemis (9), along with the reminder that deer so characteristic of the offerings at Tarquinia remained "the symbol of the Latin Juno Sospes (13). The role of Apollo in Etruscan funerary cult (Krauskopf 2006, 77, citing E. Simon) is also interesting, given his association with the (partially) chthonic figures of the Sibyl and Celaeno, though prophecy would also provide a chthonic connection in the Greek tradition.

these figurative situations — the same is also the case in vase-painting — are predominantly characterised as *sacre conversazioni*, ‘holy conversation pieces’ containing a range of allusions to mythical or epic events. But the images of the crowding of gods and heroes are not intended to describe or act as a narrative sequence but as a solemn representation of their epiphany.³⁹

This is certainly not to suggest that Vergil’s presentation of the divine world is fragmentary (quite the contrary, in fact), but that individual images of the divine by necessity are. Each god has a set (or sets) of possible associations or representations, and different contexts and groupings activate different elements. Vergil, however, as an advantage over a sculptor or painter in being able to provide a narrative context and, furthermore, to combine more easily in one character a range of elements drawn from multiple instantiations of a god or divine figure.

The most significant sort of evidence (in both quantity and direct relevance) comes from the iconography of Etruscan tombs, and Steingraber and Menichelli’s comments on the flexibility of chthonic cult are potentially helpful in reading the *Aeneid*: “chthonic rites, carried out with the same succession of acts could be linked both to the lower divinities and to the world of the dead, and, for example, to the foundation of cities, or simply could be executed according to the wishes of subterranean divinities.”⁴⁰ This flexibility is also seen in Etruscan gods and mythological figures. This is true of the

39 Harari 2010, 91.

40 Steingraber and Menichelli 2010, 56-7. Also interesting in the context of the *Aeneid* is their discussion of hero cult and foundations and “... just how ephemeral the boundary was between mythical creation and reality when a city was being founded” (59).

names of the gods,⁴¹ of their forms,⁴² and of the figures with wings or serpentine elements (or both) that are so common in representations of death or the afterworld.⁴³

The importance of doors and guards is of particular importance to the role of the Furies in the *Aeneid*'s Underworld, and the guarding imagery is also present in Vergil's Harpies and Dirae. As Ingrid Krauskopf points out in her discussion of the Sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei: "We see, therefore: (1) There is a Realm of the Dead surrounded by walls and a gatekeeper. (2) A journey to the Afterlife, accompanied by demons, begins at the moment of death. Gates and thresholds are important as passages or places of transition, and they must be guarded."⁴⁴ Jannot offers a concise summary of similarities

41 Jannot 2005, 160: "This disconcerting mélange [of Thesan/Ino/Mater Matuta] nonetheless illustrates the real relations within the Etruscan divine world. Multiple names appear and attach to the same function. These deities ... are only rarely organized according to family genealogies. While gods of different origins had related duties or attributes and could be substituted for one another, they were not completely equivalent. For this reason Etruscan gods remained resistant to the *interpretatio graeca* or *latina*, whose simplifications and assimilations could not account for their complexity."

42 Ingrid Krauskopf argues convincingly that some Etruscan gods, particularly those connected with the world of the dead, developed while Greek images of the Underworld and its gods were still rare (that is, before the end of the 6th century BCE). These images were then 'demoted' when Greek iconography of Underworld gods became common in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, so that the wolf-headed figure is a demon rather than Aita [Hades] (Krauskopf 1997, 26). Her suggestion that the Etruscan sun god imagery draws on Near Eastern imagery of bird-headed demons is also interesting, given the points of contact with the Harpies (in the avian aspects) and the Furies (in winged female figures), but the ties are merely suggestive for my purposes, and problematic in the second case, given that the wings themselves lack clarity, and that the image of winged female figures occurs in many contexts.

43 This could be particularly relevant to Juno in the *Aeneid*, especially if, as Jannot suggests, her cult came from the Latin Juno (Jannot 2005, 157): "Uni occupies an essential place on the Pianezza liver, in the sector (no. 4) that follows that of Tinia. She was believed to have thrown the thunderbolt and is thus a major deity, long integrated into the circle of the great Etruscan gods. The name Uni, however, comes from the Latin Juno, as may her cult. In fact, she had a number of temples in Latium, where she was most often addressed as *sospita* ('savior, liberator') and represented armed, her head covered with a goat skin."

44 Krauskopf 2006, 67.

between the Etruscan world of the dead and Vergil's Underworld:

... Aeneas encounters monstrous, hybrid creatures: centaurs, a chimaera, gorgons, harpies, a triple-bodied shade in which we recognize Geryon from the Tomba dell'Orco, and the Lernean hydra, together with Scylla. These two sea monsters are among the figures most often depicted on sarcophagi, and Scylla becomes one of the most common motifs on late-period urns. In depictions of the journey to the City of the Dead, the guides chase or threaten snake-footed creatures, also hybrids. Aeneas crosses this world with his sword in his hand, as do the dead and those who lead them, Vanth and Charu(n).⁴⁵

Jannot goes on to point out the shared feature of a walled cities of the damned and the blessed and a female guard, to which I would add the emphasis that Vergil gives to the gates, at all three points in the underworld. In Chapter 3, I will discuss the group of monsters and personifications at the entry to the halls of Hades in the *Aeneid*, but Krauskopf's illuminating suggestion is worth keeping in mind from the beginning:

A vestibule of this type is described by Vergil in the *Aeneid* ... The spirits who have their abode here can exercise their powers above all on earth, which is why they live in an intermediate zone. In a more abstract manner, they have a function similar to that of Etruscan demons: they conduct men into the Underworld. Of course we cannot equate Vergil's *vestibulum Orci* directly with the intermediate zone shown in the Tomb of the Blue Demons and on Hasti Afunei's sarcophagus. Related conceptions, however, probably form the basis for both of these representations.⁴⁶

The idea of intermediating supernatural figures is also important in the Greco-Roman magical tradition, which provides important context for the Furies in Augustan epic and is the subject of the next section.

45 Jannot 2005, 68.

46 Krauskopf 2006, 75.

Magic

Representations of the Furies themselves in magical contexts are very rare, but there is thematic overlap in the concepts of binding individuals and inciting their emotions, and the increased literary emphasis on craft and the details of the Furies' work, particularly in the case of Vergil's Allecto and Ovid's Tisiphone, fits well with the magical context. Furthermore, the importance of expert practitioners in the context of magic could well have been an influence on the prominent role given to the skills of the Furies in Augustan epic, and their ability to command supernatural powers a similar influence on the new representation of the Furies as malevolent agents, which would extend to figures such as Iris in the *Aeneid*.⁴⁷

In Horace, *Satires* 1.8, *saeva Tisiphone* is invoked along with Hecate by the witches Sagana and Canidia (33-4), who are themselves referred to as Furies by Priapus, the narrator (*voces Furiarum et facta duarum*, 45).⁴⁸ Serpents and infernal hounds are seen immediately following the evocation, presumably representing the presence of Tisiphone and Hecate respectively (33-36):

... Hecaten vocat altera, saevam
altera Tisiphonen: serpentes atque videres
infernas errare canes lunamque rubentem,

...one calls Hecate, and the other fierce Tisiphone: and you would see
snakes and hounds from hell wander and a reddening moon...

⁴⁷ For more on the connection of women and magic in antiquity, see Stratton 2014.

⁴⁸ These are, along with *Aen.* 450-705 and Seneca's *Medea* (6-23), the only Furies indexed in Georg Luck's *Arcana Mundi*.

Though it does not feature the Furies specifically, Horace's fifth *Epode*, a poem set explicitly in the context of magic and curses, does feature the speech of a young boy who threatens to return to the witches as an avenging ghost/Fury: "I will return as nocturnal madness and as a shadow I will seek your faces with hooked nails," (*nocturnus occuram furor / petamque uoltus umbra curuis unguibus*, 92-3).⁴⁹

The Fury Megaera shows up alone as a figure akin to the child-killing Lamia in the Orphic *lithica*, in a reference to a nurse hanging a stone around a child's neck to ward off the eyes of evil-minded Megaera (Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐχένι παιδὸς ἀεργάζουσα τιθήνη / λάαν, ἐρητύσει κακομήτος ὅσσε Μεγαίρης, Orphic *lithica* 224-25), and Megaera and Allecto are among the identities of Selene in a hymn to her found on magical papyrus.⁵⁰

In addition to the associations with death, the underworld, and punishment, the context of curses highlights, and perhaps informs, the similarities between Venus and the Furies visible in Vergil and post-Vergilian Latin literature. The similarities between the Furies' attacks and the infliction of love is a recurring topic in this study, but there does not seem to be a direct connection with magic.

Monsters

The Furies in tragedy are horrifying, but even there, and certainly elsewhere in Greek literature, it is not at all clear whether one should call them monsters. In Hesiod, for

49 I discuss this poem briefly in Appendix A.

50 Δίκη καὶ νήματα Μοιρῶν, | Κλωθῶ καὶ Λάχεσις ἠδ' Ἄτροπος εἶ, τρικάρανε, || Περσεφόνη τε Μέγαιρα καὶ Ἄλληκτώ, PGM 4.2795-7 = Hymni e papyris magicis collecti 10.7-9 in Heitsch 1961, *Die griech. Dichterfr. der röm. Kaiserz.*, Göttingen. The Orphic *lithica* is dated to the second half of the 4th c. CE (Keydell 1942, 1338).

example they are grouped with the Giants and Meliae as off-spring of the blood of Ouranos' severed genitals and Gaia. The Giants are represented with snaky limbs, but that is generally taken as sign of their chthonic nature rather than a monstrous hybridity, nor are tree nymphs considered monsters. The other offspring of these genitals is Aphrodite, who comes to signify all that is beautiful and attractive. In the *Aeneid*, however, and with Tisiphone in the *Metamorphoses*, we see great attention given to their physical appearance and monstrous elements. This is not unconnected to the Greek sources, of course, but there is much more emphasis on both the group and on the physical nature of its members.

One of the roles of monsters is to define boundaries, and the Latin Furies are doubly boundary guardians, as monsters and as punishers. Inasmuch as they can serve the same conceptual purpose of boundary definition, especially in such a male-centric culture as Rome, women are monsters, and the Furies and their kin are thus additionally significant and horrifying.⁵¹ Their female nature might also relate to the monstrous multiplicity that is so emphasized; referring to Aristotle, philosopher Stephen Asma says that "variation and diversity [in human reproduction] are explained by the female contribution" which fits with both the monstrous variation of the Furies (and family) and their motivating power.⁵²

The setting of the poems may also be relevant to the monstrous, particularly in the

51 See Richlin 1984 for an analysis of the monstrous depictions of women in Roman satire. And now Lowe 2015, 127-137 for a valuable discussion of Roman views of the fluids produced by female bodies. (The relationship between monsters and Roman stereotypes about women is also a major theme in his Chapters 3, "Feminine Exteriors.")

52 Asma 2009, 48.

Aeneid, where the whole landscape is at least half-wild, especially relative to the quintessentially urban Troy. In Italy, the human/divine interaction takes place in secluded groves far from the city altars, and the queen, not particularly well-governed to begin with, runs wild in the countryside after Allecto's attack. Sylvia's stag, conversely, brings the wild into the human homes and family, and Lavinia as a silent and somehow ominous prize is a contrast to Ascanius, darling of the Trojans and the gods, already beginning to come into his manhood and role as an articulate leader of men.⁵³ This, then, is perhaps a land particularly suited to, and needful of, monsters. On the other hand, one of the monsters found there (the fire monster Cacus defeated by Hercules) provides an illustrative contrast to demonic figures such as Allecto. As a traditional, cave-dwelling, monster who causes trouble in his own vicinity, Cacus actually highlights a distinguishing characteristic of demonic figures, namely that they are usually sent, or capable of being sent, and in some way communicate or infect. Monsters can also be sent, as Artemis sent the Caledonian boar, but really they are let loose or driven, as Bacchylides' use of the hunting term σεύω makes clear.⁵⁴ They have no agency of their own; the monstrous is itself opposed to the civilized. Similarly, in tales of humans being turned into monsters, the monstrous is itself the punishment, whereas demonic figures are monstrous but also cause a separate punishment.

On the first page of his 2003 book *Monsters: Evil Beings, Mythical Beasts, and*

All Manner of Imaginary Terrors, anthropologist David Gilmore says: "The mind needs

53 See Petrini 1997, 87-88 on the shifts in his maturity through the poem, which stop short of full adulthood, "in order that his nature and the values he embodies be left unrealized" (88).

54 Bacch. 5.103-6, ἀλλ' ἀνίκατον θεά / ἔσχεν χόλον· εὐρυβίαν δ' ἔσσευε κούρα / κάπρον ἀναιδομάχαν / ἔς καλλίχορον Καλυδῶ- / ν.

monsters.”⁵⁵ He goes on to discuss the psychic and cultural work done by both the externalization and eventual conquest of that which is strange and internal,⁵⁶ but another distinguishing mark of the female demonic figures I am dealing with is precisely that they are not part of a narrative of human versus monster. They cannot be killed off; they are aggressive, but in the service of some larger goal; they are divine. Despite the harm and terror they cause, the monstrous female demonic figures under consideration here have more in common with the narrative of monstrous and magical helpers. This difference is perhaps rooted, at least in part, in the fearsome qualities of the Greek and Roman gods. As Gilmore rightly points out: “... the origins of the word reveal yet another aspect of monsters, which is the paradoxical closeness of the monstrous and the divine. For monsters contain that numinous quality of awe mixed with horror and terror that unites the evil and the sublime in a single symbol: that which is beyond the human, the superhuman, the unnameable, the tabooed, the terrible, and the unknown.”⁵⁷ The Greek and Roman gods, however, contain that same quality, both in their inherent ability to harm and terrify and in the monsters they wield. While it is true that “[t]he monster then represents all that is beyond human control, the uncontrollable and the unruly that

55 Gilmore 2003, 1.

56 Gilmore 2003, 4-5: “The point of this book is to show that for most people monsters are sources of identification and awe as well as of horror, and they serve also as vehicles for the expiation of guilt as well as aggression: there is a strong sense in which the monster is an incarnation of the urge for self-punishment and a unified metaphor for both sadism and victimization (after all, the horrible monster is always killed off, usually in the most gruesome manner imaginable, by humans). We have to address this issue of dualism, of emotional ambivalence, in which the monster stands for both the victim and the victimizer. What other forces does the monster embody in the human consciousness aside from pure aggression? Why do we need all these monsters to express these emotions?”

57 Gilmore 2003, 10.

threaten the moral order,” that is even more true of the gods.⁵⁸ Asma offers a more fitting conceptualization in reference to the biblical monsters Behemoth and Leviathan, who “are not opposed to God but represent the more chaotic and frightening visage of God.”⁵⁹

The horror of the demonic, though, goes beyond that of the purely monstrous, and it is possible that a seed of the difference lies in both the passions and the agency represented by the female demonic figures under consideration, and I would suggest that the idea of the demonic as it came to be understood is created by Vergil in the *Aeneid*.

58 Gilmore 2003, 19.

59 Asma 2009, 64.

Chapter 1: Furies in the *Aeneid*

Just as the *Aeneid* itself is profoundly innovative while being thoroughly woven into its epic tradition, so too Vergil's Furies spring strange and new from a long tradition.

Allecto is the most famous of these Furies, and Juno's summoning of her and the Fury's subsequent instigation together form a centerpiece of the whole poem; the Underworld in Book 6 serves as a gateway (and one guarded by the Furies, among others) between the first and second halves of the poem, but it is Juno and Allecto who provide the necessary impetus for the entire second half. Vergil's treatment of Allecto, however, is part of his treatment of female demonic figures throughout the *Aeneid*, and the Harpy Celaeno, in Book 3, is the first such figure to step forward from her cohort as a named individual. After Allecto's departure, and the opening of the Gates of War by Juno, the second half of the poem is full of actual war rather than intimations of it, and, aside from the provocative glimpse of Tisiphone on the field of battle, the Furies do not reappear. Finally, the Dirae, as agents of Jupiter, and Aeneas with fury ascendant close the entire poem.

In order to gain the clearest understanding of the patterns and themes in Vergil's use of the female demonic in the *Aeneid*, I will address these major episodes within the context of other references to the Furies and related figures. I will thus begin in Chapter 1 with Furor enchained in Book 1 of the *Aeneid* and then discuss the two references to Erinys in the Helen episode of Book 2 before moving in Chapter 2 to the Harpies and their context. In Chapter 3, I examine several other female demonic figures, namely

Fama, Iris, and the Furies in the Underworld, as well as the role of Dido and her Furies, and the chapter closes with a look at the characterization of the Trojans' new homeland. Allecto in Book 7 and the Dirae in Book 12 are the subjects of Chapters 5 and 6, respectively, and I then consider the Furies in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in Chapter 6.

Furor

Appropriately enough for the Odyssean first half of the *Aeneid*, the reader meets a variety of figures who fit within the female demonic category, such as the Harpies, the monstrous Fama, and Iris, as well as the personified Furor, who appears briefly at the conclusion of Jupiter's reassuring statement to Venus (1.291-296):

'...
aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis:
cana Fides et Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
iura dabunt; dirae ferro et compagibus artis
claudentur Belli portae; Furor impius intus
saeva sedens super arma et centum vinctus aënis
post tergum nodis fremet horridus ore cruento.'

"... Then the harsh generations will become gentle when wars have been set aside: aged Fides and Vesta, Quirinus with his brother Remus, will give laws; the dread gates of war will be closed with well-fitted iron; within, *impius* Furor, sitting on top of savage weapons and bound with a hundred bronze knots behind his back, will roar, terrible with his blood stained mouth."

Jupiter's speech succinctly traces the path from Aeneas ruling in Lavinium to the lasting rule of Rome, whose success is explicitly made up of wars and conquest;⁶⁰ the somewhat grim image of dreadful gates of war is thus appropriate, and their closing could reasonably signal the gentling promised by Jupiter. Given, too, that Furor is strongly

60 Although *aspera* Juno is not conquered, she will nonetheless come to favor the Romans along with Jupiter.

associated with the extensive civil war that had, at last, ended under Augustus, a monstrous and bloody Furor within said doors is also fitting.⁶¹ Nonetheless, *fremet horridus ore cruento* is a violent and vivid image, and one that threatens as much as reassures. The reassurance that begins with Aeneas waging great war (*bellum ingens geret Italia*, 1.263) ends with the gates of war securely closed on the *impius* Furor and his savage weapons, but *intus* is a powerful adverb here. Furor is not expelled, but contained within; he is bound, but will roar.⁶² This foreboding closure does not minimize the glory of Rome, nor the virtues of a pacified world, but Vergil is a psychologically astute realist: Furor *is* within humans, and even, perhaps, necessary. Furthermore, in the course of the *Aeneid*, it will certainly roar again, nor will there be any lack of fierce arms.⁶³

61 Pöschl 1962, 19 on 1.294-6: "This is the best example in the *Aeneid* of a symbol which condenses a historic event into a single image. This image, still trembling with the bloody events of the civil wars, climaxes and ends the speech of the god, thus channeling the wild motions of human life into the quiet order of the divine *fata*." (Note that he translates *Furor impius* as "the godless and ghastly Lust of Blood.") He also mentions (177, n.8) a parallel in visual art: "the painting of Apelles, showing Alexander with the lightning, the Dioscours, and Nike on a triumphal chariot, followed by War with hands tied behind his back. Servius says that there was such a representation of Furor Bound in the forum of Augustus."

62 As Tarrant (2012, 27) puts it: "Even in an idealized future, the lust for violence remains unabated, and the best that can be hoped for is that it may be prevented from bursting its bonds."

63 One might think this a grim reassurance to offer the gentle goddess of love. In the *Aeneid* we see a Venus whose danger and interest begin to extend beyond her traditional purview of erotic desire. Not only does *furor* recur, but, as Perkell points out (1999, 38), "[t]here is no model in the *Aeneid* of the control of *furor* other than through *furor*." See Galinsky 1988 for a discussion of the importance of anger in a Roman context; recognizing this broader context that values anger is important even if one is not convinced by his consequent reading of the killing of Turnus. Contrary to the view of *furor* as recurrent but also potentially productive, Otis sees *furor* as inherently negative and the thematic opposition between *furor* and *pietas* as a central organizing principle of the *Aeneid*. On this passage in particular (1.294-6) he says (1995(1964), 230): "The victory of *pietas* over *furor* is here finally and definitively related to the moral superiority of Rome to the *impium* and *furiosi*. Fate is on the side of the pious but it would not have been on their side had they not been pious." I will discuss the role of *pietas* in the Harpies section, but will point out here that it is a human virtue or requirement that in no

The echoes of this description of Furor go beyond the obviously thematic. The very similar phrase *fremit ore cruento* reappears at the beginning of Book 12 in the simile of a lion applied to Turnus (*impavidus frangit telum et fremit ore cruento*, 12.8).⁶⁴ Furthermore, the adjective *saevus* is given notable weight in the final scenes of the poem (5 times in the last hundred or so lines of Book 12).⁶⁵ We thus seem to see hints of Furor released as the *Aeneid* concludes, which answers Jupiter's promise that Furor bound will roar with the image of *furor* ascendant. Even though the image in his speech is set far in the future and subsequent to the necessary first step of war (*bellum ingens*, 1.263), the sequence of the prophecy is, in a twisted way, followed in the course of the narrative. That is to say, in his journey toward immense war in Italy, Aeneas sets up laws, in vain (*iura domosque dabam*, 3.137, followed immediately by the plague), the Gates of War

way guarantees favor. Also note that *furor* is not only external to Rome, as the evocation of civil war makes clear. Pöschl rightly points out the opening sequence's emphasis on control and successful regulation (1962, 22-23), but, like Otis, also finds in the scene a fundamental, but overly simplistic, opposition (1962, 16-17): "The contrast between Jupiter's quiet serenity (I.255) and Juno's angry passion underscores the inner tension of the poem. The passion-consumed goddess is confronted by Vergil's sublime Jupiter, the majestic master of the world, enthroned above suffering and passion."

- 64 This phrase is an exact repetition of *Aen.* 9.341. See Tarrant 2012, 85-7, on Turnus in Book 12 and Hardie 1994, 134-5, on Euryalus in Book 9. I agree with Hardie's assessment ("Trojan and Italian alike are prone to *furor*," 135), which Tarrant (87) also finds persuasive. Hardie also points out the use of *perfurit* (9.343), which underscores the allusion to Furor; the passage in Book 12 does not have a similar verb, but violence does swell in Turnus (*haud secus accenso gliscit violentia Turno*, 12.9). This relatively rare verb is most often used of inanimate forces or emotions that grow in size or power (*TLL* 6.2.9, 2047, I.A.2), and usually with a somewhat ominous tone – even when applied to delight, as in a fragment from Pacuvius (294 Klotz 1953, v. 1, p. 162): *Sed nescio quid nunc est: animi horresco et gliscit gaudium*. In the *Thebaid*, in which it occurs several times, the much rarer sense of swelling or growing fat (*TLL* 6.2.9, 2048, III; 7 citations) is used grotesquely to describe Tisiphone, whose skin swells with gore or pus (*sanie gliscit cutis*, 1.107).
- 65 These scenes will be discussed in Chapter 5, so I will only mention here that Aeneas is also described as *furiis accensus* (12.946).

are opened by Juno in Book 7 (*Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis*, 7.622), and what was contained within runs rampant.⁶⁶

The adjective *dirus*, here used to describe the gates of war, is so closely connected to Vergil's Furies and related figures that a very brief discussion of its meaning will be helpful here, although I will return to this word in the discussion of the Dirae at the end of the poem. (A fuller discussion and list of occurrences is in Appendix A.) Like *furiae*, *dirae* can be used substantively of divine, monstrous figures, and it is associated with the Furies, but to take it as strictly synonymous is not clearly supported by the text. It seems instead, in Vergil, to apply to a more general class of fearsome goddesses, as well as inanimate objects that are connected to their fields of influence or effect in some way.⁶⁷

66 Juno's act is structurally significant in that it opens the second half of the *Aeneid* (an opening that began forcefully with the poet's statement of his greater work at 7.41-45: *dicam horrida bella... maius opus moveo*), but it is more interesting than simply as a parallel to the mention of the Gates of War in Book 1. There, it is their closure that is the culmination of Jupiter's prognostication; in Book 7, it is not only an opening of the gates that opens a new narrative arc, but also an opening that is necessary for a future closure. The Gates of War are also interesting in their relationship to the Furies. The gates of Tartarus at 6.573-74 may foreshadow Juno's action as well as associating the Furies and entrances, as discussed in the section on the Furies in the Underworld. The two brief but structurally emphatic instances discussed here, along with the guarding element of the Harpies episode suggest a more pervasive and thematic concern with doors and gates that merits further investigation. In his discussion of the image of Orestes' avenging Dirae in the doorway (*ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae* (4.473), Henry takes *in limine* to mean not the doorway itself but the vestibule, where they sit "watching all ingress and egress (v. 2, 758)". While I think the image here might in fact suggest blocking more than observation, a more active sort of guarding, he is right to point out the regularity of this position: "This is the proper seat of the Dirae both in Hades, and during their visits to this world." He seems to take it as a general sort of rightness, a role and position that is inherently appropriate to the nature of the Dirae, citing not just *Aen.* 6.279, 555, 574, and 7.341, but Ovid, *Met.* 4.453, 485, and Seneca, *Herc. Oct.* 606. Indeed it is, but, I would argue, precisely because it is one of Vergil's influential innovations.

67 Furor, here personified, is a close verbal cousin of the Furies (both are derived from the verb *furere*, 'to be mad, rage'), but a less direct connection to the Furies may also be hinted at here with the use of *nodus*. This word's basic meaning of 'knot' extends to anything fastened with a knot or "resembling a knot or knotted cord in tightness and intricacy." *OLD* 1184. It is also

The few recorded uses of the word before Vergil are in a religious context, which certainly seems to be at least part of the context in the Harpies episode, but Vergil adds an association with war. It is in this new, enlarged sense that *dirus* is an appropriate adjective for the whole epic.⁶⁸

Furies at the Fall of Troy

The first appearance of a Fury in the *Aeneid* occurs in Book 2, within Aeneas' narration of the fall of Troy at Dido's request. There are, in fact, two references in relatively close succession, each to an Erinys (*tristis Erinys* at 2.337, *communis Erinys* at 2.573), and the second of these is within the disputed Helen episode.⁶⁹ I will discuss the authenticity of the Helen episode below, as well as the role of the Erinys within it, but should point out that the first mention of Erinys is significant to my analysis of Vergil's Furies even on its own, and the relevance of this section does not depend on an authentic Helen episode.

used in the *Aeneid* of a serpent at 5. 279 , in the simile of a wounded snake used to describe the last ship to limp to the finish line, as well as of Hercules wrestling Cacus (8.259-260). One of its appearances simply as a knot is in the description of the disguised Venus as she appears to Aeneas (1.320). (There is some ambiguity in that *nodus* could refer to the knot or the fabric so knotted, or even a pin or clasp used to gather it. Conington argues that a reference to an actual knot is best supported by Vergil's usage; for my purposes, any of those uses differs from the more figurative reference to the coils of snake or monster mentioned here.) There is no imagery or context that particularly evokes the Furies in these passages, but the relationship of Cacus to our other monsters requires more consideration and the serpentine use allows a momentary or ghostly image of Furor bound with snakes rather than simply knots. The latter would fit with the almost paradoxical role of the Furies in the *Aeneid*: Furor is here the uncontrollable controlled; the Furies both provoke and punish. Looking forward to Ovid's Furies, there is also an interesting counterpoint in the way Tisiphone girds herself with a snake, rather than being bound.

68 The association with war also highlights its cognate relationship with the adjective *δεινός* used frequently in Homer.

69 The only other uses of this word in the *Aeneid* refer to Allecto (7.447, 570).

tristis Erinys

Book 2 begins with Aeneas obeying Dido's request for the tale of Troy's fall and the Trojan wanderings, which will take up all of Books 2 and 3. Before we consider specific scenes from this inset narrative, however, we should note the way that it is introduced. Dido's original request was made as she (*infelix*, 1.749) tried to prolong the postprandial conversation and thus the opportunity to drink in her new love for Aeneas (*bibebat amorem*, 1.749), a love with which Cupid, in the guise of Ascanius, had infected her while cradled in her lap (1.719-722). Aeneas responds with: *infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem* ("you bid me relive an unspeakable grief, queen," 2.3), and this use of *infandus* is worth notice as one of the first appearances in the *Aeneid* of a word from the significant cluster of related words that mean 'unspeakable': *nefas, infandus, nefandus*.⁷⁰ Here it modifies *dolor* and strikes the chord of grief that echoes throughout the poem. The assent of Aeneas is expressed as a conditional statement that plays her love against his grief and seems to equate the man and his painful experience (2.10): *sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros...* ("But if you have so great a desire to learn of our misfortunes..."). Dido was filled with desire to know Aeneas; here Vergil suggests that to do so is to know disaster, and his *infandus dolor*.⁷¹ The interplay of love, grief, and

70 The only earlier appearances are forms of *infandus* at 1.251 (*navibus (infandum!) amissis*, in Venus' complaint to Jupiter) and 1.525 (*prohibe infandos a navibus ignis*, in Ilioneus' plea to Dido in the temple of Juno). Throughout the poem, *nefas* appears 18 times, *infandus* 17, and *nefandus* 8.

71 The destructive nature of Dido's makes the parallelism more clear. As Cupid/Ascanius approached, enchanting all with his beauty and ornament, Dido was described as doomed (*pesti devota futurae*, 1.712) and then, as she cherished him on her lap, ignorant of the danger (*et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido / insidat quantus miserae deus*, 1.718-19).

misfortune will demand our attention again, and *casus*, which can refer to simple accident as well as great disaster, will be especially important to keep in mind as we read of Aeneas' wanderings in Book 3.

Moving on to the narrative itself, the first reference to a Fury comes shortly after the ghost of Hector has appeared to the sleeping Aeneas and ordered him to take the Penates and flee Troy. Aeneas, however, is stirred to fight (2.314-317):

arma amens capio; nec sat rationis in armis,
sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem
cum sociis ardent animi; furor iraque mentem
praecipitat, pulchrumque mori succurrit in armis.

Out of my mind, I snatched up arms; nor was there sufficient calculation in arms, but instead my spirit burned to gather a band for war and to rush into the citadel with my comrades. Madness and rage drove my mind headlong, and it occurred to me that to die in arms is a beautiful thing.

He immediately sees Panthus, priest of Apollo, who has escaped the weapons of the Greeks and informs Aeneas of the Trojan horse and the fall of Troy (2.318-335). Aeneas is swept up (2.336-338):

talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divum
in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,
quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor.

By such words of the son of Othrys and by a divine power I was borne into the flames and into arms, whither the grievous Erinys, whither the battleroar summons, and a cry lifted to the heavens.

The use of the historical presents adds vividness that suits the context, but we should note the shift in agency: the first person active *capio* that initiates Aeneas' action is followed by his spirit burning; *furor* and *ira* drive his mind headlong, and he is manifestly *amens*. Then, in the second passage, we are returned to first person, but the verb is passive –

Aeneas is carried away by both the report and a divine force. Whether or not the *numen* in 336 and the Erinys in 337 are identical, the fact that she is embedded in the context of war and blood lust is a striking development. Especially alongside *fremitus* and *clamor*, she could be one of Ares' troop in the *Iliad*, but this is no part of her traditional associations in Greek literature.⁷² The power to make humans mad that became characteristic of the Furies in Greek tragedy is now what calls a man into battle. The idea of vengeance may also be present, but it is crucial to note two things. First, the martial context is a significant change: killing an enemy in revenge for the death of a comrade is ubiquitous in epic, but an entirely different sort of vengeance than the domestic crimes that awake the Erinyses. Second, the mechanism is different: Aeneas is *summoned* by something he desires, not driven away or horrified by monstrosities. As Horsfall points out, the "association of Furies with war is peculiarly Virgilian," but I think it might be a more varied association than he suggests when he goes on to say: "Though Aen. goes to

72 The cult figure of Demeter Erinys reported by Pausanias might come closest; she gained the epithet after Poseidon earned her wrath by raping her (undeterred by her attempt to escape in equine form), and Erinys thus seems to represent a more general sort of wrath (ἐπικλησίαις τῆ θεῶ γεγόνασι, τοῦ μηνίματος μὲν ἔνεκα Ἐρινύς, ὅτι τὸ θυμῶ χρῆσθαι καλοῦσιν ἐρινύειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες, 8.25.4-9). Dietrich suggests that the Erinyses seen in Homer reflect an association and artistic interchangeability with both the Harpies and Gorgo (1964, 12). I will discuss the relationship of the Harpies and the Furies in the next section, but his comment on the role of both in the myth of the Pandarids is relevant here (1964, 13): "It would lead too far afield to explore the Harpy's provenance, but essentially in art and in myth she appears as a daemon with chthonic connection whose element was the wind: she was – and here she meets with the Erinys – one of the agents of the fate of death imagined as seizing their prey while roaming in the air above the earth. This was an early concept of the working of fate, as of other destructive agents that swooped down upon the unsuspecting victim, as can be seen from many metaphors from Homer onward." Shipp (1964, 36) observes that the members of the 'battle' group of personifications (as opposed to the 'Ate' group, 35) in the *Iliad* do not "play an important part in the action;" this contrast with Ares, whom they accompany, provides an additional point of contrast to Allecto's role in the *Aeneid*.

war **numine diuum**, the Furies, as demons of battle, have a share in the work.”⁷³ On this reading, the *tristis Erinys* here is another Allecto, but the differences are significant. A full discussion of Allecto will come in the next chapter, but I will point out a basic distinction that is evident in this passage: Allecto enters a state of peace to provoke war, while the Erinys here exists in a state of war and calls a warrior to his natural element. It is true that Allecto’s human victims, Amata and Turnus, respond in ways that fit their characters, and this might suggest that the shift from peace to war is not so difficult for anyone, but the emphasis in Book 7 is on the attacks and machinations of Allecto.⁷⁴ Furthermore, she performs these tasks at the behest of Juno, and both the attacks and her role as an agent for another god are important parts of Allecto’s demonic nature. As I said above, the Erinys here is an aspect of the battle itself, and calls Aeneas to battle undisguised.

On the other hand, Otis, looking forward to Aeneas’ actions, points out that guile is part of his *furor*:

“His whole character is dominated by *furor*, by deliberate refusal to heed the gods’ will to destroy Troy, by deliberate rejection of *salus*. We learn this from his words to his comrades in lines 348-54 whose result Virgil summarizes in the single phrase: *sic animis iuvenum furor additus* (355). . . . But the emotion in Aeneas reaches, perhaps, its culminating expression in the hidden snake (379 f.) to which he, by implication, is compared. . . . This prepares us for a new form of Aeneas’ rage: on the advice of

73 Horsfall 2008, 283. Note, however, that this association will be a significant influence on the *Thebaid*. Horsfall cites Buchheit 1963, but the section referred to discusses only Allecto and will therefore be addressed at the appropriate point of this study. I would point out, however, that to read this Erinys as evil personified, as Buchheit presents Allecto, completely subverts the centrality of war to both epic and the Roman world, based on the apparent assumption that this Erinys must be functionally, if not literally, equivalent to Allecto.

74 This is particularly clear in the way she directs the hunt and the wounding of Silvia’s stag that leads to the first bloodshed (7.475 ff.).

Coroebus, he adds *guile* to fury by assuming the disguise of Greek arms; the treachery of the hidden snake is thus made conscious policy.”⁷⁵

If this is connected to the tendency of the tragic Furies to deceive by hallucinations, it is an interesting inversion. As he follows the Erinys into battle, Aeneas practices his own deceptions, although, as we shall soon see, he has been deceived into thinking it is the Greeks rather than the gods who destroy Troy.⁷⁶ Nonetheless, to characterize these actions as “deliberate refusal to heed the gods’ will” seems to minimize the role of madness. The end result may be the same, and one might say that madness necessarily involves a refusal to heed reality, but to call *furor* deliberate seems to miss a crucial element – the deliberate actions are motivated by an unreasoning *furor*.⁷⁷

communis Erinys

As I mentioned above, the second use of the word *Erinys* is used to refer to Helen (*Troiae et patriae communis Erinys*, 2.573) and appears within the Helen episode (2.567-588). The authenticity of this scene has long been debated, nor does a reconciliation seem imminent. The fundamental pieces of evidence for arguments against are: 1) the absence of the episode from any ancient manuscript; 2) the contradiction with the story of Deiphobus in Book 6; and 3) un-Vergilian style. Arguments for authenticity tend to focus on the literary coherence of the episode and, especially more recently, on a

75 Otis 1995 (1964), 242.

76 Both Helen and the Trojan Horse add to this motif of deceptive appearances.

77 Note that it is with a mind enraged by the sight of the bound Cassandra that Coroebus leaps into the fray (*non tulit hanc speciem furiata mente Coroebus / et sese medium iniecit periturus in agmen*, 2.407-408).

reconsideration of what Vergilian style means.⁷⁸ As Conte says before offering his narrative analysis and demonstrating Homeric structural models:

Most interpolations affect only the surface structure of a text: they consist of a few words that hang onto its trunk like the tendrils of a vine that can easily be pulled off. On the other hand, some interpolations affect the deep structure and become an organic part of the text, with their own organization. Whether it is an interpolation or not, the Helen episode is of this second type; it regulates the “fabula” like a gear, receiving and transmitting the motion of the narrative. In this case, attention to detail must come after philological study of the narrative structure.⁷⁹

It is also important to keep in mind that, if the Helen scene is not authentic, it must have replaced something, given the gap between Aeneas dumbfounded by horror and grief after witnessing the murder of Priam (*Aen.* 2.559-566) and Venus reproaching him for his wrath as she reveals herself (2.589-595).

I find the narrative coherence argument set forth by Conte compelling and the arguments that rely on incorrectly-Vergilian style rather the opposite; I will therefore treat the episode as authentic, even if not fully finished at Vergil’s death.⁸⁰ One weakness of the arguments against authenticity continues to be an overly simplistic view of what counts as Vergilian (or, conversely, “*too* Vergilian to be real”).⁸¹ This problem was

78 See Goold 1970 for a thorough treatment of the Servius tradition and the unreliability of Servius himself. Horsfall 2008 provides a recent overview, although his impressive capacity for cataloguing scholarship does not extend far into the details of arguments for authenticity (566-7): “I have looked at a fair number of the latter [literary, rather than textual, critics], but their unwillingness, or inability to engage with the real problems of authenticity makes me reluctant merely to count heads or record underinformed views.” For arguments for authenticity, Conte 1986, is fundamental, and also has a helpful overview of the issue; Conte 2006 is a more recent contribution to the debate. Austin 1961 is also helpful, and Fratantuono and Susalla 2012 argue for authenticity based specifically on parallels with Camilla in Book 11.

79 Conte 1986, 200; structural models discussed 201-206.

80 Conte 1986.

81 Horsfall 2008, 565.

compounded by Norden's overly simplistic statistical analysis, which did not take into account the effect of verbal and metrical clustering.⁸² At least as important, though, is attention to thematic unity, and it is this argument that Conte put forth first and most cogently.⁸³ Attention to thematic evidence is particularly important because arguments against authenticity often come to rely on it in addition to 'harder' evidence. One recent example of such scholarship discusses the un-Vergilian nature of both the Fury and associated language; I hope to show that these passages are in fact quite thematically aligned with representations of the Furies and related figures elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, which offers further support for the argument for authenticity.⁸⁴

The Helen episode begins as Aeneas stands stupefied with horror at Priam's death, and reminded of his own family (2.567 - 587):

[I]amque adeo super unus eram, cum limina Vestae
servantem et tacitam secreta in sede latentem
Tyndarida aspicio; dant claram incendia lucem
erranti passimque oculos per cuncta ferenti.
illa sibi infestos eversa ob Pergama Teucros
et Danaum poenam et deserti coniugis iras
praemetuens, Troiae et patriae communis Erinys,
abdiderat sese atque aris invisā sedebat.
exarsere ignes animo; subit ira cadentem
ulcisci patriam et sceleratas sumere poenas.
'scilicet haec Spartam incolumis patriasque Mycenae
aspiciet, partoque ibit regina triumpho?

coniugiumque domumque patris natosque videbit
Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?
occiderit ferro Priamus? Troia arserit igni?
Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus?

82 Norden 1916, Anhang 11, 453-8. See Johnson 1927 for clear counterexamples, and Shipley 1925 for arguments for a reconsideration of synaloepha, in addition to evidence for clustering.

83 Conte 1986.

84 Murgia 2003, discussed below.

non ita. namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
feminea in poena est, habet haec victoria laudem;
extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis
laudabor poenas, animumque explesse iuvabit
ultricis †famam et cineres satiasset meorum.’

I was the only one who had survived to this point, and then I saw Helen, child of Tyndareus, guarding the threshold of Vesta and hiding, silent, in a secluded seat. The torches gave a bright light to me as I wandered and passed my eyes over the whole scene. She, the Fury of both Troy and her homeland, fearing that the Trojans would be hostile to her because of fallen Troy and anticipating the punishment of the Greeks and the wrath of her deserted husband, had withdrawn and was sitting unseen at the altar. My heart caught fire. In came a rage to avenge my falling fatherland and exact evil punishment.⁸⁵ “Will she, unharmed, behold Sparta and her Mycenaean home? Will she proceed as a queen, having been granted a triumph? And will she see her husband and children and the house of her father, accompanied by a throng of Trojan women and manservants? Now that Priam is dead by the sword? Now that Troy burns? Now that the Dardanian shore has been drenched so many times with blood? It shall not be. For although there is no worthy renown for punishing a woman, this victory merits praise; I will be praised for destroying something unspeakable and exacting merited punishments, and my spirit will rejoice to fulfil ... and to satiate the ashes of my dead.”

The sight of Helen, hidden and silent, inflames Aeneas with violence remembered and desired. Aeneas, who set off to go where the *tristis Erinys* summoned, has found another Erinys, the woman who summoned war to Troy, and now seems to summon yet more violence. It is worth noting that Aeneas, who seeks vengeance for his home and family, neither calls upon a Fury nor presents himself as one. Instead, it is a Fury that prompts his desire and would suffer the punishment, and the sense of delight in violence

85 This merits further investigation, both in the pairing of *scelerata* and *poena* and the significance of *poena*. L&S, 1390: B. *Poena*, the goddess of punishment or vengeance; in plur.: *Poetae*, the goddesses of vengeance, sometimes identified by the poets with the *Furiae*: “o *Poena*, o *Furia sociorum!*” Cic. *Pis.* 37, 91; cf.: “*saeva sororum Poena parens,*” Val. Fl. 1, 796; so in sing., Stat. *Th.* 8, 25; in plur., Cic. *Clu.* 61, 171; Luc. 6, 695; Varr. ap. Non. 390, 9; Val. Fl. 7, 147. (Also OLD 1395, 1.d.) Even if we do take it as ‘punishment for evils,’ the juxtaposition is effective. Also note the reference to *poenas* in Deiphobus’ speech in the Underworld.

and rage that runs throughout Aeneas' actions is explicitly picked up at the end of his speech by *iuuare*, 'benefit, delight.' In a sense, Helen here embodies the crime that must be avenged, and is thus analogous both to the *tristis Erinys* that earlier embodied battle and to the traditional idea of Erinyes as embodiments of the blood guilt itself.⁸⁶

Before moving on to discuss possible models in Greek tragedy, I should first address the concern raised by Murgia about the role of *pietas* and *furor* in this passage, which forms part of his argument that the author of the Helen episode was imitating Lucan. A thorough engagement with his argument is not pertinent, but his treatment of the Erinyes certainly is. *Pietas* and *furor* are also relevant to this study, and Murgia argues that their role in the Helen episode makes it thematically inconsistent with the rest of the *Aeneid*. I will show that, on the contrary, a closer look at what he identifies as non-Vergilian (and pro- or post- Lucanian) sheds light not only on the Helen episode and its relationship to the rest of the *Aeneid*, but also on the use of the Furies and related concepts in the poem.

Murgia begins by asserting that the episode is brilliant but non-Vergilian:

86 Helen can also embody grief, and I think that is an undercurrent here. The element of grief is present in the probable model from Aeschylus discussed below (νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς, Ag. 749), but also in the narrative thrust of the scene, as Conte points out (1986, 200): "Aeneas, the narrator of that last tragic night, relives in memory the horror once experienced by Aeneas, the participant in, and spectator of, those events. The sight of the barbarous killing, the thought of his own father, who was one of Priam's companions and the same age as he and of his own family – all are now part of an undifferentiated pity. His great suffering also implicitly poses the question that springs from all deep grief: 'Who is to blame?' He unexpectedly catches sight of the answer when he sees Helen hiding for safety in Vesta's temple." Aeneas clearly set the theme of grief for his audience (and Vergil's) in his response to Dido's request: *infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem* ("you bid me relive an unspeakable grief, queen," 2.3); Venus' revelation of the true villains that interrupts this monologue also positions Helen as a pawn, and thus as yet another instance of fruitless grief in the *Aeneid*. In a sense, Helen *is* the unspeakable grief, both as one who experiences it and one who brings it.

The passage seems to me brilliantly conceived, though it has aspects that I do not believe to be concordant with Virgil's plan for the *Aeneid* as a whole. This is notably in 583-586,

non ita. namque etsi nullum memorabile nomen
feminea in poena est, nec habet victoria laudem,
extinxisse nefas tamen et sumpsisse merentis
laudabor poenas....

That is not the way it will be. For although there is no memorable name in punishing a woman, and the conquest of a woman gains no praise, I will gain praise for extinguishing a crime and exacting deserving punishment.

These lines portray Aeneas as acting with the motivation of a shame-culture hero of traditional epic, with praise and blame the main motivation for action. But Virgil's Aeneas operates with an internal standard of conduct, his dedication to being *pius*. It is normally conflict between two types of *pietas* that tests Aeneas.

The poet of the Helen Episode therefore seems to have composed with a different conception of the poem from the one that Virgil otherwise manifests.⁸⁷

To argue that a given thematic element does not fit risks circularity, especially in a poem so dense with multivalent themes. In this particular case, the argument is also undercut by a misreading of both the scene itself and the broader context of the Furies, revenge, and punishment in the *Aeneid*.

While it is true that *memorable nomen* and *laus* both evoke the traditional epic praise of the *Iliad*, Murgia ignores the strong emphasis here on punishment (*poena, nefas, sumere merentis poenas*). I would suggest that while a reference to Iliadic "shame-culture" is perfectly in keeping with the Iliadic context of Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, the striking emphasis on punishment, and the exaction thereof, is somewhat new and merits further attention, particularly as it will be taken up as a recurring theme throughout the

⁸⁷ Murgia 2003, 406-407.

Aeneid. Furthermore, the introduction of punishment allows this scene to fit within the norm Murgia posits (“conflict between two types of *pietas*”) if we consider that exacting appropriate penalties could well be an important part of *pietas* as a social virtue. In other words, Aeneas’ choice can be seen as a privileging of social bonds and their enforcement over personal glory, rather than an un-Vergilian intrusion of Homeric *kleos*. This highlights the importance of maintaining a clear view of *pietas* in Vergil, an importance that is magnified by the ease with which the virtue is coloured by later interpretations and anachronistic conceptualizations. The afterlife of Vergilian *pietas* is a rich field, but must be set aside as much as possible when considering whether a given passage or concept is “Vergilian”.

Early in his discussion of the use of *Erinys*, Murgia says: “For Lucan, as for Virgil, an Erinys is not simply a demon of destruction: she is rather an agent of *furor*, most notably of that species of *furor* represented by the *impietas* of civil war. This is a development from the Greek usage, under which a Fury is a spirit of vengeance...”⁸⁸ I would agree that this is true for Lucan, and it is from Lucan that Murgia’s clear textual examples of the equation are drawn. But the case is very different in the *Aeneid*. First of all, Allecto is an agent of Juno, not of *furor*. Secondly, the examples he draws from the *Aeneid* tie *furor* (or Furor) to civil war, which is in no way evidence that *furor* and the Furies can be equated. I do not deny that there is a connection between Vergil’s Furies and civil war, but we cannot retroject Lucan’s development of the idea back onto the *Aeneid*, not least because Lucan’s Furies are abstracted from precisely the

88 Murgia 2003, 412.

individualization that makes them so notable in Vergil. So, to say that “Lucan observes a strictness in the thematic connections of Erinys not observable in the Helen Episode” is tautological if it is his own strictness and circular if it is only Murgia’s.⁸⁹ In neither case is there any evidence that Vergil has a strict connection between Furies and civil war, so having an Erinys appear in the Trojan War (or any other non-civil war) violates nothing.⁹⁰

Murgia does recognize the power of Vergil’s Furies to provoke, but seems determined to have that provocation strictly bound to civil war and *furor*. This causes a somewhat strained interpretation of the earlier Erinys passage, and founds his evaluation of the Helen episode on a misunderstanding of Vergil’s Furies.

In the Virgilian usage as we find it, there is probably an element of the Greek concept of avenging spirit combined with Virgil’s own thematic use as an instigator of *impius furor*. In *Aen.* 2.337, *in flammis et in arma feror, quo Erinys, / quo fremitus vocat*, Aeneas’ dash into battle is both an act of vengeance against the Greeks and an act of *impius furor* (since he ignores the advice of Hector’s ghost to rescue the *penates*). In book 7, Allecto is an instigator of *furor*, but there is probably also an element of vengeance in Turnus’ *furor*.

But the use in the Helen Episode, lacking both Helen-inspired vengeance as a motive for the destruction inflicted by the Trojans on the Greeks and *impietas* as a foundation for the conflict, seems to be proper neither to Greek usage nor to the use we would expect of Virgil or Lucan.⁹¹

While one can find elements of vengeance and *impietas* in Aeneas’ leap into action, it is *impius furor* completely unrelated to civil war. Furthermore, while the *impius* lack of attention to family (and social) connections that Murgia brings up could partially motivate Venus’ reproach, Aeneas’ desire to defend and avenge his home and family

89 Murgia 2003, 413.

90 Also worth considering here, and part of my larger project, is whether the use of the Greek term makes a significant difference in Vergil.

91 Murgia 2003, 414.

shows fervent, if inappropriate, attention to those same connections. The entire scene fits far better when one recognizes the Erinys as an element of dangerous incitement to passionate action and, possibly as a subset of that, war.⁹² As for Murgia's difficulties with the Erinys in the Helen episode, Vergil's use of Erinys is not "proper" to Greek tradition because he is doing something new.⁹³ Furthermore, while civil war is a pervasive theme in the *Aeneid*, and one connected with Furor, the Furies have a different role, and one with which both uses of Erinys in Book 2 accord well. In fact, they touch on many of the key elements that distinguish Vergil's Furies: the power to inflame lust for war, disguise, punishment, and associations with family relationships.⁹⁴

The association of Furies with family relationships is strongest in Greek tragedy, in which Helen as an Erinys has several possible antecedents.⁹⁵ First, and arguably most

92 Within this broader context of passion, the suggestion (Murgia 2003, 416-417) that the triumph Aeneas imagines for Helen (*partoque ibit regina triumpho?*, 2.578) could be erotic is worth further investigation. Although I think the emphasis in Vergil is focused on Helen's status, contradictory though it is, the idea of Aphrodite granting *imperium* is fanciful, but not unfitting. (If Aphrodite were as dutiful a daughter as Athena, one could more easily imagine Zeus, her father, delegating this power in order to use her as an instrument of destruction.) Scheid (2001) raises two points in his discussion of Roman religion under the Empire that might be illuminating in this context. First: "L'un des traits fondamentaux du nouveau régime, c'est son aspect triomphal" (145). He goes on to comment on the changed status and significance of Venus: "...Vénus, patronne de cette puissance contraignante, de ce charme puissant qui gouverne les relations privilégiées entre les pieux Romains et les dieux" (148). The shifting role of Venus as connected to conquest and *imperium* is beyond the scope of this work, but see Schilling 1954, 267-346 for a thorough treatment of her association with "les grands conquérants" from Marius to Augustus. It is interesting that the rise in Venus' stature coincides with the shift of some of her characteristic powers to the Furies. (Although she certainly does not give them up and is herself a Fury in Valerius Flaccus.)

93 I also note that a broader view of the Greek tradition reveals more room for alignment than is generally seen, particularly with epic models.

94 The most significant element that is not present seems to be that of intermediary, but Helen, as a tool of the gods, can be seen as a passive version of a figure such as Allecto.

95 This is also true, more generally, of stylistic elements. Among others, Conte points out (1986, 205): "Even a phrase like '*sceleratas sumere poenas*' (to take one's revenge for acts of

closely, she is called νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς (749) in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*. The compound adjective is a *hapax*, and as Fraenkel suggests, "probably coined for this passage." Fraenkel takes the compound as referring to brides other than Helen, rather than translating more freely as 'bride who brings grief' (or grieves, although Fraenkel discounts any grief Helen might feel, which is not necessarily justified).⁹⁶ As he goes on to say, "[I]f it at first seems strange that 'bride' here does not refer to Helen, it is true on the other hand that, whenever she is mentioned, this thought may be suggested: Ἑλένα, μία τὰς πολλὰς ... ψυχὰς ὀλέσασ' ὑπὸ Τροίαι."⁹⁷ Furthermore, as Sommerstein points out, Helen brings grief to both Greek and Trojan brides.⁹⁸ It is precisely this multivalence of Helen's that Aeschylus evokes so strikingly in νυμφόκλαυτος that Vergil echoes with *communis*.⁹⁹

wickedness or *on the wicked woman*), whose connection with prior literary models has been much contested, is a stylistic offshoot of the bold enallages found in the language of Greek tragedy." Austin also discusses this phrase and its interpretations. He thinks "that it bears all the marks of a Virgilian invention," and it is worth highlighting his point that "the phrase is remarkable, and suggested parallels are irrelevant" (1961, 190). I do not necessarily go so far as "irrelevant," but scholars do sometimes seem surprisingly reluctant to allow Vergilian innovation.

96 Fraenkel 1950, v. 2, 346. "That [translations such as 'a bride bringing woe'] seems obvious since all we are concerned with here is the wedding and marriage of Helen; she is the bride in whose honour, along with Paris, the νυμφότιμον μέλος (705) has been sung, which still rings in our ears. But it seems questionable whether such an interpretation is linguistically permissible. In a possessive compound no hesitation would be felt in assuming a free relationship of this kind (cf. Williger, *Sprachl. Unters.* 16 ff.), but the formation with a verbal adjective ending in -το- seems to make it necessary to understand it in the sense either of 'which will be wept for by the bride (or brides)' (cf. νυμφόληπτος) or perhaps (though this does not apply here) 'she who weeps for brides'.

97 Fraenkel 1950, v. 2, 347.

98 Sommerstein 2008, 87.

99 In addition, the reference to Zeus Xenios specifically is an interesting parallel to the similar paradox we have seen in Juno, goddess of marriage, sending Allecto to make sure that Lavinia gets Bellona as her *pronuba*.

Fraenkel's comment on the relevance of Erinys is particularly pertinent to this investigation, not only of Helen as Erinys, but of the new Latin Furies in general, so I quote at length:

As the lion showed itself in the end (735) as ἱερεύς τις Ἰταῖας, so Helen appears finally as Erinys. The beginning of the whole chorus as well as of this stanza had prepared the way for regarding her as a daemonic being. The identification should not be weakened by an arbitrary rendering. It is of the same strength of immediate vision as when later (1500 ff.) the deeply agitated Clytemnestra takes refuge in the idea that the ancient avenging spirit [ἄλάστωρ, 1501] is appearing in the figure of Agamemnon's wife. Aeschylus attributes to both daughters of Tyndareos, at the root of their personality, something belong to the sphere of the superhuman, something of the essence of evil spirits. Euripides has adopted this conception in his *Alexandros* if, as is probable, the words of Ennius, *trag.* 56 Ribb. (part of Cassandra's prophecy) *quo iudicio Lacedaemonia mulier, Furiarum una, adveniet* go back to the original.¹⁰⁰

The emphasis on general demonic nature rather than vengeance is particularly relevant to Vergil's Furies, but it appears to be specific to Helen, as Fraenkel suggests. I will therefore address related passages from Greek tragedy before returning to the conjunction of divinity and destruction that is visible in Helen as Erinys.

In Euripides' *Orestes*, Helen is the Erinys of Troy itself in the lament of a Phrygian servant reporting Helen's murder at the hands of Orestes and Pylades (1381-88)¹⁰¹:

Ἴλιον Ἴλιον, ὦμοι μοι,
Φρύγιον ἄστν καὶ καλλίβωλον Ἰ-
δας ὄρος ἱερόν, ὡς σ' ὀλόμενον στένω
[ἀρμάτειον ἀρμάτειον μέλος]
βαρβάρῳ βοᾷ δι' ὄρνιθόγονον

100 Fraenkel 1950, 347.

101 Text from Kovacs 2002; Diggle's 1994 text obelizes the phrase δι' ... καλλοσύνας (and has διὰ τὸ τᾶς rather than Porson's δι'), but the reference to Helen as Erinys is unaffected.

ὄμμα κυκνοπτέρου καλλοσύνας, Λήδας
σκύμνον Δυσελέναν Δυσελέναν,
ξεστῶν περγάμων Ἀπολ-
λωνίων Ἐρινύν.

O Ilium, Ilium, alas!, the Phrygian citadel and sacred fertile slopes of Ida,
I lament with a barbarian cry [the song of a chariot, a chariot] that you are
destroyed thanks to the bird-born appearance of swan-feathered beauty,
Leda's cub dire-Helen, dire-Helen the Erinys of Apollo's hewn-stone
Pergamus.

The preceding lines might suggest that Erinys here is almost a generic term for
destruction – an intensification and personification of the δυσ- prefix added to Helen's
name.¹⁰²

In Euripides' *Troades*, Andromache refers to Helen as the death of Trojans and
Greeks, as well as the child of various evils (766-771):

ὦ Τυνδάρειον ἔρνος, οὐ ποτ' εἶ Διός,
πολλῶν δὲ πατέρων φημί σ' ἐκπεφυκέναι,
Ἄλαστορος μὲν πρῶτον, εἶτα δὲ Φθόνου,
Φόνου τε Θανάτου θ' ὅσα τε γῆ τρέφει κακά.
οὐ γάρ ποτ' αὐχῶ Ζηνὸς ἐκφῦναί σ' ἐγώ,
πολλοῖσι κῆρα βαρβάροις Ἑλλησί τε.

O scion of Tyndareos, you were never Zeus' – I say you were born of
many fathers: first Vengeance, and then Malice, and Murder and Death
and as many evils as Earth rears. For I would never say that you, the death
of many barbarians and Greeks, were born of Zeus.

A κῆρ generally refers to the personal downfall of an individual, but is not always itself

102 Horsfall, in a fine demonstration of circular argumentation, takes this passage as “more pertinent” than the Aeschylus phrase based, at least in part, on the predilections of the constructed author of the Helen episode (2008, 574): “It has been suggested ... that HE here had in mind Aesch. Ag. 749 νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς, where the sense is disputed; Aesch. seems anyway outside the reading of HE's author....” It is, however, possible that the eagerness to kill bad women displayed by Euripides' Orestes was an influence on this scene in the *Aeneid*.

viewed as an individual spirit. The emphasis on parentage, especially chthonic parentage, strongly suggests that it is the spirit or agent of individual death meant here, which would make it a closer parallel to Erinys. In any case, the basic meaning of death or destruction is a fitting identification for Helen, and fits well with standard pairing of Greek and Trojan suffering. Returning to the *Agamemnon* for a moment, Helen is not only νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς (749, discussed above) but also a source of more general destruction, as the chorus points out in a riddling comment on the appropriateness of her name, she is a destroyer of ships, men, and cities (ἑλένας ἔλανδρος ἑλέ- / πτολις, *Ag.* 688-690).¹⁰³

Moving away from tragedy for a moment, Catullus 68 offers another possible influence in its close association of Helen's kidnapping and Troy as a common tomb (68.87-92):

nam tum Helenae raptu primore Argivorum
 coeperat ad sese Troia ciere viros,
 Troia (nefas!) commune sepulcrum Asiae Europaeque,
 Troia virum et virtutum omnium acerba cinis,
 quaene etiam nostro letum miserabile fratri
 attulit. ...

For Troy then began to summon men to itself with the initial kidnapping of Helen, Troy (unspeakable!) the common tomb of Asia and Europe, Troy the bitter ash of all men and their brave deeds, the same that even now has brought pitiable death to my brother.

103 Text from Page 1972 (Oxford). Fraenkel's comment on δορίγαμβρον (686) is also relevant (1950, v.2, 330): "Since the wedding preceded the battles, it did not quite literally take place διὰ πολέμων; but what matters is the inevitability with which the wedding entailed war. At least in retrospect the union of Helen and Paris constitutes a part of the events of the war." The imagery is not limited to Helen; in the *Odyssey*, Athena tells Telemachus that Odysseus would make bitter marriages and swift death for all the suitors (πάντες κ' ὠκύμοροι τε γενοίατο πικρόγαμοί τε, *Od.* 1.266).

The tone is full of grief rather than the rage appropriate to the immediate violence of the fall of Troy that Vergil portrays, but there are other points of contact. The ‘ash of men and manly virtues’ (90) could be taken up by Aeneas’ concern with the suitability of killing a woman, and, more broadly, with his desire, throughout this section, to fight rather than flee.¹⁰⁴ The emphasis on ashes in Catullus, which encompasses destruction and grief on epic and personal scales, is perhaps echoed in the *cineres satiassse meorum* that close this passage (587).

Let us return to the idea that Vergil’s Helen as Erinys taps into the association of Erinys with general destruction that is particularly evident in the parallels in the *Agamemnon* and *Orestes*. Both Conte and Horsfall posit this quality of generalized destruction as a natural part of the Roman understanding of Furies, but it is not at all clear that this was the case before Vergil.¹⁰⁵ While I agree entirely with Conte’s point that the image of Helen as an Erinys is in keeping both with Vergilian usage and the nature of the Furies in Roman thought, I argue that it was precisely the innovations in Vergil (visible in the *Georgics*, but in full flower in the *Aeneid*) that *created* this new figure.¹⁰⁶ In doing so, of course, Vergil drew on traditional aspects of the Greek Furies, but their destructive nature as it appears in Greek sources might more precisely be called doom, which

104 One can take the pair of passages as a comment on the difference of perspective: what was in fact madness at the time can be viewed as bravery by later generations. Or, perhaps, it is precisely in the fall of Troy that Aeneas narrates that we see his *virtus* turned to ash.

105 Conte 2006, 160 n.1; Horsfall 2008, 574.

106 Conte (2006, 160 n.1): “L’immagine è quindi coerente con l’uso virgiliano (*Aen.* 2,337; 7,447, 570) e con la concezione romana della Furia come demone di distruzione piuttosto che di vendetta: idea, questa, che resta radicata nell’area semantica di Ἐρινύς anche nel suo uso metaforico, che è frequente nella tragedia greca, dove la definizione di Erinni si applica a Iole (Soph. *Trach.* 895), Medea (Eur. *Med.* 1260), e Cassandra (Eur. *Tro.* 457).” Note, however, that the latter two references in the *Aeneid* refer specifically to *Allecto*.

suggests a fated or earned destruction. As Wüst puts it, referring specifically to examples of this sort of metaphorical use in tragedy (and Valerius Flaccus): “Ἐρινύς wird gleichbedeutend mit Verhängnis, Unheil.”¹⁰⁷ This is in keeping with the earlier Homeric tradition, in which one of the few clear traits of the Erinyes is their relationship with some sort of social or divine order. Furthermore, as Jasper Griffin points out, “in the *Iliad* such figures as Eris, Deimos and Phobos simply underline what is visibly happening on the human level.”¹⁰⁸ The Erinys that summoned Aeneas to battle earlier in Book 2, as discussed above, is a clearer parallel to such Iliadic figures, but the image of Helen as an Erinys seems a clear, and fruitful, expansion of the concept that combines the domestic and the martial in a way that is quite suited to the *Aeneid*. As I shall demonstrate, however, the examples from tragedy are not at all general, but also tied to deaths and vengeance within a domestic context.¹⁰⁹

A brief examination of the examples cited by Conte (and Wüst) reveals that all contain some element of vengeance or familial wrongdoing, or both. In the *Medea*, the chorus calls Medea an Erinys as she embarks on the murder of her children (ἀλλά νιν, ὦ φάος διογενές, κάτειο- / γε κατάπαυσον, ἔξελ' οἴκων τάλαι- / ναν φονίαν τ' Ἐρινὺν

107 *RE* Suppl. 8, 118.

108 Griffin 1977, 48.

109 In his commentary on Ennius, Jocelyn also points out this discrepancy (1969, 218-19): “The semantic area of Ἐρινύς in Attic tragedy and that of *Furia* in recorded Latin are not exactly co-extensive. The Ἐρινύς was a spirit of vengeance and justice, never one of random destruction. *Furia* on the other hand was frequently used, like the abstracts *pestis*, *pernicies*, *labes*, *exitium*, to indicate mad, wicked and/or destructive persons whose presence made other persons equally mad, wicked and/or destructive ...” I discuss the semantic range of *furia* elsewhere, but it is relevant here to suggest that the very concept of madness seems a natural point of contact, given the tragic context that is so often evoked, and one that could easily branch off and signify random and uncontrolled destruction.

ὕπαλάστορον, “But restrain her, o divine light, stop her, remove this wretched and bloody vengeance-bound Erinys from the house,” Eur. *Med.* 1258-60).¹¹⁰ In Sophocles’ *Trachiniae*, as the chorus reports the death of Deianira, they refer to the great Erinys that Iole bore for the house (ἔτεκε ἔτεκε μεγάλην / ἀνέροτος ἄδε νύμφα / δόμοισι τοῖσδ’ Ἐρινύν, “This uncelebrated bride bore a great Erinys to this house,” 893-5).¹¹¹ In the final example, from Euripides’ *Trojan Women*, Cassandra tells Agamemnon’s ship that it will carry her as an Erinys¹¹² (Eur. *Tro.* 456-61):

οὐκέτ’ ἂν φθάνοις ἂν αὔραν ἰστίοις καρδοκῶν,
 ὡς μίαν τριῶν Ἐρινὺν τῆσδέ μ’ ἐξάξων χθονός.
 χαιρέ μοι, μήτερό· δακρύσης μηδέν· ὦ φίλη πατρίς,
 οἳ τε γῆς ἔνερθ’ ἀδελφοὶ χῶ τεκῶν ἡμᾶς πατήρ,
 οὐ μακρὰν δέξεσθέ μ’· ἦξω δ’ ἐς νεκρούς νικηφόρος
 καὶ δόμους πέρσασ’ Ἀτρειδῶν, ὧν ἀπωλόμεσθ’ ὕπο.

Make haste to await the wind for your sails in order to take me, one of the three Erinyes, from this land. Farewell, mother – don’t cry! O dear fatherland, my brothers who lie beneath the earth and the father who engendered us, you will soon welcome me. And I will come among the dead bearing victory and having sacked the halls of the sons of Atreus, by whom we have been ruined.

Cassandra’s use of the verb πέρσθω, ‘to sack’, offers an additional point of interest as regards both Helen as Erinys at the fall of Troy and the martial context of both Allecto

110 As Page points out in explaining his reading of ὕπαλάστορον (‘subject to [the power of] an ἀλάστωρ’) (169): “The metaphor is reasonably appropriate, since Medea’s motive is revenge. The Erinys is often conceived as doing a task of revenge imposed by an ἀλάστωρ: it is possible that they are even identified with ἀλάστορες in *Med.* 1059, *Ph.* 1592.”

111 It is interesting that this metaphorical use appears not far from a very traditional evocation of the Furies and Justice by Hylus as he confronts his mother: τοιαῦτα, μήτερό, πατρίδι βουλεύσασ’ ἐμῶ / καὶ δρῶσ’ ἐλήφθης, ὧν σε ποίνιμος Δίκη / τείσαιτ’ Ἐρινύς τ’. εἰ θέμις δ’, ἐπεύχομαι, 807-9.

112 Note the relatively rare early reference to the three Erinyes.

and Tisiphone in the *Aeneid*.¹¹³ She uses a rare compound of a related verb (ἀντιποροθέω, ‘to ravage in return’) in an earlier speech that expresses her foreknowledge that she will destroy Agamemnon and his house (κτενῶ γὰρ αὐτὸν κἀντιποροθήσω δόμους / ποινὰς ἀδελφῶν καὶ πατρὸς λαβοῦσ’ ἐμοῦ, Eur. *Tro.* 359-60). This highlights parallels with the *Trachiniae* passage above, as a captive woman prompts the destruction of a family. Cassandra is notably different, however, as she frames this coming disaster as due penalty for the crimes against her family (ποινὰς) and, not entirely accurately, stresses her personal agency with very active verbs in the first person.

Taken together, it is not clear to me that these examples do demonstrate a generalized sort of destruction at all. They are obviously metaphorical, but seem quite close to the image of the Erinyes arising from the blood of the slain that we see in Aeschylus – the Furies embodied in mortal women, but the destruction is still vengeance for a personal crime, and on a house.¹¹⁴ The indiscriminate and impersonal destruction seems to be tied specifically to Helen and the Trojan War.

The Roman Furies, though, can have an element of chaos in their destructiveness, as Horsfall points out: “Helen’s role here in terms of vengeance and punishment may not be perfectly clear..., but to a Roman reader very much the business of a metaphorical

113 Allecto’s connection with war takes up much of Book 7, and will be discussed thoroughly later in this work; Tisiphone, who appears first as guardian of Tartarus in Book 6, has a striking re-appearance as she rages among the fighting Trojans and Latins in Book 10 (*pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit*, 10.761).

114 The passage from Sophocles is a bit less clear, although it does recall Hecuba’s vision of giving birth to a firebrand, which in turn brings us back to the Furies, as the presence of Erinys is debated in Pindar’s Paeon 8.10-12 (... ἔδοξ[ε] δὲ / τεκεῖν πυρφόρον ἐρι[νὴν / ἑκατόγχευρα, taking Grenfell and Hunt’s reading; Robert reads ... ἐρι[σφάραγον]). Regardless, the context is still clearly personal wrongs and grievances in a domestic context.

Fury: specifically, the wreaking of chaos and destruction..., here present and perfectly comprehensible.”¹¹⁵ In some cases, this chaotic element could be seen as an inversion of the correct order, thus Tisiphone in the *Georgics*; in others, it seems to be discord or violence for its own sake, as in martial contexts, among others; in no way, however, does it have a clear antecedent in the Greek tradition.¹¹⁶ It is nonetheless given great play by Vergil in the *Aeneid*, and was central to writers that followed. One might even say that the impulse to disorder replaced the enforcement of order, but, at least in the *Aeneid*, the Furies demonstrate enough of their role as punishers to make that impossible. It does seem to be the case, though, that while punishments, whether required by curses or as markers of the Underworld, remain closely tied to the Furies in their literary representations (as opposed to brief mentions), it is their provocative and destructive nature that is expanded upon.

To return to Fraenkel’s suggestion about Helen and Clytemnestra (“Aeschylus attributes to both daughters of Tyndareos, at the root of their personality, something belonging to the sphere of the superhuman, something of the essence of evil spirits”¹¹⁷), it is worth considering its possible significance for the Furies and their various literary treatments. The Erinys is a specific form of the superhuman, and demonstrates the power to enforce and punish that is a mark of all deities. Perhaps it is we (scholars ancient and modern) who have tied them so closely and exclusively to vengeance, which could be

115 Horsfall 2008, 574.

116 Medea’s vengeance is perhaps closest, as a domestic wrong avenged, perversely, on her children. In this sense, it is an inversion of the plot of the *Oresteia*, but chaos is almost antithetical both to her cunning and to the clear and strong theme of vengeance.

117 Fraenkel 1950, 347.

simply one manifestation of this power, albeit one that became central.¹¹⁸ So why are they so actively destructive when unprompted, as the example of Helen & Clytemnestra highlights? Partly, perhaps, because gifts of the gods are generally destructive, but also perhaps precisely because they are intermediate figures, and the destructive potential inherent in the superhuman does in fact cause destruction when moving about in the human world. I suggest this as a possible addition, not as a contradiction of the inherent danger of chthonic deities in particular, nor to diminish the violence inherent in curses and vengeance. Nonetheless, the sort of elemental danger that the Greeks and Romans saw in misplaced divinity seems to be a significant factor in the literary developments of the Furies.

I have pointed to ways that Erinys here, and in the Greek sources, fits Vergil's new Furies and will continue to develop this picture over the course of this study. At this point, before moving on to consider the Harpies in Book 3, I will show how the next scene echoes the initial mention of the Erinys (2.337, discussed above) while displaying the destructive power of the divine in a striking and unequivocal image of the gods destroying Troy.

divum inclementia

We return to undisputed Vergilian authorship when Venus interrupts Aeneas and reveals herself to him (2.588-603):

talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar,]
cum mihi se, non ante oculis tam clara, videndam

¹¹⁸ This would, I think, even fit with the conflict between old and new orders in the *Eumenides*.

obtulit et pura per noctem in luce refulsit
alma parens, confessa deam qualisque videri
caelicolis et quanta solet, dextraque prehensum
continuit roseoque haec insuper addidit ore:
'nate, quis indomitas tantus dolor excitat iras?
quid furis? aut quonam nostri tibi cura recessit?
non prius aspicias ubi fessum aetate parentem
liqueris Anchisen, superet coniunxne Creusa
Ascaniusque puer? quos omnis undique Graiae
circum errant acies et, ni mea cura resistat,
iam flammae tulerint inimicus et hauserit ensis.
non tibi Tyndaridis facies invisa Lacaenae
culpatusve Paris, divum inclementia, divum
has evertit opes sternitque a culmine Troiam.”

While I was blurting out such things and was carried away by my enraged mind, my gracious mother allowed herself to be seen, never before so clear to my eyes, and she shone through the night with a pure light, openly a goddess,¹¹⁹ just as she was accustomed to be seen among the gods, and as large; she seized and held me with her right hand and said these things in addition with her rosy mouth: “Child, what great grief rouses your uncontrollable wrath? Why do you rage? Why on earth has your care for me vanished? Will you not instead look to where you left your father Anchises, weak with age, whether your wife Creusa survives, and your son Ascanius? All of whom the Greek troops surround on all sides and, if my concern did not prevent it, whom flames by now would have taken and the enemy sword devoured. It is not the hated face of the Spartan daughter of Tyndareus or guilty Paris, but the mercilessness of the gods that destroys this wealth — of the gods! — and casts Troy down from its peak.

As Venus goes on to show him, the gods are literally destroying Troy(2.604-623):

Neptune and Juno (*saevisissima*, 2.612) taking an active part, Minerva presiding (*Gorgone saeva*, 2.616), and Jupiter himself supporting and inciting it all.

As Conte points out:

At the point of this disclosure a whole system of expectations is satisfied, a system that could have been established in the text only by a narrative

119 This is a contrast to the disguise elsewhere.

impetus such as that given by the violence of the hero's anger. Venus's warning, "Look at those *really* responsible for this immense destruction," could only have been made (in a way yielding an unbroken development of narrative tension in crescendo) to someone threatening to take revenge, through a shameful act, on the wrong person.¹²⁰

I suggest that the presence of an Erinys, a divine figure that provokes violence, adds to this narrative drive: Aeneas is summoned to battle by an Erinys, and it is the sight of Helen as Erinys that precipitates Venus' revelation of the true divine destruction. Furthermore, the conception of Erinys sketched in this episode serves as a sort of prelude to later appearances of female demonic figures in the *Aeneid*. This is true not only as pertains to the aspect of martial violence, but that of disastrous marriage, and I would argue that Aeschylus' powerful phrase $\nu\mu\phi\acute{o}\kappa\lambda\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \text{ Ἐρινύς}$ (*Ag.* 749) informs Vergil's treatment of the Furies. Certainly the motif of disastrous marriage, which Helen must always evoke, is taken up explicitly by Juno in Book 7 and, to complete the Iliadic resonance, is intimately linked with the war that follows.

120 Conte 1986, 203.

Chapter 2: Vergil's Harpies

The encounter between the Harpies and the Trojans in Book 3 of the *Aeneid* requires discussion here for two reasons: (1) The Harpies are monstrous mythical figures that both situate Aeneas and Vergil in the epic tradition and relate to aspects of the female demonic under consideration in this study, and (2) the Harpy Celaeno calls herself *maxima Furiarum* (3.252), which links her to the Furies not only in name, but also in the way she steps forward from the mythic family and takes on a role as an individual character, just as Allecto will in Book 7. This individuation of the female demonic is new in Vergil, and the space it creates for motivation and agency not only adds additional layers to the poem but changes aspects of this family of female demonic figures.

Whether these changes reflect Roman influences on the Greek 'originals,' other developments in religious contexts (such as magic, arguable increases in 'individual' religion, and so on), or are simply Vergil's own innovations, they fit the Roman cultural context very well and will, upon examination, shed light on the poem itself and on important aspects of Roman thought about the divine and the feminine.

In addition to the individuation mentioned above, there are several other specific points of contact between the Harpies and the female demonic in Vergil. As terrifying winged monsters, the Harpies clearly share traits with the Furies and the Dirae; all three are also strongly associated with punishment.¹²¹ There is also a thematic point of

121 In the context of the Harpies, punishment is often discussed in relationship to *pietas* and pollution, but the key question is of (in)appropriate action.

commonality: the Harpies are characterized by hunger; the Furies, while not hungry themselves, inspire in others lust for blood, sex, war, and power.¹²² Finally, and crucially, they are mediating figures. This is true of female demonic figures in general, but there are several specific points shared by the Harpies and the Furies: they are hybrids of beast and woman; they serve as a connection between the divine and human by sharing or acting on divine knowledge or intent; they dwell in liminal places. All of these characteristics will be traced and analyzed throughout this study, but it is in the Harpies episode that they are first developed in the *Aeneid*.

The story of the Harpies in the *Aeneid* is part of Aeneas' account of Trojan misadventure, which is told, reluctantly, at the request of Dido, who had welcomed the Trojans with a royal feast. Our narrative frame is thus Odyssean in both setting and subject matter and, like Odysseus in the (mostly) safe haven of the Phaeacians, Aeneas sadly tells the tale of the destruction of Troy (Book 2) and the subsequent journeys of the Trojans (Book 3). I will look more closely at certain episodes and aspects of this journey later, but a brief plot outline of the book will provide important context.

Aeneas first arrives in Thrace, land of Mars and *hospitium antiquum Troiae* (3.15), and founds a colony there against fate, *fatis iniquis* (3.17).¹²³ As he gathers

122 By both provoking and punishing incorrect behaviour, Vergil's Furies, like many gods, have a dual role. Jupiter's Dirae, which will be discussed in the next chapter, are like the Harpies in being more exclusively connected to punishment. The birds of prey with which both Harpies and Dirae are associated (the Furies less so) also fits with hunger, in addition to the associations with pollution (Panoussi 2009) and curses (Hübner 1970). Padel (1992, 130), in the context of Greek tragedy, suggests that eagles, along with the dogs associated with them, can be seen as the "embodiment of the nonhuman world's carnivorous, destructive relation to the human body." She goes on to point out the relationship to "winged daemons" and says (131) that "gods use winged things to attack us."

123 My thinking about *hospitium* has been influenced by an as yet unpublished paper on *Aeneid* 3

greenery for the altar of the foundational sacrifice, Aeneas prompts a terrible portent (3.24-48): the shoots drip blood and gore once pulled from the ground. Aeneas, though horrified, repeats his action until, on the third harvest, the earth groans and the voice of Polydorus reveals that the blood is his, the plants the treacherous weapons that killed him. Finally convinced, Aeneas flees to Delos for advice from Apollo, after correctly performing the funeral rites for Polydorus. Apollo does give advice, the famous *antiquam exquirite matrem* (3.96), but Anchises misinterprets it as referring to Crete. To Crete they therefore go, where they succeed in establishing a city only to be struck by plague. As they prepare to return to Delos for clarification, the Penates deliver a message from Apollo to Aeneas: it is not Crete but Hesperia, Italy, that they must find (3.147-171). The next misadventure comes as a storm drives them from their course; they find refuge in the Strophades, home of the Harpies. Following battle with the Harpies and Celaeno's prophecy of famine even in Italy, the Trojans move on to Actium and, after purification and games, stay there for a year. Next, they go to the Buthrotum, the *parva Troia* of Helenus and Andromache, where they receive additional prophetic advice. Onward to Italy, where the omen of four white horses could signify war or peace and the Trojans make sacrifices to Minerva and Juno (3.537-47).¹²⁴ As they sail around Sicily the Trojans rescue Achaemenides, abandoned by Odysseus, from the land of the Cyclopes and safely skirt Scylla and Charybdis. Finally, after this series of prophecy, travels, and

by Christopher Nappa.

124 Horsfall argues that the horse was primarily an animal of war and points out the triumphal allusion (378-79). The conjunction of war and farming is nonetheless very Roman, regardless of pragmatic agriculture and husbandry. As war animals, however, they also evoke bonds of *xenia/hospitium* when we recall that their epic pedigrees in the *Iliad* usually involve gift exchange, mortal or divine.

adventure, the book ends quietly with their arrival at Drepanum and the unforetold and much lamented death of Anchises.

This is a tale full of mis(sed) directions, mistaken identity, and unnecessary violence, even within what should be a happy reunion with Andromache.¹²⁵ These elements are all evident in the encounter of the Trojans and the Harpies, along with a horrifying prophecy to accompany those that are positive, if misunderstood, elsewhere in the book. The episode begins with our heroes, dashed about yet again by a storm, finding port in the Strophades, refuge of the Harpies (3.210-262):

... Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae
insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno
harpylaeque colunt aliae, Phineia postquam
clausa domus mensasque metu liquere priores.
tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla
pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
proluvies uncaeque manus et pallida semper
ora fame.
huc ubi delati portus intravimus, ecce
laeta boum passim campis armenta videmus
caprigenumque pecus nullo custode per herbas.
inruimus ferro et divos ipsumque vocamus
in partem praedamque Iovem; tum litore curvo

125 See Bettini 1997 for a discussion of the eery doubling of the *parva Troia*, where Andromache “has turned these ‘doubles’ and ghosts into the very meaning of her existence” (21). The reunion scene also has a small connection with the Furies in Andromache’s inset narrative of how she ended up married to Helenus, and one that contains a suggestive juxtaposition of erotic lust and the madness of punishment in reference to Orestes: “but he [Orestes], inflamed by a great love for his snatched bride and driven by furies for his crimes, came upon him [Pyrrhus] unawares and cut him down at his family altars (*ast illum ereptae magno flammatus amore / coniugis et scelerum furiis agitatus Orestes / excipit incautum patriasque obtruncat ad aras*, *Aen.* 3.330-332). As Conington points out (207): “‘*Scelerum Furiis*’ combines the two senses, which in the old belief would be undistinguishable, of the Furies that punished the matricide and the madness arising from it.” Nettleship adds two citations from Cicero’s second Verrine oration: *quorum scelerum Poenis agitur* (1.2), and *Poenas scelerumque Furias* (5.43).

exstruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis.
 at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt
 Harypyiae et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas,
 diripiuntque dapes contactuque omnia foedant
 immundo; tum vox taetrum dira inter odorem.
 rursum in secessu longo sub rupe cavata
 [arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris]
 instruimus mensas arisque reponimus ignem;
 rursum ex diverso caelisque latebris
 turba sonans praedam pedibus circumvolat uncis,
 polluit ore dapes. sociis tunc arma capessant
 edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum.
 haud secus ac iussi faciunt tectosque per herbam
 disponunt ensis et scuta latentia condunt.
 ergo ubi delapsae sonitum per curva dedere
 litora, dat signum specula Misenus ab alta
 aere cavo. invadunt socii et nova proelia temptant,
 obscenas pelagi ferro foedare volucris.
 sed neque vim plumis ullam nec vulnera tergo
 accipiunt, celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae
 semesam praedam et vestigia foeda relinquunt.
 una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,
 infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem;
 'bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvenis,
 Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
 et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?
 accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta,
 quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
 praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
 Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis:
 ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit.
 sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem
 quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
 ambas subigat malis absumere mensas.'
 dixit, et in silvam pennis ablata refugit.
 at sociis subita gelidus formidine sanguis
 deriguit: cecidere animi, nec iam amplius armis,
 sed votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem,
 sive deae seu sint dirae obscaeque volucres.

The Strophades, as they are called by their Greek name, are islands situated in the great Ionian Sea that dread Celaeno and the other Harpies inhabit, now that the house of Phineas is closed to them and they have

departed from their former home and tables in fear. No monster at all is more grievous than they, nor has any more savage plague or wrath of the gods ever arisen from the Stygian waters. Virginal, they have the appearance of birds, the foulest discharge from their bellies, hooked hands, and faces always pale with hunger.

To this place we had been borne, and when we entered port, lo! we saw a herd of cattle spread over the fields and a flock of goats throughout the grass, unguarded. We rushed in with our swords and summoned the gods, and Jupiter in particular, to their portions and loot, then we piled up heaps [of animals] on the curved shore and feasted on noble sacrificial feasts. But the Harpies approached with a terrifying swoop down from the mountains and were at hand; they shook their wings with a great clamor, snatched up our feast, and defiled everything with their unclean touch, while a dreadful cry accompanied their repulsive smell. Again, we set up our tables and replaced the fire on the altars in deep retreat under a hollowed cliff; again, from the sky opposite us and hidden lairs, the crying multitude flew around the plunder with taloned feet and polluted the feast with their mouths. Then I ordered my companions to snatch up their weapons and that war must be waged against this dreadful race. They did just as they had been ordered: they arranged swords hidden throughout the grass and prepared concealed shields. And so, when the Harpies swooped down with a great noise, Misenus gave the signal on his bronze trumpet from a high lookout. Our men rushed in and attempted a new battle, to mar the ill-omened birds of the sea with iron. But they suffered no violence on their wings, nor wounds on their backs, and with swift flight they swooped down from the sky onto the half-eaten booty and left the remainder befouled. Alone, Celaeno settled on a towering cliff, a calamitous prophet, and burst forth this speech from her breast: "War? Are you preparing to wage war even in defense of the slaughter of cattle and slain young bullocks, children of Laomedon, and to drive the innocent Harpies from our hereditary domain? Then hear these words of mine and fix them in your minds – what the all-powerful father foretold to Phoebus Apollo, and Apollo to me, I, the greatest of the Furies, reveal to you. You seek Italy by this path and with the winds at your call: you will reach Italy and will be allowed to enter port. But the city ringed with walls will not be granted before dread famine and the wrong you did us by slaughter drive you to gnaw on your tables for food." She spoke and fled, borne away into the woods by her wings. But fear crept in and the chilled blood of my comrades froze. Their spirits faltered, and no longer did they wish to seek peace with arms, but with prayers and promises, whether they were goddesses or dire and ominous birds.

As I mentioned above, the Harpies episode is part of Aeneas's larger inset narrative, which has a clear Odyssean model, and the episode likewise has several allusions to and reworkings of scenes from the *Odyssey*. I will deal with these shortly (particularly the cattle of the Sun and the Cyclops episodes), but first will discuss the clearest literary antecedent of Vergil's Harpies: the Harpies of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*. There they appear near the beginning of Book 2, when the Argonauts, flushed with their success among the Bebrycians, arrive at the home of Phineus and find him tormented by the Harpies, who daily snatch away his food. This, along with blindness and endless old age, is part of his punishment for revealing the mind of Zeus more exactly than a prophet should. The sons of Boreas, Zetes and Kalais, drive off the Harpies and are only prevented from killing them by the appearance of Iris, who tells them that it is not right to attack the hounds of Zeus (οὐ θέμις, ὦ υἱεῖς Βορέω, ξιφέεσσιν ἐλάσσαι / Ἀρπυίας, μεγάλοιο Διὸς κύνας, 2.288-289). The site of this intercession is the island cluster now called the Strophades, but the Harpies retreat to their lair in Crete (αἶ μὲν ἔδυσαν / κευθμῶνα Κρήτης Μινωίδος, 2.298-299).¹²⁶

The Harpies in Apollonius are called the 'hounds of Zeus' (μεγάλοιο Διὸς κύνας, 2.289) and the context of punishment is shared with an Erinys who appears to execute the blindness portion of Zeus' punishment: οὐ γὰρ μούνον ἐπ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν Ἐρινύς / λάξ ἐπέβη, ("For not only did an Erinys step on my eyes...", 2.220-221). Vergil's reference to the Harpies as (among) the greatest *ira deum* ("wrath of the gods," 3.215), in addition

126 See Nelis 2001, 32-38, for a thorough treatment of the parallels from Apollonius, as well as from the *Odyssey*. Note discussion (37-8) of the birds of Ares and the Stymphalian birds (Arg. 2.1030-89) as models for the metal plumage and attack of Vergil's Harpies.

to the allusive names (*Strophades* and *Phineia domus*, 3.210, 212-13), activates this ‘enforcer’ role for his Harpies, but there is a crucial difference: Vergil’s Harpies are not sent as punishment by any greater authority, but act autonomously to defend their home.¹²⁷ This autonomy is also evident in the prophetic aspect that is part of the Harpies episode in the *Argonautica* but given a more prominent, and complicated, role in the *Aeneid*.

In the *Argonautica*, prophecy is the cause of punishment, as mentioned above, and then prophecy appears again when Phineas offers a reassuring one to the Argonauts before their departure.¹²⁸ Celaeno, in a striking contrast, uses prophecy as a weapon, which casts the role of Apollo and Jupiter, the sources of the prophetic knowledge in both cases, in a rather different light. Furthermore, access to divine knowledge in the *Argonautica* was explicitly part of the gift of prophecy granted by Apollo, whereas in the *Aeneid* he simply passed on knowledge from Jupiter. Not only does Celaeno thus demonstrate access to the gods, which is of course implicit in the *Argonautica*, but also the power to reveal divine knowledge to humans, which she does of her own accord, and for her own purposes.¹²⁹ Both as punisher and as prophet, moreover, Celaeno could serve

127 Hübner (1970, 64) thinks that Vergil uses the phrase to allude to the folk-etymology of *dirae* = *dei irae*. This may be so, but I would take that as a gesture to an overarching category rather than to the *Dirae* specifically.

128 Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 2.311-407. Horsfall (2006, 202-3) points instead to Iris’ warning against harming the Harpies, as well as Circe’s warning from the cattle of the Sun episode in the *Odyssey*, discussed below.

129 Celaeno’s explicit statement of the source of her knowledge, especially given the discretion demanded of Phineas in the *Argonautica*, also presents a significant contrast to the relative obscurity of divine action and knowledge that Feeney (1991) has identified in Apollonius (“a widespread phenomenon in Apollonius ... namely, the inability of the human characters to have the sort of knowledge about the gods’ interventions that Homer’s characters can often command,” 84, with examples discussed 71-77, 84-89). Feeney contrasts Vergil’s authority in

as an agent of mediation between the divine and human realms, but in fact she seems to be agent only for herself. In doing so, she not only demonstrates more autonomy than either the Harpies in the *Argonautica* or the other female demonic figures in the *Aeneid*, but appears as a divine character in her own right rather than as an almost elemental power like the Harpies in Apollonius' *Argonautica* and myth.¹³⁰

In the context of narrative, Celaeno's prophecy in the *Aeneid* is made far more emphatic not only by its violent context and horrifying effect on the Trojans, but by the recurring role of prophecy in Book 3 and the echo of the dire portent of Polydorus' blood that opened the book. The attempted sacrifice that prompts the attack of the Harpies also provides a connection both to the *Argonautica* and, again, to the Polydorus episode. The episode in the *Argonautica* immediately prior to that of Phineas and the Harpies had ended with the image of a successful sacrifice (presumably of Bebrycian animals: ἦδη δ' ἄσπετα μῆλα περιτροπάδην ἐτάμοντο / ἦρωες, 2.143-144) and peaceful feast and sleep, along with an explicit reference to all going according to plan: τὰ δὲ πάντα Διὸς βουλήσι τέτυκτο ("But all had been accomplished by the plans of Zeus," 2.154.) This provides a striking contrast not only to the dramatically unsuccessful sacrifice in Vergil's

the *Aeneid* (1991, 184): "The poem begins and ends with the poet questioning the ways of the divine, but even at these limits his pose is not Apollonian. He cannot account for the apparent evil that comes from the gods, but he can, and does, vouch for his narration of it." I will discuss Celaeno's prophecy further below.

130 I include Allecto among the less autonomous female demonic figures because she is summoned by, and acts for, Juno, but there are signs that she does have autonomy, which will be discussed in the next chapter. Other scholars (Hübner 1970, Lloyd 1954) take Celaeno as Apollo's agent, and I agree that the role is activated in the scene. Nevertheless, the fact that Celaeno uses her prophecy for her own purposes, as a weapon, suggests that, regardless of her possible role as agent of an Olympian, she acts as her own agent in this episode. To carry on the 'hounds of Zeus' metaphor, the fact that dogs can be set upon prey by their human masters does not preclude their ability to hunt for themselves.

Harpies episode, but also to the first Trojan landing of the book, which involved both an action counter to fate when Aeneas founded a city (*moenia prima loco fatis ingressus iniquis*, 3.17) and a horrifying portent in response to attempted ritual, when the gathering of greenery to adorn sacrificial altars turned out to be the tearing of spears from murdered Polydorus (*accessi viridemque ab humo convellere silvam / conatus, ramis tegerem ut frondentibus aras, / horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum*, 3.24-26; 22-68 for the whole Polydorus episode).¹³¹ I will return to these issues of autonomy, prophecy, and incorrect action after a brief discussion of several other important parallels.

In Apollonius as in Vergil, the hero(es) are driven to their encounter with the Harpies by a storm. In the *Argonautica*, it is actually a single, huge wave, albeit one that looms above the ship like a storm cloud, and the threat of the wave is overcome by the skills of their helmsman (2.174-176); in the *Aeneid*, the storm is so great and the darkness so complete that Palinurus loses the way. When the Trojans finally manage to land, they do not find a prophet who needs to be heroically rescued from monsters, but rather that the monsters are the rightful inhabitants. The reassuring prophecy that is given as a sort of reward in the *Argonautica*, here becomes a horrifying response to the well-meant but misguided actions of the Trojans.

This great storm in Book 3 of the *Aeneid* recalls the storm of Book 1, but also has other external parallels. As I mentioned above, Books 2 and 3 are set within the Odyssean context of Aeneas' postprandial tale at Dido's court, and the storm in Book 3 has parallels in the disastrous storm in *Odyssey* 12, which sets up an intricate structure of

¹³¹ Hübner (1970, 64) points out that the form of the episode is also strictly echoed, with a threefold repetition followed by a human voice.

Homeric allusions.¹³² As Nelis points out, having the Harpies actually attack Aeneas and his men allows the Cattle of the Sun episode from *Odyssey* 12 to come into play. This then affects the role of Celaeno, who speaks, as her sister Iris did in the *Argonautica*, and prophesies, an ominous inversion of the reassuring and helpful prophecy offered by Phineas after his rescue.¹³³ The allusion to the Cattle of the Sun episode in turn sets up a structural inversion, as Knauer points out: in Homer, we have prophecy, slaughter of the cattle, storm; in Vergil, storm, slaughter of cattle, prophecy.¹³⁴

Scholars have worked to elucidate the intricacy of Vergil's use of his sources in Book 3, but one parallel that has received less attention than it merits is that between the Harpies episode and Cyclops episode in *Odyssey* 9.¹³⁵ Both show us how the hero

132 See Knauer 1964 and Horsfall 2006 for overview of parallels, as well as Nelis 2001. Cartault 1926, whom Horsfall cites with approval, discusses the parallels and suggests that they are part of what Vergil is working on in this sketch for the storm in *Aeneid* 1 ("L'imitation de l'Odyssee étant tout à fait directe et se manifestant par des fragments de traduction littérale, on peut la considérer comme la première tentative de l'auteur pour faire passer en latin la tempête homérique et comme l'esquisse de celle du Ier livre singulièrement plus développée et plus dramatique," 241.)

133 Nelis 2001, 33-35.

134 Knauer 1964, 184-187 on the parallels between *Aeneid* 3 and *Odyssey* 12, and on the inverted structure (186-7): "Denn dem Sturm folgt in der Aeneis die Schlachtung der Rinder, und diese löst die unheilvolle Weissagung der Celaeno (3.247-257) aus. In der Odyssee löst die Schlachtung der Heliosrinder den Sturm aus, womit sich jedoch die unheilvollen Weissagungen des Teiresias und der Kirke erfüllt haben. Die Umkehrung der Reihenfolge dieser drei zusammengehörigen Motive – Weissagung, Schlachtung, Sturm, aus 'a b c' wird 'c b a' – ist durch die 'Kontamination' der beiden Odysseestürme veranlaßt. Geographische und strukturelle Entsprechungen beweisen die Übereinstimmung mit dem ι, wörtliche und motivische die mit dem μ." As I will discuss below, Book 9 of the *Odyssey*, which Knauer is less interested in, can also be read as a model on thematic grounds.

135 See Nelis (2001, 55) for a discussion of similarities between Vergil's Harpies and Homer's Cyclops episodes as part of his interweaving references to Homer and Apollonius. The very brief encounter of the Greeks with the Cicones (Od. 9.39-61) also reinforces the allusion. Hübner (1970, 62) adds the Battle of the Pygmies and the Cranes and the Sirens to Cattle of the Sun and Phineas as models, the latter specifically because of their combined form. (He does not suggest a particular point of connection for the Pygmies and Cranes, citing only

responds to untried land and how he deals with the conflict that arises when it turns out to be inhabited.¹³⁶ Odysseus consistently displays curiosity and cunning; the characteristic modes of response for Aeneas and his men are war and ritual. The response of Celaeno, who is connected to central Olympian power (3.250-252, discussed below) reveals that *both* responses were inappropriate in this context and therefore real violations, contrary to those who argue that the violence was blameless and that good intentions and *pietas* are what counts when it comes to religious ritual. In fact, good intentions never trump violations in Roman religion, as I will discuss further below, and there are clear signs within the *Aeneid* that the violence of the Trojans was inappropriate under these circumstances, which Celaeno's words underline by reminding both Aeneas and the audience that the appropriate time for war will come when the Trojans reach Italy. The physical destruction of the sacrifice obviously rendered it unsuccessful, and Aeneas'

unspecified examples in Thompson's *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, Oxford 1936.) A particularly intriguing, though minor, parallel might be found in Circe's reference to the nymphs who watch the cattle of Helios (θεαὶ δ' ἐπιπομπόμενες εἰσὶ, / νύμφαι εὐπλόκαμοι, Φαέθουσά τε Λαμπετή τε, / ἅς τέκεν Ἥελίῳ Ὑπερίονι διὰ Νέαιρα, *Od.* 12.131-3.); see Ogden 2013 for a discussion of guardian goddesses/monsters. Harrison 1986 notes the parallel and suggests: "It is possible that while the question of the Trojan guilt was on his mind he came across a reference such as we find in Dionysius, linking 'the sacred property of Helios' to the story of the table eating (1,55,2f.). There, in fact, a sacred pool is involved, not cattle, but such a reference would have been more than enough to send Vergil off on the familiar Homeric trail" (149).

136 Space precludes a more comprehensive treatment here of the ways Aeneas is characterized throughout Book 3. As Nethercut puts it (1968, 88): "In Book iii, Virgil permits us to form from first hand a judgement about the character of the contact Aeneas establishes between himself and the outside world over which his descendants will one day rule." My views on *hospitium* have been shaped by conversations about Book 3 with C. Nappa, and I am grateful for the opportunity to read his unpublished paper on the subject. Gibson 1999 examines the theme of punitive blinding in Book 3; although I find his argument that Phineas' blindness is transferred to Celaeno unconvincing, it does seem conceivable that blindness could provide another connection with the Cyclops episode in *Od.* 9. Perhaps the blindness is Aeneas'.

persistence constitutes improper sacrifice and a religious violation; the horrifying speech of Celaeno makes this plain by effectively transforming the planned sacrifice into a portent of evil, parallel to the attempted sacrifice that opened the book.¹³⁷

Aeneas meets the Harpies on the Strophades, and we should note that the first mention of them refers to their having settled here after being driven from the table of Phineas; they, too, are exiles, of a most horrible sort (3.210-218):

... Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae
insulae Ionio in magno, quas dira Celaeno
harpylaeque colunt aliae, Phineia postquam
clausa domus mensasque metu liquere priores.
tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla
pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.
virginei volucrum vultus, foedissima ventris
proluviae uncaeque manus et pallida semper
ora fame.

The Strophades, as they are called by their Greek name, are islands situated in the great Ionian Sea that dread Celaeno and the other Harpies inhabit, now that the house of Phineas is closed to them and they have departed from their former home and tables in fear. No monster at all is more grievous than they, nor has any more savage plague or wrath of the gods ever arisen from the Stygian waters. Virginal, they have the appearance of birds, the foulest discharge from their bellies, hooked hands, and faces always pale with hunger.

As Aeneas narrates in the first person, the Trojan reaction to seeing the wealth of plant and animal life on the island unguarded is to attack: *inruimus ferro* (3.224). The Harpies immediately attack in return, and Aeneas responds with war (3.234-5): *sociis tunc arma capessant / edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum*. Both the violence and its nature

137 I will discuss these points as I go along, but see Scheid 2001 and Linderski 1995 (1993) for useful discussions of purity and *pietas* as concepts in Roman religion.

are emphasized by the fact that *bellum* is also the first word of Celaeno's speech, so let us linger a bit on the violent aspects of this episode before returning to the Celaeno's prophecy and its significance. Although some scholars are concerned about potential criticism of Roman legitimacy and warfare, I will argue that the problem is neither warlike nature nor an illegitimate mission, but rather the inappropriate implementation of both.¹³⁸

As discussed above, the Cattle of the Sun episode from *Odyssey* 12 provides basic building blocks of this episode (storm, slaughter, and prophecy), but the very first episode in Odysseus' account to the Phaeacians provides a parallel that is as exact as it is brief: the wind drove him from Troy to the land of the Cicones, where he sacked the city in fine Homeric form, killing the men and taking wives and goods; while his men loitered to continue the pillaging (specifically the wealth of livestock), the Cicones gathered reinforcements, and the Greeks lost the battle that ensued (*Od.* 9.39-61).¹³⁹ This is, at a basic level, exactly what happens in Vergil: the men are driven to a land and then successfully driven off by its inhabitants after they slaughter the livestock.

The Cyclops episode from the *Odyssey* (the rest of Book 9, after a storm and the

138 Khan 1996 is keen to defend the behaviour of the Trojans; Horsfall 2006 is less vehement, but seems reluctant to consider the possibility of Trojan/Roman wrongdoing. Putnam (1982a, 270-72) shows how the Trojans behave like Harpies themselves, and not just in this particular scene: "Already in the first episode of book 3 Aeneas is a type of harpy, seizing and, even as the process of action promotes comprehension from uncertainty, virgin near pollution from the criminal shedding of blood" (272).

139 Note that Odysseus sets up his habitual opposition between himself and his foolish men, whereas Aeneas only uses the first person when he reports that he ordered his men to take up arms and wage war 3.234-5, above). Also noted by Keith (2000, 72 n.21): "The collective Trojan conflict with the Harpies contrasts strikingly with the heroic individualism of the Boreads' encounter with them in Apollonius of Rhodes (2.263-90). On the corporate nature of the proto-Roman mission, see Vance (1973), Nugent (1992), and Quint (1993), 23-31 and 90-6."

brief sojourn with the Lotus-Eaters) is a richer parallel, particularly in the way it provides elements of characterization in behaviour that is at least potentially problematic, in a context that is more mythical than mundane. The islands that Aeneas and Odysseus come to are both inhabited by monstrous creatures that have some connection with the divine (Polyphemus is the son of Poseidon and Celaeno receives information from Apollo and Jupiter, with whom the Harpies are also traditionally associated); both lands are also wealthy in desirable resources (animals for food and sacrifice, though note that Odysseus does not lead with sacrifice as the Trojans do); both the acquisition of these resources and the subsequent violence can be seen as characterizing (Odysseus demonstrates cleverness and acquisitiveness, Aeneas martial prowess and concern with ritual); finally, both episodes end with images of hard-won success (Polyphemus asks his father to grant that Odysseus never reach home or, if he must, that he do so alone and disastrously¹⁴⁰) along with some suggestion of divine disapproval (the spoiled sacrifice and Celaeno's bad news from Olympus echo Odysseus' sacrifice to Zeus that ends the book, which is not spoiled but does fail to move the god).¹⁴¹

I argue that these parallels from the *Odyssey* reinforce an already potent image of the Trojans as violent invaders rather than loyal defenders, and one which suggests that waging war is a defining characteristic of Aeneas, just as trickery is of Odysseus.¹⁴²

140 ἀλλ' εἴ οἱ μοῖρ' ἐστὶ φίλους τ' ἰδέειν καὶ ἰκέσθαι / οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἔην ἐς πατρίδα
γαῖαν, / ὄψ' ἐ κακῶς ἔλθοι, ὀλέσας ἄπο πάντας ἑταίρους, / νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης, εὖροι δ' ἐν
πήματα οἴκῳ, 9.532-5.

141 ὁ δ' οὐκ ἐμπάζετο ἰρῶν, / ἀλλ' ὃ γε μερμηρίξειεν ὅπως ἀπολοίατο πᾶσαι / νῆες εὖσσελμοι
καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρήρες ἑταῖροι, 9.553-5.

142 This is perhaps supported by the emphasis Diomedes gives to the almost superhuman martial prowess of Aeneas when he refuses to join forces against him again – he is so great a warrior that two more like him would have had Troy successfully invading Greece (*si duo*

Scholars have been quick to point to Aeneas' selfless motivation and justified violence, as opposed to Odysseus' desire for information, goods, and glory. While the differences are significant, my primary concern in this study is the way interpretations of the actions and motivations of Aeneas, which have colored interpretations of Vergil's Harpies, have often been based on a misconception of the range and role of *pietas* and a tendency toward somewhat absolute views of Trojan (and thus Roman) representations in the *Aeneid*.¹⁴³ Rather than questions of right and wrong, rooted in a concern with motivation, both the *Aeneid* and the context of Roman religion suggest that it is more fitting to ask whether actions are not only properly carried out, but appropriate to the situation.

Inappropriateness

Let us now consider the issue of inappropriate behaviour more closely. In the Harpies episode, we see the performance of three types of action that are necessary or even desirable in general (war, sacrifice, and satisfying hunger) responded to with violence. The last of these is a fundamental animal need and the other two could be considered fundamental actions of human civilization (and they certainly are fundamental to Roman society). The legitimacy of the Trojan actions, especially combined with the divinely favoured and fated status of Aeneas, has led many scholars to be deeply troubled by the negative response, particularly when the connection to 'good' divine powers makes a

praeterea talis Idaea tulisset / terra viros, ultro Inachias venisset ad urbes / Dardanus, et versis lugeret Graecia fatis, Aen. 11.285-87).

143 Important recent work has pushed back against this tendency, but has been slow to reach the Harpies. As with the Cyclops episode, the monstrous nature of the antagonists sometimes seems to horrify scholars as much as anyone else.

simplistic condemnation of the Harpies difficult. Much of this scholarly distress seems to be rooted in a Christian idea of piety, to which *pietas* is equated, and divine favor, which is entirely inappropriate to the pre-Christian Roman conceptions of both; even without this problematic retrojection, the decoupling of transgression and intention that is generally characteristic of both Greek and Roman religion in antiquity often seems to trouble modern interpreters, who find it unfair. I will return to all these issues at the end of the work, but here I will focus on their presence in the Harpies episode, which will require discussion of key elements of Roman religion and, especially, the concept of *pietas*.

Khan's 1996 article on the Harpies episode is a good example of the dangers of such mistaken assumptions. Throughout, Khan is very concerned about the guilt of Aeneas. A fundamental mistake is his reading of Aeneas' sacrifice as proof of innocence, without considering that one can be both sincere and misguided. Following Nethercut's advice to consider the *Aeneid* in the light of Homeric epic, Khan rightly contrasts the religious motivation of Aeneas with the behaviour of the Greeks in the *Odyssey*'s Cattle of the Sun episode, but a difference in attitude does not necessarily make a difference in the acceptability of an action.¹⁴⁴ This might tie into the scholarly thread that assumes

144 Khan 1996, 141. The statement in Nethercut (1968, 84) to which Khan presumably refers is: "Only when we know well both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* can we really begin to understand what Virgil was doing and how terrible the poet has consciously created his hero at the end." I fully agree, and the question will recur throughout this study. While I do not agree in all particulars, Nethercut's analysis of the motif of invasion in the *Aeneid* as it relates to the Trojans is far more sensible than Khan's. It is particularly important to note his point that Vergil was "interested in contrasting two different positions --- that of invader (Homer's Greeks, Virgil's Greeks in Book ii, and the Trojans in the second half) and invaded (Homer's Trojans, Virgil's Trojans of Book ii, and the Latins in the second half)" (1968, 88). Such shifts in who occupies a given role pervade the *Aeneid* and preclude sensible attempts to combine

virtue is necessarily rewarded, and the misunderstanding of *pietas*, here demonstrated by Khan:

The guiltlessness of Aeneas is underscored at the very outset through his invitation to the gods and to Jupiter himself to share in the feast of the slaughtered cattle: *inruimus ferro et divos ipsumque vocamus/ in partem praedamque Iovem (Aen. 3.222f.)*. This gesture imparts a truly sacral dimension to the meal and it exonerates Aeneas from blame.¹⁴⁵

First of all, sacrifices are governed by rules of purity and correctness rather than any standard of moral innocence, and guilt is not a concept that has the same significance in Roman (or Greek) religion as it does in modern Western culture. Even if one allows room for literary expansion of general religious practice, this seems an egregious misreading, especially given the gruesome experience with Polydorus that opens the book.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, the possibility of rejection is built into Greek and Roman conceptions of religious sacrifice, and it is the success of the sacrifice that matters, not the initial offering; this sacrifice fails utterly.¹⁴⁷

Khan compares this episode with the discovery of deer on landing at Carthage

absolute consistency with unequivocal attachment of right and wrong to different 'sides'.
145 Khan 1996, 141.

146 As Putnam (1982, 270) points out, the Harpies "form the second great *monstrum* in the book that Aeneas not only confronts but activates."

147 Henry provides a specific point of contact with religious practice in his comment on the cattle as like those in the Roman religious context "emancipated from work, and never to be touched by butcher's knife because they were sacred" (404, v. 2, with cited parallels in Livy 24.3 and Suet. *Jul.Caes.* 81). The fact that the cattle in Livy are sacred to Juno is likely coincidental, but a pleasing bit of synchronicity. Panoussi, who connects the Harpies to her broader argument about the Furies and "ritual distortion," (2009, 84) also touches on this, pointing out that animals for sacrifice should be domestic: "The Harpies react to the Trojans' transgression by defiling their food. Instead of enjoying the nourishment of the sacrificial meal, the Harpies embody the pollution incurred after its corruption" (2009, 86). Whether we view the cattle as sacrosanct or the personal property of the Harpies, their slaughter was clearly a violation.

(1.180-193) and points out that martial language is used there with no question of fault.¹⁴⁸

I do not suggest that war itself is a fault, but point out two things:

1. That the Trojans hunt with martial terms makes sense even beyond the similarity between the two activities — they are heroic soldiers and the Trojan War is ever present in the *Aeneid*.¹⁴⁹

2. The key distinction between the deer and the cattle episodes is that the cattle belong to someone; domestic cattle are a contrast to the wild animals and a sign of civilization. Aeneas ought to have presumed an owner of the rich flocks found on the Harpies' island, but even unintentional fault is still fault and it is responding to the discovery with war that marks the Trojans.

Khan's discussion of the theology, loosely speaking, of the Harpies, reveals, I argue, a profound misunderstanding of Roman religion and conceptions of the divine (in both literature and cult):

But the iambographic resonances in the description of the Harpies and their filth are inextricably tied in with their unholy nature, an aspect underlined by *dira* (211), *monstrum* (214), *pestis et ira deum* (215) and their underworld provenance: *Stygiis sese extulit undis* (215). And this aspect, aligning the Harpies as it does with other anti-Jupiter forces opposed to Aeneas and to Augustan values, brings the iambographic elements quite comfortably within the ambit of elevated epic.¹⁵⁰

The idea that there is a strictly dualistic view of the divine in the *Aeneid* or Roman religion is problematic at best, but there is also internal consistency in that both *ira deum*

148 Khan 1996, 134-5.

149 While martial language is not atypical of hunting scenes, scholars have noted a recurring motif of hunting within the *Aeneid*, which Nethercut suggests "signifies intrusion into unfamiliar territory and the taking of *praeda* therefrom" (1968, 95).

150 Khan 1996, 138.

and the transmission of knowledge from Jupiter to Celaeno, by way of Apollo, would surely align Celaeno with the ‘holy.’¹⁵¹ The duality that Khan’s use of “unholy” imparts seems in fact to be motivated by a the desire for clear construction of ‘good’ and ‘evil’ sides in the *Aeneid*, and I highlight the very clear examples provided by Khan because this tendency does show itself more subtly in other scholarship, but the assumptions it relies upon often seem to be part of the invisible infrastructure of one’s worldview.¹⁵²

Concerning the relative crimes and punishments within the Harpies and Cattle of the Sun episodes, Cartault offers a less anxious view, although he may go a bit too far in his matter-of-fact approach: “Les compagnons d’Ulysse paient le sacrilège de leur vie, ceux d’Énée en sont quittes pour des rapports incommodes avec des êtres malpropres et pour une prédiction menaçante mais inoffensive au fond, châtiment suffisant pour de simples maraudeurs; Virgile a atténué et changé un événement effroyable en une sorte de tragi-comédie.”¹⁵³ While I agree that there is a comedic element in these continued Trojan misadventures, I also think it is important to keep in mind the seriousness of the

151 He seems on the point of acknowledging this difficulty a few pages later, but retreats to the governing assumption that the Harpies are intrinsically opposed to all that is good: “This aspect of divine protection is altogether absent from Vergil. Also, the accusations against Aeneas lose credibility inasmuch as made by the Fury Celaeno who is a representative of anti-Aeneas forces opposed to Jupiter’s will and to Aeneas’ mission. The Harpies, described as the ‘hounds of almighty Zeus’ and under divine protection in Apollonius, do indeed at one point in *Aen.* 3 arouse speculation that they may be *deae*, ‘goddesses’ (262); but that does not alter the fact that they are essentially ‘ungodly’ since they come from the Underworld, and they threaten Aeneas and his mission in a much more direct way than they do the Argonauts in Apollonius,” (Khan 1996, 142). The idea that the Underworld of classical antiquity was essentially ‘ungodly’ is absurd.

152 Horsfall, for example, while not as vehement as Khan, seems fundamentally opposed to any argument that the Trojans might be even partially at fault (2006, 180-181).

153 Cartault 1926, 243.

act and response, and the very real fear of the Trojans.¹⁵⁴ That said, this reading might allow a bit of space for multiple views to co-exist. Perhaps the prophecy's relative toothlessness reflects an appreciation of mitigating circumstances, while the attack on the men and thwarting of their actions reflects their wrongness. Alternatively, one can imagine Celaeno herself finding amusement in the addition of false prophecy to the terror of the Trojans. In any case, it does seem that intention matters less than appropriateness when it comes to war, just as it does with religion. The point is less the specific action and more the characteristic nature of the Trojan actions, which, as Celaeno highlights, are completely inappropriate here. So I do disagree with Cartault that they are simply raiders; on the contrary, Aeneas thinks he is doing the right thing, but turns out to be in the wrong time and place for it. Furthermore, unintended offense is still offense, and carelessness toward a god is an offense in and of itself. At this point, it will be helpful to discuss *pietas* and the role of intent, but before I begin addressing the specifics of religion in the *Aeneid* and its treatment by scholars, let me append two cautionary quotations from a recent paper from Denis Feeney. He is concerned specifically with sacrifice and its role in Vergil's *Georgics* and Ovid's *Fasti*, but the observations are just as important to our investigation of the *Aeneid*.

154 The validity of the fear, as well as the value of martial prowess, is supported by the fact that both Trojans and Carthaginians required divine intervention or persuasion to avoid hostilities: immediately after his speech to Venus, Jupiter sends Mercury to make the Carthaginians receptive, and both queen and her people set aside ferocity for peace and kindness (*et iam iussa facit, ponuntque ferocia Poeni / corda volente deo; in primis regina quietum / accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam*, 1.302-304); meanwhile, Venus in disguise arouses Aeneas' sympathy for Dido and instructs him to go to the city (1.335-401), where she first disguises him in a cloud and then clothes him in divine beauty when he reveals himself (*restitit Aeneas claraque in luce refulsi / os umerosque deo similis; namque ipsa decoram / caesariem nato genetrix lumenque iuventae / purpureum et laetos oculis adflarat honores*, 1.588-91).

“We may now be more prepared to entertain the possibility that Roman poetry and Roman ritual are both capable of doing important cultural work. It remains, however, very difficult to analyse this interaction between what we call literature and what we call ritual, just as it remains very difficult to analyse any case of interaction between what we call text and what we call context.”¹⁵⁵

“If we come to the poems with no model of sacrifice in our minds at all, we will find it very difficult to see the religious or cultural work they are doing. But if we come to these poems with a full-blown model of sacrifice in our minds, determined to see it exemplified, and convinced that the relationship between the literature and the <real> category of ritual must be one of synecdoche, we will be disappointed, or, more probably, we will do violence to the poem’s specific strategies.”¹⁵⁶

Pietas

The Roman concept of *pietas* does not seem to be connected directly to the Furies or their domain, but it is so fundamental a concept in the poem and its scholarship that it must be addressed. And in fact, in much scholarship it is held to underpin the ‘theology’ of the *Aeneid* and, therefore, of the Furies and related figures, which makes a clear understanding of the role of *pietas* all the more essential. While I hope to make clear that *pietas* is much less relevant to the role of the female demonic in Vergil than is often assumed, this is not intended to minimize the importance of *pietas* to the *Aeneid* or its interpretation. On the contrary, I think Vergil’s portrayal of threads of life choices and demands held in tension by *pietas* is one of the things that makes the poem so very human and persistently relevant. *Pietas* was of particular importance in Augustan Rome,¹⁵⁷ and it is important to keep in mind that this fundamental concept was, like so

155 Feeney 2004, 1.

156 Feeney 2004, 19.

157 See Galinsky 1996 for an overview; Garrison 1992 treats the reception of Vergil’s *pietas*.

many other things, in a state of flux. As Galinsky points out: “Like other traditional concepts, *pietas* under Augustus was not simply called forth from the past but developed some new aspects that related especially to him. In the context of political patronage, *pietas* came to denote the special bond of loyalty between the ruler and his followers.”¹⁵⁸ It is all the more important, therefore, not to view even such central and traditional values as *pietas* as absolutely clear and static.¹⁵⁹

In his important and influential book, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Brooks Otis ties *pietas* (which, as mentioned above, he sees as fundamentally opposed to *furor*) to the emotional and psychological richness of the *Aeneid* in a way that has less to do with the Roman concept than with modern, Western, views of personal growth or spiritual development. This is not a problem as an interpretative lens, and the wealth of interpretation that relates the *Aeneid* to the reader’s internal world, in a variety of frameworks, testifies to the lasting power of the poem. It is important, though, to be aware that what sheds light on our own world or speaks to an individual reader is not necessarily part of the original context of Augustan Rome. I say this not out of a desire for some ‘pure’ reading of the *Aeneid*, but because it is important to argue from solid ground, and a clear definition of terms is essential. This is particularly relevant to the *Aeneid* because *pietas* and the role of the gods are both central issues, the nature of which

158 Galinsky 1996, 88, emphasis mine.

159 See Burgess 1971-72 for one study that considers negative aspects of the role of *pietas* in the *Aeneid*. On the use of the term, though without providing more detail, he says: “Having undertaken a very extensive study of the usages of *pius*, *impius*, and *pietas* in the Republican and early Imperial periods I am convinced that *pietas* was quite strictly limited in its range of application, that it did not approach anything like ‘humanity’ or ‘gentleness’ as some have tried to argue” (48).

can seem deceptively familiar. This is perhaps because they are part of a construct of how the world works, and these tend to be invisible to the individuals within them, just as I do not question, nor even think about, the underlying physical forces such as gravity that govern my world. Similarly unnoticed but structurally fundamental can be concepts such as the intrinsic value of individual human beings, or of work toward the betterment of self or society, or of virtue and its rewards. There will always be blind spots, of course, but that is all the more reason to continue to consider and point out the constructions we do see.

There are two key elements of *pietas* that must be kept in mind 1) it is a social virtue, and 2) while it can be admired as a personal quality, it does not itself merit any particular response such as divine favor. The *pax deorum* is maintained not by human intention or belief, but by correct action (and the necessary interpretation of divine signs).

Otis says of Aeneas:

“His fate is to sacrifice every present enjoyment or satisfaction to an end he cannot hope to witness himself. He bears on his shoulders the *fama* ... *et fata nepotum*, not unwittingly as an ordinary ancestor, but quite consciously as the avowed servant of a future which has been finally revealed to him. He is thus the great exhibit of *pietas* or of the willing service of destiny.”¹⁶⁰

This passage does highlight one important aspect of *pietas*, which is often ignored: it is separate from any consideration of reward. But, while “willing service” could be part of a basic definition of *pietas*, it is not destiny that must be served.¹⁶¹ As Galinsky puts it, in

160 Otis 1995 (1964), p. 222.

161 My doubt is only about the use of ‘willing,’ which, if not superfluous, suggests an element of glad self-sacrifice that is not part of the basic set of *pietas*.

contrast to the ‘competitive’ *virtus*, “*pietas* is its ‘cooperative’ counterweight, representing the time-honored Roman ideal of social responsibility, which includes a broad spectrum of obligations to family, country, and gods.”¹⁶² Aeneas is exceptional in having been told his destiny, but knowledge of the final outcome does not make the path clear, as Book 3 amply demonstrates. Aeneas’ inescapable knowledge of destiny is paired with a persistent lack of clarity; far from casting doubts on his virtue, this actually highlights the essential components of his *pietas*: through all his uncertainties and missteps, the one thing Aeneas never questions is his duty to his father, son, the Trojans, and the gods, and that is why he is *pious* Aeneas. Furthermore, the fact that *pietas* is concerned with correct behaviour and response rather than a clear knowledge of fate as it extends further into the future fits with more general tendency in Roman religion, which seems to highlight our relative lack of knowledge by the need to ask so often, so carefully, and so thoroughly.

Otis extends his organizing principle of *furor* versus *pietas* to the divine realm: “both men and gods can accept fate with piety; both men and gods can reject fate with *furor*; and fate itself is the predestined product of their interpenetrating acceptances and rejections. It is just this tangled parallelism, but parallelism without identity, of human and divine action that permits Virgil to build an intricate structure of motifs between them....”¹⁶³ The system of parallels between men and gods that Otis points to adds

162 Galinsky 1996, 86. Burgess 1971-72 also points to the distinction from “individualistic” *virtus*.

163 Otis 1995 (1964), 227. This binding of *pietas* to the acceptance of and *furor* to the rejection of fate is also problematic. Turnus, for example, might fully believe that he is adhering to fate in his actions — if that is *furor* simply because his actions are in fact, unbeknownst to him, contrary to fate, the term becomes meaningless, or means something else. An extreme but clarifying analogy: if a son treats his father with *pietas* but the father turns out to be both a

immeasurably to the richness of the poetry, but that very richness is undercut by attempts to apply a single dualistic system. In this particular case, the extension of *pietas* to the gods is particularly problematic.¹⁶⁴ While the gods of the *Aeneid* have a clear family and power structure within which *pietas* could apply, the focus on the dynamic that Otis points to can obscure the role of other divine concerns. Honour, for example, is a consistent motivator for gods, as mentioned above and attested throughout myth and literature. Julia Hejduk has made clear the centrality of *fama* and *imperium* to Jupiter (which could certainly be extended to Juno, at least, in the *Aeneid*), and these layers are crucial to the richness of the *Aeneid*.¹⁶⁵ The human dynamic among the gods is important, but so too is the contrast; no matter how dear a person or destiny is to a god, divine concerns are not ours. In general, I think scholars have a tendency both to posit too great a divide between Vergilian and Homeric gods and to make the differences ones that make the gods more reassuring and familiar; a distinction between capricious and amoral Greek gods and the magnanimous and rational gods of Rome is far too simplistic,

criminal and not his real father, is the son's *pietas* transformed into *furor*? The question is absurd. There might, however, be an interesting point of contrast between *pietas* and *furor* in that the latter is an excitement that impels rash action, whereas *pietas* has a stability that can act against the pull of other concerns, or *furor*. As Burgess points out, it is often the exercise of *pietas* in the *Aeneid* that leads to death and pain precisely because the mission is the primary concern, although I am not sure I would go so far as to say that it is "incompatible with humanity" (1971-2, 50-1).

164 On 12.838-9 (*hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget, supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis*), Tarrant suggests that it is "probably an extravagant hyperbole," but also points out: "Many comms. take it literally, pointing out that in Graeco-Roman thinking it is possible for humans to be more punctilious in performing their religious duties than the gods in protecting their worshippers" (2012, 304). It is not entirely clear whether that protection would normally be viewed as *pietas*. Also, inasmuch as *pietas* is a social and protective virtue, even the most virtuous of gods would naturally have less need of it.

165 Hejduk 2009, which I will discuss in the section on Vergil's monstrous Fama.

and the important differences that do arise in Vergil are anything but reassuring.

I will return to Otis' views on *pietas* and *furor* in relation to Juno and Allecto in Chapter 4, but for now, close with his important point that, "[t]o the Roman mind neither family nor local gods (in short familial *pietas*) could properly exist without a *patria*."¹⁶⁶ This fits with my mention earlier of the inappropriate nature of Trojan war against the Harpies *because* they were not yet in Italy. Everything is wrong until they arrive. It also fits with the more recent discussion of Roman religion and piety by John Scheid in *Religion et piété à Rome*.¹⁶⁷

Scheid is concerned not with the representations of *pietas* in any one work, but rather as an aspect of religion. Such analysis can be a corrective or counterbalance to a reader's unexamined retrojection of her own understanding of terms such as 'piety' and is crucial to any literary analysis that deals with issues and representations that overlap with religion, although we should keep in mind the cautionary note from Feeney with which I began.

Scheid points out that 'impiety' generally refers to faults in the performance of cult or festivals, and that it is the failure to correct a fault that causes the real problem.

This is particularly significant for the Harpies episode:

L'infraction n'est jamais bénigne, et ses conséquences peuvent être désastreuses pour les célébrants et même pour Rome. Mais avant que les foudres célestes sanctionnent cette faute, avant qu'un malheur éprouve la communauté, les célébrants ou le sénat bénéficient d'un répit, dans la

166 Otis (1995 (1964), 245.

167 Scheid 2001. It also fits with the growing emphasis under Augustus on the *patria* as a family, with himself as *pater*. Recall too the shift to include political loyalty within the domain of *pietas*, mentioned above, a process begun under Julius Caesar (Galinsky 1996, 88), who was of course at the heart of Augustus' political demonstrations of familial *pietas*.

mesure où une infraction n'est grave que si elle est volontaire. Mais une fois que la faute a été constatée ou annoncée, tout retard dans la réparation est fatal et transforme l'imprudence en impiété. Et dans ce cas les Romains sont formels: une telle impiété est inexpiable.¹⁶⁸

This is particularly significant for the Harpies episode, given both the way Aeneas' repetition *without* correction seems to underscore the initial error and the almost comical mismatch of his good intentions in cult performance and the dreadful response.¹⁶⁹

It is important to keep in mind that the corporate nature of Roman state religion allows the state itself to have a 'spiritual purity,' which its citizens must then maintain — the 'spiritual purity' of these citizens matters less, if at all.¹⁷⁰ As Scheid points out, intention is not the critical element, and it is the city's offence that really matters:

Tout se passe comme si le citoyen et même le magistrat ne pouvaient pas, au fond, commettre un délit religieux. Certes, le coupable pouvait devenir *impius*, s'il avait fauté avec une intention dolosive (*dolo malo*), *mais cet aspect de son acte n'intéressait pas la communauté*: elle méprisait, excluait l'impie, exclusions dont les fins tragiques des impies, maquillées ou non, mettent en évidence le caractère inexorable de la vengeance des dieux. Pour l'individu le délit résidait, aux yeux de la cité, plutôt dans la violation des règles publiques, d'autant plus grave quand il s'agissait de magistrats ou de légats du peuple romain. Le 'vrai' délit religieux dont la portée serait catastrophique ne pouvait être commis que par la cité elle-même.¹⁷¹

The religious role of the state is very present in the Harpies episode; Aeneas sacrifices on

168 Scheid 2001, 35-36.

169 Scheid (2001, 36) also notes that the faults are of correct performance, not of individual thought. But, as he rightly points out, this does not make impiety less significant: "Loin d'être seulement une infraction matérielle, l'impie révèle aussi une impureté fondamentale, tout comme l'agissement pieux réalise la pureté spirituelle et pose les conditions d'une vie harmonieuse."

170 I plan to return to Scheid's discussion of the effects of impiety on individuals, as the loss of reason and monstrous transformation is of particular interest in this study. The issue of pollution and purity will also arise in further discussion of the Harpies below.

171 Scheid 2001, 40, emphasis mine.

behalf of all Trojans, but there is also much emphasis in the poem on his role as the embodiment of Troy and the source from which Rome will arise. In the case of Aeneas, he has very little purely private aspect because of his role in Rome's foundation myth, but it is worth pointing out that this could be seen as an extreme example of the fact that the public role of individual Romans (particularly elite men) were so public not just because of their presumed political involvement, but also because many aspects of Roman life that we might consider private, such as marriages, were in fact very much a public concern.¹⁷² This general tendency was more fully developed by Augustus, and Scheid's comment may be helpful in considering how this might affect the familial and religious contexts of Vergil's Aeneas:

Suivant la logique du système religieux romain, cette 'augustalité' est méritée avant tout par une piété exemplaire. Cette piété, autrefois celle de la République, est désormais celle du prince qui s'installe donc entre la cité et les dieux. C'est à partir de cette considération qu'il faut expliquer les restaurations religieuses: elles attestent fermement la permanence de la piété romaine qui s'incarne maintenant dans celle de l'empereur, et justifient ainsi son bonheur d'action. À la sortie d'un siècle de guerres civiles, cette piété est plus qu'une tranquille permanence, il s'agit d'une refondation de la pieuse Rome....

La séparation traditionnelle du sacré et du public cesse d'être, l'empereur seul étant la source de la légitimité sacrée et publique. ... C'est l'empereur, et seulement en seconde ligne la république, que est dépositaire

172 Scheid (2001, 30) on the public nature of family cult: "Le culte familial n'est pas silencieux et individuel, mais communautaire et 'public', c'est-à-dire qu'il se célèbre au nom de la famille et devant la famille, dans certains cas devant le voisinage ou même la cité tout entière (mariages, deuils)." The mention of marriage is particularly interesting, given the plot of the *Aeneid*, and the public and performative nature of the Roman family is an important context to keep in mind when considering the centrality of marriage in Roman thought. The contrast with Athens is also interesting. There the *oikos*, for all its importance, seems far more private – a building block of the larger society rather than an iteration of it. This could be at least partially explained by the necessities of democracy and the emphasis on the individual, but the variation is worth keeping in mind.

de la piété (ou d'une éventuelle impiété) romaine.¹⁷³

Inasmuch as Aeneas can be seen as analogous to the emperor of the nascent Rome, the emphasis on his *pietas* in the *Aeneid* might thus be about the Roman relationship with the gods rather than his morals or intentions. As Julia Dyson neatly sums up: “As his people’s religious and political leader—and for the Romans, the two were rarely separate—Aeneas is responsible for maintaining that state of peace [the *pax deorum*]: that things sometimes go badly for the Trojans is *prima facie* evidence that he has done something wrong, however unwittingly.”¹⁷⁴

In his discussion of religion in Livy, Jerzy Linderski points out an error that Vergilian scholars should also beware of: “his history is not about god in men’s lives, but about the rise of Rome.”¹⁷⁵ Furthermore, this rise is, in the *Aeneid* as in the framework of Roman religion, dependent on divine cooperation. Thus, not only is religion focused on the functioning of society rather than the internal lives of individuals, but it is success itself that demonstrates this divine cooperation and correct religious function. This is true of individual ritual acts but also, and especially, of the relationship between Rome and her gods. While examples of the idea that success proves ‘correct’ *pietas* abound, the converse does not follow – acting with *pietas* in no way implies success. As Scheid says in his discussion of the *res publica* and *civitas* as motivation for religion: “Inversement la nécessité et la justification rationnelle de la pratique religieuse

173 Scheid 2001, 149-150.

174 Dyson 2001, 11-12. She goes on to add that, in contrast to the grammarians' overly enthusiastic attribution of religious positions to Aeneas, “most modern readers go too far in the other direction, ignoring altogether the technical aspects of Aeneas’ religious leadership” (12).

175 Linderski 1995 (1993), 609.

sont déduites d'un argument historique et immanent: l'extraordinaire réussite de la pieuse Rome."¹⁷⁶ On the other hand, while it is true that a failed sacrifice implies some fault, *pietas* is unlikely to be the problem. Thus, to return briefly to the parallel episode of Polydorus and his reeds, I cannot quite agree with Nethercut's statement that "[d]oubts are raised about the *pietas* for which he will become famous, for it is this very quality which has resulted in the unholy mangling of the dead youth."¹⁷⁷ There is no reason to suppose Vergil is questioning the validity of Aeneas' *pietas*, but he does, most vividly, make the point that *pietas* can have horrible consequences.¹⁷⁸ He also effectively underscores eventual religious and social success that occurs when Aeneas finally makes it to Italy and thus corrects the circumstances. As Linderski points out, in response to the privileging of human action over divine influence: "This is a very un-Roman opinion, for in Rome *dei hominesque* formed an inseparable whole."¹⁷⁹ This touches upon both of the important aspects of Roman religion I have discussed (the fundamental relationship, which must be maintained by individuals, is that between Rome and the gods, and the success of Rome proves the success of that relationship); it also casts further light on the Harpies episode. It is clear, I have argued, that the actions of Aeneas, regardless of his intentions, were inappropriate. In light of the idea that Roman gods are bound to the state, we can also see, throughout the Harpies episode and all of Book 3, Aeneas, the representative of his people, failing to work with the gods, and so, in a very real sense,

176 Scheid 2001, 25.

177 Nethercut 1968, 88.

178 This seems in alignment with Burgess, although the passage is not among his examples.

179 Linderski 1995 (1993), 609.

the Trojans lack a functional state religion while they are in transit.¹⁸⁰ At a fundamental level, therefore, the required correction is simply to be in Italy.

Now, having shown that the context of Roman thought and religious practice not only allows but supports the idea that the actions of Aeneas and the Trojans merited a negative response despite his good intentions, I will return to Celaeno's prophecy and the significance of the Harpies.

Problematic prophecy

Twice the Trojans have set up their food and twice the Harpies have swooped in to snatch and defile it. The third time, Aeneas orders battle (*sociis tunc arma capessant / edico, et dira bellum cum gente gerendum*, 3.234-5), but the Harpies prove to be invulnerable and successfully attack a third time. It is then that Celaeno prophesies to Aeneas (3.245-252):

una in praecelsa consedit rupe Celaeno,
infelix vates, rumpitque hanc pectore vocem;
'bellum etiam pro caede boum stratisque iuvenis,
Laomedontiadae, bellumne inferre paratis
et patrio Harpyias insontis pellere regno?
accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta,
quae Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.

Alone, Celaeno settled on a towering cliff, a calamitous prophet, and burst forth this speech from her breast: "War? Are you preparing to wage war even in defense of the slaughter of cattle and slain young bullocks, Laomedontiadae, and to drive the innocent Harpies from our hereditary

180 They also effectively lack a state, which is perhaps the most basic problem.

domain? Then hear these words of mine and fix them in your minds — what the all-powerful father foretold to Phoebus Apollo, and Apollo to me, I, the greatest of the Furies, reveal to you.

The relationship of the Harpy episode to the other prophecies about the Trojans, particularly those in Book 3, has been the greatest concern of scholars dealing with this scene; the relationship to the Furies has attracted less notice. I suggest that the inclusion of the Harpies in this series of prophecies highlights the inherent dangers of communicating with the divine, which also fits with the theme of mistaken (Trojan) actions that we see throughout the book.¹⁸¹

The presence of such a creature among the many figures who advise Aeneas has troubled readers, but we should not forget the disturbing portent that began the wanderings and prophecies — the bleeding roots that speak to Aeneas as he pulls them from the buried body of Polydorus. Thus the Harpies fit well within the “ebb and flow that characterizes the dramatic movement of *Aeneid* 3.”¹⁸² In this case, the discomfort seems to be based, at least in part, on the expectation that, because Aeneas and his mission are fated, divinely endorsed, right-minded, and ultimately successful, prophecy will be clear and reassuring. This would be an odd prophecy indeed, and certainly would not describe any interaction with the divine that we see in the *Aeneid*. Even the most authoritative and reassuring divine communication, Jupiter’s speech to Venus, ends with

181 See Hübner 1970, 61-62, for a concise overview of the sequence of prophecies and prodigies that alternately check and spur on the Trojans; Harrison 1986 for a fuller discussion of both the table prodigy and the prophetic context of Book 3, including a discussion of the recurring divine anger/correction cycle; O’Hara 1990, also discussed below, on the nature of prophecy in the *Aeneid*, largely as it appears in other examples.

182 Harrison 1986, 147.

the dark image of Furor enchained. Furthermore, the mention of Jupiter as the ultimate source of Celaeno's information, especially taken together with the literary antecedents of the Harpies as 'hounds of Zeus,' seems to anticipate the appearance of the monstrous Dirae in Book 12, one of whom Jupiter himself deploys.¹⁸³

Likewise, the connection of a figure such as Celaeno to the Furies could seem odd, but there is, in fact, a traditional relationship between the Harpies and the Furies. Discomfort with the association seems often to be rooted in an assumption (usually unexpressed) that the Olympian and chthonic deities are separated into 'good' and 'bad' (sometimes even 'evil') categories; they are better seen as gods kept apart by incompatible domains (Juno cannot enter the Underworld herself) but otherwise of a family. As I will discuss below, the relationship between the Harpies and Furies that we see in earlier Greek literature reveals less emphasis on chthonic versus heavenly, but we should note that Vergil maintains, and develops, the association while also emphasizing both airy and subterranean elements.

Before dealing with the nature of the Harpies themselves, a consideration of the ambiguous nature of their prophecy is in order. To begin with, as Conington points out:

183 I will discuss the Dirae in the next chapter, but cite their introduction here for context. Note in particular that they are clearly chthonic (children of Night and sisters of Megaera) and equally clearly attend Jupiter in Olympus; they are also quite explicitly used to effect Jupiter's desires, whether by attacking one individual, as on the battlefield in Book 12, or with larger scale terror and destruction. *Aen.* 12.843-855: *His actis aliud genitor secum ipse volutat / Iturnamque parat fratris dimittere ab armis. / dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae, / quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram / uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit / serpentum spiris ventosasque addidit alas. / hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis / apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris, / si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex / molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes. / harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo / Iuppiter inque omen Iturnae occurrere iussit.*

“Whether Celaeno is to be regarded as a prophetess, or merely as possessed of this single communication of the future, is not clear.”¹⁸⁴ Lloyd lists Celaeno among “various monstra” as one of the providers of “divine utterance”, but otherwise seems to ignore the Harpies and their role.¹⁸⁵ He does say: “The omnipresence of divine directives is reassuring, perhaps more to the reader than to the suffering Aeneadae, that these are indeed a favored people who have the promise of a more glorious future.”¹⁸⁶ The evidence of divine attention might be as much foreboding as reassuring, but it is worth noting that this particular episode does highlight how divine attention is generally given by a divine agent or intermediary. Celaeno’s statement that her information was passed on by Apollo, who had it from Jupiter, could be taken simply as a guarantee of its validity, but given that both Juno and Jupiter use agents to pass on messages and cause trouble (Mercury in Book 4, Iris in 4, 5, and 9, Allecto in 7, and the Dirae in 12), it also raises the possibility that she is passing on Apollo’s message.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore, while

184 Conington-Nettleship 1979, v. 2 199.

185 Lloyd 1957, 142. Williams (1962, 100) also points out *monstrum* parallels with Polyphemus (3.658) and Fama (4.181).

186 Lloyd 1957, 145.

187 As I will discuss further below, regardless of whether Celaeno acts on Apollo’s behalf or her own, her effective transmission of fear and suffering is in keeping not only with her self-identification as a Fury, but also with almost all the other actions of divine agents listed above. (Even the exceptions are only partial: Mercury is not malevolent, but his message does dismay Aeneas, and Iris’ intervention cuts short Dido’s suffering, but by bringing death.) The appearance of the Penates earlier in Book 3 is also an interesting parallel, particularly given that they are the ones who set Aeneas on his path to the Strophades. Following the plague in Crete, the Trojans are about to follow Anchises’ advice and revisit Apollo’s oracle to ask where they should go. The Penates then appear to Aeneas that night to correct his course (3.153-155): *tum sic adfari et curas his demere dictis: / ‘quod tibi delato Ortygiam dicturus Apollo est, / hic canit et tua nos en ultro ad limina mittit* (“Then they spoke and removed my worries with these words: “What Apollo would tell you if you returned to Ortygia, he tells you now and look! he sends us to your door on his behalf. ...”) The speech that follows is reassuring, unlike Celaeno’s, and the peaceful setting is also a contrast, but we should note

divine attention that regularly marks a hero in Homeric epic tends to reflect the god's personal interest or relationship, the *Aeneid* tends to emphasize the ultimate goal, and thus Aeneas' inherently intermediate role in the foundation of Rome. Venus is a clear exception, of course, but the general difference of perspective can make divine favor seem potentially ominous inasmuch as Aeneas is a pawn rather than personally beloved. In other words, what matters to Jupiter is not the well-being of Aeneas but the success of his mission; the reassuring nature of divine attention might thus depend on one's perspective.¹⁸⁸

O'Hara says of Celaeno's prophecy:

This should remind us of other prophecies that the Trojans will reach Italy, but will regret it. But this is a falsely pessimistic prophecy, the fulfillment of which is painless, involving the eating of 'tables' made of grain (7.109ff.). At the same time, Celaeno's prophecy is doubly effective in achieving her goal of hurting the Trojans, for she causes them to be worried needlessly now, and optimistic in Book 7 when they are actually on the brink of great trials and suffering in Italy.¹⁸⁹

False optimism seems rather innocuous, but I think to call the prophecy "falsely pessimistic" is to miss the point that the worries provoked throughout Book 3 may be misplaced, but are certainly not needless. It is worth considering how much Celaeno's prophecy of famine is tied specifically to her nature; perhaps warning of the coming war

that the element of fear is present in even this most familiar of divine visitations — Aeneas is in a cold sweat (*tum gelidus toto manabat corpore sudor*, 3.175), described with a word, *gelidus*, that also appears in the Trojan reaction to Celaeno's prophecy.

188 It is also worth keeping in mind that, in myth more generally, divine favor makes humans special, but also usually destroys them. Dyson (2001, 4-6) points to the teleological nature of the *Aeneid* and suggests that viewing it through the lens of the modern genre of mysteries as a useful approach, especially given the nature of the final scene.

189 O'Hara 1990, 25.

is not within her remit, while famine is.¹⁹⁰ Also worth considering is whether war might in fact be far less frightening than famine to the Trojans, who have, after all, just displayed their readiness for battle and who will in due course display their superiority in arms against the Italians. Finally, the suggestion that Celaeno knows of the war from Jupiter and does not tell Aeneas fits with the problematic nature of prophecy in the poem as a whole. As O'Hara points out: "Divination in the *Aeneid* can be tampered with by one's enemies."¹⁹¹ He is referring to Juno, but the point is relevant to Celaeno's prophecy as well, particularly given that it is her intrinsic power to horrify that is as important as the contents of the prophecy.

The ambiguity of prophecy and the equivocal nature of the gods in the *Aeneid* are connected to our Harpies in Margaret Brucia's 2001 discussion of the ambiguous reference to Harpalyce at 1.314-17, as Venus appears to Aeneas:

cui mater media sese tulit obvia silva
virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma
Spartanae, vel qualis equos Threissa fatigat
Harpalyce volucremque fuga praevertitur Hebrum.

His mother met him in the middle of the woods, with a maiden's face and the arms and gear of a Spartan maid, or like the Thracian Harpalyce who tires horses and outstrips the swift Hebrus in flight.

The two Harpalyces she identifies are:

1. "a royal heroine and an accomplished huntress who quickly freed her captive

190 See below for associations with hunger.

191 O'Hara 1990, 27.

father from his oppressors and, in a later incident, outran the horses of her pursuers.”¹⁹²

2. “the daughter of the Arcadian king Clymenus. This Harpalyce was raped by her father and, in retaliation, served their common son to the king at a banquet.”¹⁹³

Brucia concludes, having gone on to point out parallels between this scene and the Harpy episode: “Why does Virgil invite comparison between these two scenes? They reinforce the same message through opposite examples: immortals and their prophecies, whether good or bad, are not necessarily what they seem and are often intentionally misleading.”¹⁹⁴ I agree with this completely, but would add that all the characters are more ambiguous than she acknowledged. This ambiguity further supports her point, and awareness of it will come to be more and more important as we continue in the *Aeneid*.

Brucia takes both the Harpalyces and Venus and Celaeno as “good and evil complements,” but neither pair fits exactly into a dualistic scheme of good versus evil.¹⁹⁵ The first Harpalyce, identified by Servius, is as ambiguous as any warrior princess; escaping suitors is not in itself a virtue, nor is avenging one’s father the normal role of a woman. The second is victim, murderer, and avenger; while she serves well as an opposing figure, “evil,” as Brucia labels her, is overly simplistic.¹⁹⁶ Venus and Celaeno are inarguably more clearly opposed in the *Aeneid*: at a most basic level, as war-enemy

192 Brucia 2001, 306.

193 Brucia 2001, 307.

194 Brucia 2001, 308.

195 Brucia 2001, 307.

196 Brucia 2001, 307.

and champion, but also, as Brucia points out, with good versus evil odor. But both have an ambiguity that goes beyond the deceptiveness of their prophecies, which Brucia, and others, rightly point out. Not only is Celaeno's prophecy toothless, her association with Apollo and, through him, Jupiter makes an unqualified designation as 'evil' problematic. And Venus is not only deceptive toward her own son, but has powers of destruction much farther reaching than Celaeno's.

Williams brings up the thematic relevance of the prophecy in his comment on the table-eating prophecy tradition:

... variously attributed to Venus, Jupiter of Dodona, the Erythraean Sibyl; it seems to have been Virgil's own idea to give it to Celaeno. Heyne finds it 'per se inepta et epici carminis maiestate indigna'; it is certainly rather less dignified than most of the prophecies given. Evidently Virgil felt it had to be used, and he has done his best to solve the problem by giving it not to Apollo or the Penates or even Helenus; it fits the fabulous strange world of the Harpies, and the theme of consuming tables in famished hunger is appropriately put in the mouth of the ever-famished Harpy."¹⁹⁷

The connection with hunger that Williams mentioned is also present in connection with the Furies of the Underworld, especially in the punishment of Ixion and Pirithous (6.605-7):

... Furiarum maxima iuxta
accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,
exsurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore.

the greatest of the Furies is couched next to them and keeps their hands from reaching the tables – she rises up brandishing her torch and thunders forth aloud.

In this particularly striking parallel, the marked similarity of snatching food away is

¹⁹⁷ Williams 1962, 108.

matched by the use of the same term – *maxima Furiarum* is used only in these two places in the *Aeneid*. Hunger can be viewed as a subset of desire and, as I suggested in discussing the Erinyes of Book 2 (the one that summons Aeneas to battle) and will discuss again in the next chapter, Vergil’s Furies seem to develop an association with lust and desire.¹⁹⁸ Moreover, as Putnam points out, the Harpies “externalize the monster within us. They objectify grabbers who make us grab...”¹⁹⁹ One could see this as a similarity to the Furies, inasmuch as they can be considered the embodiment of the madness they instill, but one crucial effect of Vergil’s individuation of Celaeno and Allecto is that they are quite clearly not simply manifestations of a natural, if unpleasant, force. As will become clear in the following chapters, the Latin Furies in the *Aeneid* and Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* are far from mad, and thus all the more frightening.²⁰⁰

In his commentary on Book 3, Williams says that the Harpies “are commonly identified with the Furies,” citing the passage above from Book 6 (605-7), the use of *dirus* in the Harpies episode, and the use of *Dirae* (to use his capitalization) in referring to the Furies.²⁰¹ It is not clear what exactly he refers to in saying they are “commonly

198 Horsfall points out the importance of hunger to Harpies and colonization stories, which might also point to a thematic link to the 'new' Furies as bringers of lust (2006, 181).

199 Putnam 1982, 271.

200 Padel (1985, 320) suggests a different point of similarity which one might also call functional: “She speaks of herself as *maxima Furiarum* (3.252), a puzzling phrase, unless we are meant to understand that the anger which rises from her heart (*rumpitque hanc pectore vocem*, 3.246) virtually transforms her into a Fury.” This is an interesting suggestion, but one problem is that Celaeno does not seem particularly angry, and certainly not so powerfully as to be transformed. Another, more basic, problem is that *furiam* does not mean anger, and the only angry Fury we see in the *Aeneid* is Allecto when Turnus does not succumb to her wiles (*Talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras* (“Allecto blazed up into anger at such words”) 12.445).

201 Williams 1962, 106-7. Full passage: “The Harpies are commonly identified with the Furies: the phrase *Furiarum maxima* is used in *Aen.* 6. 605 (cf. Val. Fl. 1. 817) of Tisiphone, one of the Furies, who is there engaged in the harpy-like activity of preventing Tantalus from touching

identified,” but his assertion that the *maxima Furiarum* mentioned in Vergil’s Underworld is in fact Tisiphone seems strange, given that we had just seen Tisiphone at the gates of Tartarus, summoning her sisters (6.570-572), and the identification of the victim as Tantalus seems to be based on the form of punishment rather than the sequence of the text, in which Vergil still seems to be talking about Ixion and Pirithous (introduced at 6.601).²⁰² Furthermore, there is no clear reason to see Tisiphone in Valerius Flaccus other than assuming she is referred to in Vergil.²⁰³ The similarity in action is interesting, but we will consider the punishments of the Underworld in the next section.²⁰⁴

As we have seen, the Harpies have associations with the Furies going back to our earliest literary sources, and Vergil emphasizes the relationship, but it is important not to flatten out readings by pushing for identification.²⁰⁵ Vergil’s depiction of the Harpies emphasizes both their chthonic connections and their avian natures, but it is the increased attention given to Celaeno as a character that is perhaps most innovative and influential.

As I mentioned above, Cartault sees an element of humour in this episode and

the food. The adjective *dirus* is several times used of the Harpies in this passage (211, 228, 235, 262) and *Dirae* is often used by Virgil of the Furies, *Aen.* 4. 473, 610, 7. 324, 454 (Allecto; she is called *Erinys* in 447), 12.845 (Megaera’s two sisters).”

202 This is a long standing question, which will be discussed in the Underworld section; I agree with those who find the ‘corrections’ unjustified and unnecessary.

203 Hübner, influenced by Williams’ comment and as part of his larger argument about the *Dirae* in Vergil, concludes that the Harpies, *Dirae*, and Furies are equivalent (1970, 61). I think it is going too far to equate any of these figures entirely, and will deal more thoroughly with his arguments when discussing the *Dirae*.

204 I will also deal with Tisiphone more thoroughly there, along with other interpretations of this scene. It is worth noting now, however, that Servius, noting the link to Celaeno’s scene, takes this Fury to be a personification of Hunger. I do not think he is right, but the comment does point to the fluidity of this class of beings and words.

205 See Ogden for a discussion of the common image of winged female creatures on early pottery that suggest a certain interchangeability.

suggests that the stories of Aeneas are less 'serieux' than those of the *Odyssey* or *Argonautica* because they can be allusive in a way that the others could not when real questions about the journey and geography were at issue.²⁰⁶ The horror of this episode is combined, I think, with a sort of dark and wry humour in the whole scene and, especially, in Celaeno's speech. Horsfall says, in his discussion of the Apollonian influence (including, as he rightly points out, the Stymphalian birds and the Cattle of the Sun):

This is not the admirably horrific tone of Polydorus' bush, but a concentration, to the limits of decorum (216f.) of the nastily horrid: the Trojans are befouled, or contaminated, not menaced in their very existence. AR's heritage here is short of danger and drama; V. does not remedy its absence, but, given his elaborate tonal variations in bk. 3, he may well have known from the outset that this would never be a scene of drama, adventure and terror.²⁰⁷

I trust that Vergil did know and, more to the point, the lack of terror and adventure is in keeping with the tone of the Vergilian 'Odyssey' in general. I concede that the Polydorus scene is horrifying, but surely the Trojans were not "menaced in their very existence." In fact, the horror also verged on laughable, given the remarkable obtuseness of Aeneas, whose response to the horrifying effect of his action is to try again and again.²⁰⁸ In any case, it sets the scene for the rest of their travels, which are full of profitless action. The Harpies fit well with the theme of profitless action, but also with both the horror and dark humor of the Polydorus episode – the terrifying reaction to an inadvertent and unknown

206 Cartault 1926, 233.

207 Horsfall 2006, 181.

208 Note that *gelidus ... formidine sanguine* appears in both passages, as does a question from the *monstrum* to Aeneas, but the order is different: in the Polydorus episode, the blood of Aeneas congeals with cold at the first bloody harvest and the question follows his third, and final, attempt; in the Harpies episode, Celaeno's question follows his repeated attempts to fight off the Harpies and it is her prophecy that follows and terrifies.

crime is nightmarish, and the repetition adds an element of comic befuddlement and slapstick humor to the increasing terror. Furthermore, while it is true that Celaeno's prophecy about famine is hyperbolic, it is also certainly true that there will be no lack of war in Italy, so her comment is doubly pointed, at least: "Are you bringing war for cattle (rather than something more momentous)? Are you bringing war against innocent inhabitants, whom you can't harm anyway? You will have real war when you get to Italy." If I am right about the touch of grim humour in the Polydorus scene, this scene amplifies that: there the pitiable Polydorus asks Aeneas what he is doing, while the audience wonders how many times it will take Aeneas to stop his clearly inauspicious behaviour; here the unharmed (and unharmable) Celaeno's "Really?" perhaps reminds the audience as well as Aeneas that this whole thing is pointless.²⁰⁹ As I mentioned above, the issue is not that Aeneas is absolutely wrong to steal cattle or defend himself, nor that the Harpies are harmless and innocent until he shows up, nor any other such opposition; rather, the actions are inappropriate. Not only is it true that ignorance is no defense for such crimes, in general, Celaeno's mention of Italy is a reminder of another reason the Trojan actions are inappropriate: waging war here is inappropriate because his war is in Italy, within the story of the *Aeneid*. As failed action, it is of a piece with the rest of his wanderings, mistaken city foundations, and so on in Book 3.

The element of dark humor, however, does not undermine the power of the scene, much of which comes from the authorizing connection with Jupiter. In addition to his role as explicit source of the prophecy and the Harpies' mythic connections to Olympian

209 With thanks to Christopher Nappa for the observation and perfect turn of phrase.

power both as the ‘hounds of Zeus’ and as the sisters of Iris, Harrison points out verbal echoes later in the *Aeneid*:

The line with which Celaeno introduces the table eating prophecy, *accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta* (3,250), reappears as the first line of Jupiter’s concluding speech in the only divine assembly in the epic (10,104). Nor is that all: for in the very next episode, when Helenus switches from his prophecy of the sow prodigy to reassuring Aeneas about the table eating, he adds the concluding words of that same speech of Jupiter’s: *nec tu mensarum morsus horresce futuros: / fata viam invenient* (3,394f.; cf. 10,113).²¹⁰

This connection to Olympian gods coincides with the power of the Underworld that Vergil also makes explicit, and that very clear pairing recurs with Juno and Allecto in Book 7 and the Dirae and Jupiter in Book 12. There has been a strong tendency to view Juno in particular as aligned with the Underworld on the grounds that she is fundamentally opposed to the positive forces of Jupiter and Fate; she is antagonistic in the *Aeneid*, of course, but her connection to, and use of, chthonic powers demonstrates kinship with Jupiter rather than fundamental difference. As Jupiter says in Book 12, her wrath demonstrates that she is his sister and child of Saturn (“*Es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles: / irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus,*” 12.830-831).

Panoussi ties together the ambiguities of both association and prophecy:

Since the Harpies are cast as Furies, they share their chthonic nature. It is no surprise, therefore, to find them dwelling in Hades later in the poem (6.289). In opposing Aeneas and his Trojans, they also oppose the Olympian order of Jupiter that protects and favors the foundation of the new city and the creation of the Roman empire. Celaeno, however, confuses this carefully outlined distinction between Olympian and chthonic, when she proclaims that her prophecy comes straight from the mouth of Jupiter with Apollo as the go-between:

210 Harrison 1986, 144.

accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta,
quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando. (3.250-52)

take then these words of mine and fix them to your hearts;
what the almighty father foretold Phoebus, and Phoebus Apollo
to me, I, the greatest of the Furies, disclose to you.

The Furies then, if we believe Celaeno, are privy to Olympian knowledge. By the end of the epic, we have been told to expect a triumph of the Olympian forces over those of Furor. But for the moment, at least, Jupiter appears to be implicated in Juno's plan to persecute the Trojans, as the Harpies emerge to be as much his minions as hers.²¹¹

While I would not agree that Harpies are, strictly speaking, opposing the Trojans here, Panoussi makes an important point about how Celaeno confuses clear dichotomies in this episode, as I have discussed above. The suggestion that there is “no surprise” in finding the Harpies in the Underworld is an interesting one. I will discuss the inhabitants of Hades more in the appropriate section, but will touch briefly on the issue now, as it is relevant to the dual nature of the Harpies. There is certainly a logic to grouping the Harpies with monsters in the Underworld, but what then becomes of their nature as wind goddesses? The chthonic nature of caves, along with their association with monsters elsewhere and with the winds in Book 1, works to ease this problem, and, in fact, offers a further point of connection to the Furies. Another small point of comparison is the pursuit suggested by their description in the *Theogony* as μεταχρόνιαι γὰρ ἴαλλον (269).²¹² We should also note that they are the children of sea gods (Thaumas and Electra, *Theog.* 265-6), and thus already bridge two elements. West argues that it is Iris

211 Panoussi 2009, 88-89.

212 See West's commentary for a discussion of the adjective and its application.

who has a logical connection to their parents (*via* her association with rainbows) and who provides a connection to the Harpies in their shared trait, speed. I think it is a bit hasty to say that there “is thus no real kinship between the Harpies and their parents,” particularly given the regular association of swift horses with both sea and wind.²¹³

In Jenny Strauss Clay’s article on monsters in the *Theogony*, we see that Echidna is a potentially useful point of comparison, especially given that the Harpies not only have multiple elemental associations but hybrid bodies. “Half lovely maiden and half huge snake, she unites the anthropomorphic and the bestial.”²¹⁴ This is a feature shared by the Harpies and the Furies in the *Aeneid*, but Echidna is also strongly associated with caves, which might be a useful mediating space for our monsters, who must move between elements and natures.²¹⁵

The nature of the Harpies’ attack (spoiling of the food in various ways), the explicit reference to bodily fluids in their initial description (3.216-17), and the disruption of sacrifice all naturally lead one to consider the question of ritual pollution.²¹⁶ One complication, however, is that the concept of ritual pollution is quite different in Greek and Roman religion, so that this scene contains not only the traditional Greek pollution

213 West 1966, p. 242.

214 Clay 1993, p. 110.

215 We have seen that the Harpies swoop down from the mountains with a clamor of wings (3.225-6); this seems to be inverted when Allecto departs from earth and sky to her liminal perch below the mountains, and the snakes of her wings (*stridentis anguibus alas*) echo both the hybridity and the sound of the Harpies (7.561-3). Fama (4.173-197), as I will discuss in the next section, also shows overlap with both the Harpies and the Furies. Wings, *foeda*, *stridens*, *monstrum*, Earth, sister — all are points of similarity with the Furies or Harpies.

216 Note that, among the female demonic figures in the *Aeneid*, it is only with the Harpies that we see a clear link to pollution, but the plague-bringing Tisiphone of the *Georgics* is a possible parallel.

by bodily fluid that belongs to the Harpies and their literary setting, but also the suggestion that Aeneas and his men are agents of pollution by performing the ritual incorrectly or inappropriately.²¹⁷

The use of *foedare* (3.241) is a point of debate. Williams argues that it “need not mean more than ‘spoil with the sword’,” but I would agree with Heyne’s point that this simple meaning is insufficient, given the proximity to its use with the Harpies as subject in line 227.²¹⁸ Even if it is used in the more mundane sense, it will at least be strongly coloured by the other. Henry argues vehemently that the verb is neutral by nature: “From the accidental circumstance that the instrument which *foedat* is frequently of a filthy nature, the mistake has arisen that the *foedare* itself is properly to make filthy, to make dirty (‘polluere, inquinare,’ Gesner), and that where the word is applied as in the present instance to an instrument which yet does not dirty, it is so applied because the instrument produces something intermediate (in the present instance, blood) which dirties.”²¹⁹ Even if this is true, though, and we apply the general meaning of ‘offence, spoiling’ that Henry argues for, that is still not as simple as ‘wound.’ Furthermore, given that we have two forms of the verb and two of the adjective within 30 lines, along with other language of foulness, it seems impossible that this sense should simply fall away from the verb even if it could, in another context, simply mean wound. Vergil could surely have found a neutral expression of wounding if that had been desired. As Panoussi also points out: “In

217 Far more work has been done on ritual pollution in a Greek context than in the Roman:

Parker 1983 provides a good overview; see Padel for the role of pollution in Greek tragedy and Panoussi 2009 for the role of pollution and tragedy in the *Aeneid*.

218 Williams 1962, 104.

219 Henry, *ad loc*.

a sacrificial context, however, the word may very well retain its religious connotations.”²²⁰ We should also recall that, in Apollonius, Iris says that it is not right to attack the hounds of Zeus (οὐ θέμις, ὧ νιείς Βορέω, ξιφέεσσιν ἐλάσσαι / Ἀρπυίας, μεγάλοιο Διὸς κύνας, 2.288-289); Vergil’s Harpies may not be acting as such here, but it seems reasonable to recall that inviolability, especially when we have been reminded of their Olympian connections.²²¹

Panoussi highlights the repetition of the offense and ties it to the idea of pollution, which fits well with the whole of Book 3, and especially recalls the bloody roots torn from Polydorus: “The repetition of ritual thus results in further pollution, to which the Trojans react with violence, a violence that brings about the horrifying prophecy of the Harpy Celaeno, ...”²²² I have some concerns about how well the idea of physical pollution transfers, but agree that the cycle of repetition and violence is crucial. I think of it more as a response to Aeneas’ failure to understand, with an emphasis not on the specific events prophesied, but rather on the inappropriateness of his actions and a reminder he attacks a power far greater than himself. The attack and defiling of the sacrifice is the punishment for the Trojan attack; the prophecy is a display of divine power with the added benefit of instilling fear of future punishment.

220 Panoussi 2009, 86.

221 This aspect recurs explicitly with Jupiter’s Dira in 12, whom Juturna dares not oppose.

222 Panoussi 2009, 87, discussion 86-87.

Ambiguous form

While I think that Gilmore's presentation of the fundamental dualism embodied in monsters requires a bit more subtlety when applied to monstrous figures in the ancient Mediterranean, and will return to this issue after dealing with more of such monstrous creatures, it is certainly true that a hybrid form is fundamental to the entire category of the monstrous.²²³ Rabel suggests "the confusion as to their status may be the ultimate source of their ability to pollute. For, as Mary Douglas has shown, danger frequently attends the betwixt and between, and pollution arises from those entities which in some way defy the categories out of which normal reality is believed to be constructed."²²⁴

Keith highlights the feminine aspect of the monstrous physicality:

Within Roman cultural conventions, the militant female necessarily constitutes a disruptive force. An infernal brood of bird-women in whom contagion and pollution are embodied, the Harpies physically emblematised the socially transgressive character of the militaristic female: *uirginei uolucrum uultus, foedissima uentris | proluuiis uncaeque manus et pallida semper | ora fame* ('maiden's faces on birds, foulest slime oozing from their bellies, hooked hands, and faces always pale with hunger', 3.216-18). The first challenge to the Trojan mission neatly embeds gender in the structure of war.²²⁵

While I agree that the 'militaristic female' is a monstrous figure in the Roman

223 Among other things, these figures often have a close connection to positive divine figures that goes beyond the oppositional relationship of succession myths, for example, that Gilmore points to (2003, 36) along with their unnerving connection to humans.

224 Rabel 1985, 318, following Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* 1966; see Gilmore 2003 for more on this anthropological view of monsters, along with others.

225 Keith 2000, 71-2.

imagination, the troublesome femininity of the Harpies is intrinsically bound up with their authorized power. More generally, it is not always a simple matter to transfer concerns about human women onto female divinities, particularly in a culture that had goddesses of war. Without attempting to minimize the negative connotations of the Harpies, it seems to me that their representation in the *Aeneid* goes beyond the embodiment of traits associated with women that transgress societal norms (such as uncontained violence and sexuality) and must be contained; the Harpies seem instead to embody power that transcends the bonds of humanity, thus denying the possibility of containment, and therefore potentially threatens society.

Otis sees transgression on a more cosmic scale as he compares the *monstrum* of the Harpies to that of Polydorus:

It is not now a human corruption of nature, a past impiety, that thwarts Aeneas but a much more demonic force, the blind, irrational wrath of the evil gods, the dark powers that hate the light, *pietas* and Fate itself. Aeneas at length begins to see the true horror of his ordeal. The Harpies are not a physical threat, not a tangible danger, but a symbol of the dread which invests the unknown.²²⁶

The symbolic threat that Otis proposes is a key element of this episode, and to all of Book 3, perhaps, but the supposition of “evil gods” is absurd, especially in this case, given the way Vergil’s Harpies parallel both the Harpies of Apollonius (‘hounds of Zeus’) and the Dirae of *Aeneid* 12, who are also Jupiter’s enforcers. Otis goes on to discuss how Vergil makes his Harpies more horrifying than those of Apollonius:

His Harpies are, furthermore, remote, untouchable beings on whom no human sword or strength can make any impression (*sed neque vim plumis*

226 Otis 1995 (1964), 257.

ullam nec volnera tergo / accipiunt). He accordingly emphasizes simply their uncanny, unearthly frightfulness: tristius haud illis monstrum nec saevior ull/pestis et ira deum. Their virgin faces, foul bellies, hooked hands and hunger-pale mouths represent the demonization of the human, the mingling of woman and beast in a monstrous hybrid of the worst in each. Virgil thus transmuted the merely marvellous and exotic beast of Apollonius into an evocative symbol of the psychologically strange, unfamiliar and unreal.²²⁷

This transformation of the familiar into the monstrous gets to the heart the horrifying power of the Harpies and other monsters, but the effect is heightened when one considers that Vergil has in fact made his Harpies far less remote by having Celaeno address Aeneas directly. The mythical monster thus become a character with whom Aeneas interacts, which seems to me to make her an even better “symbol of the psychologically strange, unfamiliar and unreal.”²²⁸

Hübner’s inclusion of the Sirens among the literary models for Vergil’s Harpies is intriguing. His first point is that they share the trait of composite form,²²⁹ then that they live on rocks (although the tradition in which they live in flowery meadows could also be present in the fertile meadows of the Harpies’ island), finally, that they share the power to transmit super-human knowledge with human words.²³⁰ The Sirens are an interesting point of comparison, particularly given the aspect of feminine allure that is hinted at in

227 Otis 1995 (1964), 258.

228 Otis 1995 (1964), 258.

229 Although I would point out that there are much closer parallels with other winged and terrifying monsters such as the Gorgons.

230 Hübner 1970, 62: “Die Sirenen bewohnen bei Homer blumige Wiesen, nach anderer Version, der auch Vergil folgt, Felsen: die Harpyie Celaeno sitzt während ihrer Rede auf einem Felsen (III 245) - eine bedeutsame Einzelheit, wie wir sehen werden. Schließlich ist auch der Wissensschatz, der sich in menschlichen Worten äußert, eine Eigenschaft der Sirenen (Hom. Od. XII 184-191).” He goes on to discuss the Dirae, but I will discuss the Dirae, and their relationship to other figures, when I come to Book 12.

the Harpies episode but more clearly part of the Sirens' image, but as a model they are unconvincing.²³¹ Hübner, who is most concerned with the Harpies' resemblance to prodigies, takes Celaeno's speech as being essentially the same as that of the Sirens, but this oversimplification is problematic, not least because it ignores the personal attention, so to speak, that Vergil gave Celaeno with her name, voice, and suggestions of independence.²³²

Nelis points out the greater detail in Vergil's description of the Harpies: "In general, those aspects which Apollonius leaves to the imagination of readers already familiar with the Harpies are set out explicitly by Vergil in a concentrated, brilliantly repulsive description which, in comparison with the model, deepens the atmosphere of horror and fear — an atmosphere resembling that of the Polydorus episode in Thrace and the plague on Crete, one of death, mystery and corruption."²³³ I find it particularly interesting that Vergil, by adding these details, not only makes them more horrible, but associates them with chthonic power by the mention of the Styx and the description of Celaeno as *maxima Furiarum*.²³⁴ Harrison also notes these connections with the "conventional gloominess of the Erinyes" and draws an interesting parallel with the

231 The possibility of a sexual context for the Harpies will be discussed further below.

232 Hübner 1970, 69-70.

233 Nelis 2001, 33, citing Otis 1964(1995) 251-9 and Quint 1993, 58.

234 Their mountain lairs (*caecisque latebris*, 3.232) recall the Cretan caves to which the Harpies flee in the *Argonautica*. As Hunter points out (1993, 81), these caves emphasize their association or identification with the winds, but caves are also both chthonic and mediating spaces, as I discuss elsewhere. Horsefall (2006, 185) says "the detail of V.'s account is in many respects Stygian ... reflecting a long period of interaction between winged female creatures of various kinds...." Cartault 1926 relates their 'primitive' role as clouds of a dark rain storm to hunger (281) and intriguingly suggests that in Vergil's combination of Harpies and Furies "it is as Furies that he attributes to them the gift of prophecy" (282).

Sibyl:

Celaeno's role thus develops in a manner analogous to that of the Sibyl in book 6, whose entry into the action of the *Aeneid* depends on her role as priestess of Apollo, but whose acting as guide into the Underworld depends on her being a priestess of Apollo's sister in her Hecate aspect. So too Celaeno enters the action of the epic as a Harpy who makes eating impossible, but before long as *Furiarum maxima* she duly prophesies the table eating in a manner that gives the prodigy a suitably vengeful, if misleading, twist.²³⁵

This increased detail also highlights the feminine aspect of the Harpies, which has not been much discussed by scholars (though see Keith's comment above). Khan does note the physical, feminine, nature of the Harpies, but his reading is problematic: "In the case of the Harpies, we have a much-compressed but highly evocative, inverse catalogue of physical charms."²³⁶ This is worth consideration, but his parallels are not quite convincing, nor clearly connected.²³⁷ He suggests that the "foul discharge" "perhaps goes beyond mere physical description and is meant to suggest a grotesque and lustful, female sexuality," but *venter* in the sense of bowels seems more likely here than as a reference to (figurative?) genital discharge, especially given the now traditional role of the Harpies as spoiling food.²³⁸ Birds shit on things. It is possible that there is a suggestion that women (and their sexuality) do so as well, but Khan's overly literal interpretation is not convincing.

Nevertheless, as I mentioned earlier, the reference to the Harpies as virginal

235 Harrison 1986, 151.

236 Khan 1996, 137-8.

237 As when he sees the "ugly and crooked" hands of the Harpies as an inversion of Catullus 43.3 (in which long fingers are one of the desirable standards), ignoring that this is part of the description of their avian form (and that 'hooked' is not really an antonym of 'long').

238 Khan 1996, 138.

(*virginei*, 3.216) does evoke feminine sexuality, and the surprise of that is underscored by the fact that the features itemized are monstrous rather than seductive. The combination of the monstrous and the seductive will show up again in Allecto's insinuating 'attack' on Amata, discussed in the next chapter, and in Ovid's Tisiphone, discussed in the chapter following. This does not appear in earlier references to the Furies themselves (although the references to Helen as a Fury are suggestive), but it is not uncommon in myth, where it also shows interesting overlap with ophidian aspects, particularly in the case of Medusa and her sisters. As we will see in the Amata scene, the snake is well suited to sexual imagery, but the winged nature of the Harpies is shared with Eros, who can also swoop down upon humans with grievous consequences. One might also consider the puzzling reference in the *Odyssey* to the Harpies snatching up the daughters of Pandareus and taking them to the Erinyes just as Aphrodite was seeking marriage for them (*Od.* 20.68-78).²³⁹

This increased attention to physical details that embody the monstrous is an innovation of Vergil's that is first given free play here with the Harpies. There were hints of it in the physicality of the description of Furor enchained, but it is a striking contrast to

239: ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόουρας ἀνέλοντο θύελλαι / τῆσι τοκῆας μὲν φθῖσαν θεοί, αἱ δ' ἐλίποντο / ὀρφαναὶ ἐν μεγάροισι, κόμισσε δὲ δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη / τυρῶ καὶ μέλιτι γλυκερῶ καὶ ἠδέϊ οἴνω / Ἥρη δ' αὐτῆσιν περὶ πασέων δῶκε γυναικῶν / εἶδος καὶ πινυτήν, μήκος δ' ἔπορ' Ἄρτεμις ἀγνή, / ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίη δέδαε κλυτὰ ἐργάζεσθαι. / εὐτ' Ἀφροδίτη διὰ προσέστιχε μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον, / κούρης αἰτήσουσα τέλος θαλεροῖο γάμοιο, / ἐς Δία τερπικέραυνον — ὁ γὰρ τ' εὖ οἶδεν ἅπαντα, / μοῖράν τ' ἀμμορίην τε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων — / τόφρα δὲ τὰς κόουρας ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο / καὶ ὅ' ἔδοσαν στυγερῆσιν ἐρινύσιν ἀμφιπολεύειν. This story is reminiscent of the fairytale motif of maiden kept as attendant to a witch, and there, too, it is usually connected to the context of marriage. I do not suggest that the snatching of the Harpies is itself sexual, but there does seem to be the suggestion that the Harpies replace Eros.

the Erinyes in Book 2, whose power was not one tied to monstrous appearance. This aspect of Vergil's monstrous figures will continue to develop throughout the *Aeneid*, beginning, in fact with the description Fama in Book 4, which I will discuss in the next section.²⁴⁰

Before moving on to discuss the monstrous Fama and Dido's Furies in Book 4, I will now discuss the specific relationship of Celaeno to the Furies. The earliest literary association of the Harpies and the Furies comes in the *Odyssey* when Penelope, as she prays to Artemis for death, tells of how they snatched the daughters of Pandareus and gave them to the Erinyes (20.77-8). There is also an implicit 'family' grouping in the Pythia's attempted description of the Furies in Aeschylus (οὗτοι γυναικας, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω· οὐδ' αὐτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις. / εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας / δεῖπνον φερούσας· ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν / αὐται, μέλαιναί δ', ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι, *Eum.* 48-52)²⁴¹ and, as Hübner points out, the Furies 'snatch' in Sophocles' *Ajax* (ξυναρπάσειαν, 840) & Nonnus (*Dion.* 10.32 f.).²⁴²

In the context of the *Aeneid*, Hübner sees *furor* as a possible intended connection,

240 Given the heightened detail, composite nature, and confusion discussed in this section, studies of the grotesque are also relevant and will be discussed when I have analyzed additional examples. This trait is more notable in Statius' *Thebaid*, and its role in Neronian literature has received attention in Maes 2008 and Varner 2000, but its roots in Vergil require more attention.

241 Text from Sommerstein 1989; Page has μέλαιναί τ', but that does not change the effect of grouping the Erinyes with Gorgons and Harpies.

242 Hübner 1970, 73. As Jebb notes, this call for vengeance is entirely in keeping with the world of Homeric heroes; it is particularly interesting for me in that the Erinyes are called on specifically for vengeance, but not for family violations, which seems to blend some of their attributes from epic and tragic references.

visible in the exaggerated prophecy, but this seems a bit strained.²⁴³ While I would draw a distinction between anger in general and *furor*, which I do not see in Celaeno's prophecy, he does draw an interesting distinction between Vergil's female and male prophecies – the former performed in *furor*, and the latter according to art, or as a technical skill.²⁴⁴ It seems, however, that women in the *Aeneid* are subject to *furor* in a way that female divinities are not; Celaeno seems at least as amused as she does angry, Allecto is presented as effective and calculating rather than maddened, and Juno is indignant and wrathful on a suitably epic scale, but none is maddened in the way that Dido is, or the women of Latium.

When Celaeno steps forth to speak individually as a named member of her larger group, she shows Vergil's break with the tradition of the Harpies as one of the (usually female) divine groups, whose members may appear singly but are not individuated characters. Such groups include the Fates, the Hesperides, and the Furies, and it is from the last group that Allecto will be summoned in Book 7. Not only is she named and given an individual voice and role, as Celaeno is in the Harpies episode, but emphasis is also given to her divine cohort in that she is explicitly called forth from the home of the

243 Hübner 1970, 73.

244 "Außerdem prophezeien bei Vergil alle weiblichen Wesen im *furor*, männliche dagegen kunstmässig," 73, citing Cassandra (2.345), the Sibyl (6.45-51, 98-102), and Helenus in the *Aeneid*, and Proteus in the *Georgics* (4.453). He also points to Cic. *de div.* 1.66 (*Inest igitur in animis praesagatio extrinsecus iniecta atque inclusa divinitus. Ea si exarsit acrius, furor appellatur, cum a corpore animus abstractus divino instinctu concitatur* ...[gives example of Hecuba and Cassandra from unknown tragedy]) and 2.112, in which the acrostics formed by the Sibylline verses are used as evidence against a frenzied prophecy. (Although he then goes on to give Cassandra as an example of true prophecy in frenzy.) Further investigation of correlation of madness and female figures is part of this work, but in these particular cases I note that Celaeno has just been attacked, while the Sibyl and Cassandra are both under some form of constraint or punishment from Apollo.

dirae deae by Juno (7.324). This is a literary similarity, but one that perhaps points toward an expansion of the instrumental and automatic role we usually see in earlier literature.

A key point of commonality is in fact this shared role as agents of communication between the divine and humans. One might call punishment a form of communication, and it is a role that Harpies and Furies share elsewhere, but it is first in Vergil that they actually speak to humans and communicate verbally (although perhaps deceptively).²⁴⁵ As Hübner points out, the use of the word *Furiarum* evokes images of punishment that would be familiar from tragedy, which he takes along with her anger as a joint source of being like a Fury.²⁴⁶ I suggest that her anger motivates Celaeno's self-identification as a Fury, specifically in order to further horrify Aeneas with the prospect of inescapable punishment. Horrifying punishment belongs to the realm of the Furies in a way that anger does not.²⁴⁷

The Harpies and the Furies are figures that both combine the monstrous and the divine and connect the chthonic and Olympian. Prior to Vergil, both could aptly be described as hounds — unthinking destructive powers that could be unleashed by their handler (Zeus, for example) or provoked by a particular action (such as kin murder).²⁴⁸

245 Even in tragedy, where Furies are most fleshed out prior to Vergil, they generally do not seem to directly address the humans they madden. Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, in which the chorus of the Furies cross-examines Orestes, is perhaps the exception that proves the rule. The Harpies certainly do not do so elsewhere, and it is Iris who, in the *Argonautica*, speaks on their behalf to protect them from the Boreads.

246 Hübner 1970, 73.

247 Hübner takes the primary significance of the Harpies to be as a prodigy.

248 As noted elsewhere, it is perhaps this aspect that the adjective *dirus* speaks to when applied to both Harpies and Furies.

Vergil's Harpies continue to have an enforcing function, but they are now given more agency and seem to respond to the invasion of the Trojans of their own accord. In other words, they are no longer the hounds of Zeus, as they were in Apollonius, but independent inhabitants defending their territory. The Furies in Vergil are also given individual character (while still maintaining their corporate nature, as do the Harpies) and, even more notably, diversified roles. They are not unthinking hounds, nor any longer directly tied to vengeance; this less restricted role allows freer rein to their power to madden, and their most consistent and powerful aspect in Latin epic becomes their ability to inspire madness or inappropriate lust. This is not to say that the Furies are now dissociated from punishment. They remain intimately connected to it, and more explicitly so, but this aspect of their role appears mainly in the Underworld, or when they are called upon by the (soon to be) dead, whereas they madden living humans. In sum, we begin to see, even this early in the *Aeneid*, that Vergil gives significant attention to this class of female demonic figures and implements them with a level of flexibility and abstraction that goes far beyond the allusions to existing literary models that have attracted most scholarly interest. These models are certainly important, but we ought not to be bound by them; the far more brief (and ambiguous) references to such figures in Homer may have been an influence on Vergil's treatment and are, in any case, a reminder of the scope of these figures.

Even given the points of association already discussed, Celaeno's reference to herself as *maxima furiarum* remains somewhat perplexing, especially given the qualification 'greatest.' Given that the Harpies in the literary tradition generally seem

less fearsome than the Furies, it seems unlikely that she should be *maxima* of all Furies as a Harpy, but she might, in the narrative moment of her speech to Aeneas, be the greatest as far as Aeneas is concerned.²⁴⁹ It is also possible, though, that I too am blinded by tradition in my reluctance to believe Celaeno to truly be *maxima Furiarum*. She is, after all, *dira Celaeno* (3.211), and Allecto is summoned from the home of the *deae dirae* (*luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum / infernisque ciet tenebris*, 7.324-5), where the Harpies make another appearance among the many monsters at the entrance to the Underworld (the list ends with *Gorgones Harpyiaequae et forma tricorporis umbrae*, 6.289). Clearly *dira* has the broader range, but it does seem that the Furies might be emblematic enough to stand for the larger category of the female demonic. In order to do so, they ought to be the most fearsome of the whole class; this would fit well with Celaeno's response to Aeneas, but also with the detail that Allecto is hated by Pluto and her Tartarean sisters (*odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores / Tartarae monstrum*, 7.327-328), which implies that she is worse (or better at her job) than those who would otherwise be most fearsome. This reference to Allecto seems to echo our introduction to the Harpies: "No monster at all is more grievous than they, nor has any more savage plague or wrath of the gods ever arisen from the Stygian waters" (*tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla / pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis*, 3. 214-15). In a similar vein, Cartault says of the Harpies: "Il les décrit alors comme les plus abominable

249 With thanks to Christopher Nappa for this suggestion. Other possible explanations might include: (1) that she is greatest of 'her' Furies, meaning the Harpies; (2) that she is *maxima* precisely because of her connection with Apollo (Jupiter), giving us a functional or situational qualification; (3) that *maxima* refers to the older Homeric 'enforcer' role that the Harpies here embody.

des monstres, les plus implacables personnifications de la colère des dieux qui soient venues des ondes du Styx et il en fait un court portrait:...”²⁵⁰ Without context, one might naturally take this to refer to the Furies.

For all their similarities, differences remain. For one thing, the Harpies' association with the winds is very strong; the Erinyes originally shared this, which suggests that we may have overlapping strands of tradition, but it seems to have vanished in their more emphatically chthonic representations in Greek tragedy. For another, the Harpies are strongly associated with punishment but not, as far as I have found, with vengeance, which is, of course, the most common association of the pre-Vergilian Furies.²⁵¹ Nonetheless, it is important not to impose too rigid an order on these references, which are used for poetic effect rather than as an official taxonomy. We do not, therefore, require an equivalence between the Furies and the Harpies in order to recognize a familial relationship, nor do we require an ‘official’ family relationship in order to make sense of Celaeno’s statement. Nonetheless, elements that seem to apply to members of this larger group in general include: being female, (possible) connection to ‘major’ gods, punishment, flight, and some sort of monstrosity.

The most striking thing about Celaeno for me is that she connects Aeneas to the world of the divine, and this too is a trait shared with the Furies. She holds a mirror up for Aeneas, which is yet another reminder of the Polydorus episode, and reveals not just

250 Cartault 1926, 242.

251 The apparent paradox of an association between Apollo and such foul creatures as the Harpies might hinge on the concept of pollution and purification. There does seem to be a conceptual connection between purification and punishment, but I will consider this further when I discuss the punishing Furies in Vergil’s Underworld.

repercussions, but what it is that he is doing in the first place. This confrontational aspect is also notable in the actions of Allecto and the Dirae (and Iris, though not Fama), and one of the effects of Celaeno's self-description is precisely to activate our awareness of this type of terrifying interaction, which will then be recalled in these two later appearances. The terrifying nature of these interactions is itself a theme, and the detailed focus on the horrifying aspects of these figures is something that seems to connect the various figures of the female demonic in the *Aeneid*.

Chapter 3: Provocation, punishment, & a strange new home

This chapter examines several other female demonic figures that are encountered as Aeneas continues his journey, which includes a glimpse of the Furies' own home in the Underworld, and then concludes with a brief discussion of what is found when Aeneas finally reaches his destination: this new homeland is not only rather otherworldly, but a favored land of the already affronted Juno, whose renewed anger prompts the summoning of Allecto that will be examined in the next chapter.

By giving Celaeno speech, Vergil opened up a new weapon for his female demonic figures, as demonstrated by her use of information and communication to terrify Aeneas. The significance of this new aspect is emphasized by two other demonic figures that appear in the first half of the *Aeneid*, Fama and Iris, who both share this trait of destructive or terrifying communication, while also displaying the ability to incite anger and prompt action that was seen in the Furies at Troy. Bracketed by their appearances, Dido prefigures other victims and themes that will echo throughout the second half of the poem, but the clearly allusive nature of the Furies who appear in her tale serves to highlight the innovative nature of the demonic figures that Vergil has actually appear on the stage of the *Aeneid*.

As an explicitly monstrous and terrifying figure, Fama shares obvious common ground with the Furies, and the ambiguity of *fama* in the *Aeneid*, as shown by Hejduk, is

an important conceptual model to keep in mind for Vergil's Furies.²⁵² It is Iris, however, who more closely parallels the female demonic figure as fully developed in Allecto – sent by Juno, she prompts violent action by using deceptive words and disguise.

Fama, monster and desideratum

Fama arrives immediately following the quasi-marriage of Dido and Aeneas, and the passage ends with her inflammatory effect on Iarbas, Dido's scorned suitor, which will in turn set in motion their separation.²⁵³ Fama's appearance thus occupies a pivotal position that signals the disturbance of an apparent resolution (4.173-197):

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.
illam Terra parens ira inritata deorum
extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
progenuit pedibus celerem et perniciousis alis,
monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.
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 praeque tenax quam nuntia veri.
haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:

252 Hejduk 2009.

253 The line immediately preceding the Fama passage displays a fitting sort of ambiguity, as Dido's openness following the marriage is exemplified by her deceptive use of the word for sanctioned marriage or spouse (*coniugium vocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*, 4.172). For a full treatment of Fama, the personification, both here and in Western literature, see Hardie 2012, and on the role of *fama* the concept in the *Aeneid*, Hejduk 2009.

venisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum,
cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido;
nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.
haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.
protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban
incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.

Straightaway, Fama goes through the great cities of Libya, Fama, than whom no evil is more swift: she grows with movement and gathers strength to herself as she goes; at first small out of fear, soon she lifts herself into the air and steps upon the ground while hiding her head among the clouds. Her mother, Earth, stirred by anger at the gods, bore her last, so they say, as a sister to Coeus and Enceladus, swift of foot and with nimble wings, a horrible monster, immense – as many feathers as there are on her body, so many watchful eyes does she have beneath them (wondrous to tell!), so many tongues; just as many mouths resound, and she lifts so many ears. At night she flies between heaven and earth, whistling through the clouds, and she does not lower her eyes in sweet sleep; by day she perches as a guard on the top of the highest roof or on the tall towers and terrifies great cities, as tenacious a messenger of what is made up and distorted as of the truth. She rejoices in filling the people with talk of many kinds, and she sings equally of things done and undone: Aeneas, sprung from Trojan blood, had arrived, and beautiful Dido had deigned to join herself to him; now they were caressing each other in luxury through the winter, however long, unmindful of their kingdoms and captured by shameful desire. Far and wide the foul goddess pours these tales into the mouths of men. Immediately her course turns toward king Iarbas and both inflames his spirit with talk and adds to his wrath.

Fama is the swiftest of evils, and her speed in movement is amplified by her swift growth. This marvelous trait is modelled on Homer's Eris, who, small at first, rears her head, but then plants it in the heavens while she steps upon the earth (ἦ τ' ὀλίγη μὲν

πρῶτα κορούσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / οὐρανῶ ἐστήριξε κάρη και ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει,

4.442-3).²⁵⁴ Her speed is a trait shared with both Furies and Harpies, but the connection

²⁵⁴ The artistic context of figures such as Eris is itself a likely influence on Vergil's demonic figures, as discussed in the introduction. As Kirk (1985, 381) points out in his discussion of Eris, Deimos, and Phobos in the *Iliad*: "Such figures find their counterparts in the winged or multipartite demon-like figures of contemporary orientaling art, primarily of the late eighth

with Eris highlights a particular kinship with Vergil's Furies in particular, who are also skilled at spreading strife. Fama, however, stands apart from Vergil's female demonic figures, both because she appears as a personification, without any individual motivation or role, and because she is neither sent by nor connected to any other god.²⁵⁵ Hübner takes her as more similar to the Furies than I do, pointing out that she brings *furor* and shares the trait of wondrously fast growth with Homeric Eris.²⁵⁶ He also takes the phrase *per urbem* as a point of contact with mad women (Dido at 4.300, 4.69, and Amata at 7.377, 384, and along with Allecto at 10.41) who similarly rush disruptively through cities. He is right to emphasize their shared effect (rage and anger) and its tendency to spread like contagion, but there is a crucial difference: both Allecto (and Tisiphone in the

and early seventh century B.C. The poetical tradition probably reflects such images in the description of Agamemnon's decorated corslet at 11.24 ff., where Deimos and Phobos are grouped around the central gorgon-head at 11.37; or of Athene's aegis at 5.738-42, which contains not only a gorgoneion but also Phobos, Eris, Kudoimos and Ker."

255 Hardie's initial description of Fama suggests a more active character who would be closer kin to Allecto, but goes on to make clear that she is a personification, and embodies the shifty and dangerous nature of words rather than using them herself (2012, 1): "At a critical moment for Aeneas' career in Virgil's *Aeneid*, when the hero is in danger of being blown off course in his journey towards the far-distant fame and fate of his Roman descendants, a demonic creature bursts in on the narrative of the human actors to broadcast a tendentious account of the union of Dido and Aeneas in the cave (*Aen.* 4.173-97). *Fama* is the embodiment of the rumours and gossip that swirl around the glamorous royal couple, but this monster is far more than just that, containing in her expansive person distortions and refractions of other aspects of 'what is said'" From his phrasing elsewhere, it seems that Hardie might be using demonic simply to distinguish positive and negative divinities, or possibly chthonic and Olympian, which is problematic. In discussing the cave scene that precedes Fama's appearance, he says (2012, 83): "What follows in Virgil's description of the storm during the hunt ahead goes some way towards shifting the action from the verisimilar towards the allegorical, with a set of divine or demonic witnesses made up largely of personified forces of nature (166-8 *Tellus, Iuno, ignes, aether, Nymphae*)."

256 Hübner 1970, 61. As he points out, Tisiphone in the *Georgics* alludes to the same Homeric image of disruptive goddess raising her head higher (*saevit et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris / pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque, / inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert*, 3.551-3).

Georgics) spread strife and destruction actively, using some means or agent, whereas Fama, as a true personification, is her own means.²⁵⁷ Furthermore, Fama is neutral in a way that the Furies never are, and this is emphasized here by the reminder that she deals in truth and lies impartially.²⁵⁸

On the other hand, and unlike Homer's Eris, Fama is given a family background and detailed physical description, in keeping with other female demonic figures in the *Aeneid*. She is an immense and horrifying monster, sister of giants, and born from an angry Earth. This specification of Earth's anger (*ira*, 4.178), together with the wrath of Iarbas with which the passage closes (*iras*, 4.197), serves to keep Fama related to the wrath that is so closely tied to Vergil's Furies and their effects.²⁵⁹ Her form is strange and wondrous, and the emphasis on multiplicity, which is quite appropriate to the swift spread of rumour and its many forms, is also something that will be stressed in the introduction of Allecto, as I will discuss in the next chapter. Unlike the Furies and Harpies, however, Fama does not use her monstrous form as a weapon, nor is there any suggestion that it is visible to humans, but it is emphatically monstrous nonetheless, and

257 The parallel in the *Georgics* illustrates this point, as Tisiphone works by driving forth the personifications of disease and fear, who are analogous to Fama. I do not suggest that there is always a hard and fast distinction between personification and individual characters, but there is an important distinction here.

258 There is, however, an interesting parallel to the way the Furies both enforce rules and cause violations of them in Hardie's observation that "in many of the areas into which *fama* enters may be discerned a characteristic tension between cohesive and disruptive effects of the production and circulation of words" (2012, 19). There is also a thematic connection in the recurring concern with imitation and deception in ancient discussions of how to distinguish between good and bad *fama* (Hardie 2012, 24-5).

259 I have discussed already the relevance of the dual meaning of *monstrum* to considering figures such as the Harpies, but Fama is striking in that she is a *monstrum* that personifies the spread of information that has no inherent purpose, the opposite of a sign.

it is as a monstrous winged creature perched above the city that she terrifies.²⁶⁰

Fama is presented as a natural force, although her placement and effect allow her to function almost as an agent of fate, and in this she seems to have more in common with the Erinyes that summons men to war in Book 2 than with the female demonic figures in the *Aeneid* who act as intermediaries between Olympian gods and humans, such as Celaeno, Allecto, and even Iris, who consistently appears in her traditional role as divine messenger.

Iris

At the end of Book 4, it is Iris who, on Juno's orders, descends to cut the required dedicatory lock from Dido's hair and thus releases her to death (4.693-705):

Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem
difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo
quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,
sed misera ante diem subitoque accensa furore,
nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pennis
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores
devolat et supra caput astitit. 'hunc ego Diti
sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo':
sic ait et dextra crinem secat, omnis et una
dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.

Then all-powerful Juno pitied Dido's long suffering and difficult death and sent Iris down from Olympus to free her grieving spirit and bound limbs. For, since she was perishing neither by fate nor in an earned death,

260 Hübner points out that she does not use her appearance to terrify (1970, 61: "Ein Prodigientier, das vor allem durch seinen Anblick erschreckt, ist sie nicht"), but it is important to recognize both the explicitly monstrous nature of her appearance and her representation as terrifying. This is further emphasized by her description as *dea foeda* (4.195), which evokes the Harpies and the prophecy that left the Trojans cold with fear.

but, poor woman, before her day and inflamed by a sudden madness, Proserpina had not yet taken a golden lock from her head and devoted her to Stygian Orcus. Therefore dewy Iris flew down on golden wings, drawing a thousand varied colors before the sun, and stood at her head. “This sacred lock I bear, under orders, to Dis and release you from this body.” Thus she spoke and cut the lock with her right hand, and at once all warmth and life slipped away into the winds.

This short passage gives Iris a somewhat dark role that sits ill with her bright and dewy nature, but her next mission is pure mischief and destruction.²⁶¹ In this, and in her use of disguise and persuasive speech, she prefigures Allecto in Book 7.

At the end of Book 5, as the Trojans perform the funeral games for Anchises, Juno sends Iris to the Trojan fleet (5.604-622):

Hinc primum Fortuna fidem mutata novavit.
dum variis tumulo referunt sollemnia ludis,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
Iliacam ad classem ventosque aspirat eunti,
multa movens necdum antiquum saturata dolorem.
illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum
nulli visa cito decurrit tramite virgo.
conspicit ingentem concursum et litora lustrat
desertosque videt portus classemque relictam.
at procul in sola secretae Troades acta
amissum Anchisen flebant, cunctaeque profundum
pontum aspectabant flentes. heu tot vada fessis
et tantum superesse maris, vox omnibus una;
urbem orant, taedent pelagi perferre laborem.
ergo inter medias sese haud ignara nocendi
conicit et faciemque deae vestemque reponit;
fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli,
cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent,
ac sic Dardanidum mediam se matribus infert.

Then Fortune first changed sides and broke faith.²⁶² While they performed the customary rites at the funeral mound with various games, Saturnian

261 Conington also notes the unexpectedly chthonic role and reasonably suggests that it might be a parallel to Mercury.

262 I have adopted the ‘broke faith’ phrasing from Williams 1960, 158.

Juno, pondering many things and not yet satisfied in her longstanding anger, sent Iris from the heavens to the Trojan fleet and blew winds for her as she went. Iris, speeding on her way along an arc of a thousand colors, was seen by no one as she, a maiden goddess, swiftly ran down the path. She spied the great gathering, wandered over the shore, and saw the deserted port and abandoned fleet. At a distance the secluded Trojan women were weeping for the departed Anchises on the lonely shore, and they were all gazing at the deep sea as they wept. "Alas, that so great an ocean remains for us, exhausted as we are by so many seas," was the one cry of them all. They begged for a city; they wearied of enduring the hardship of the sea. Therefore Iris rushed into their midst, not at all unpracticed in harming, and put aside the appearance and clothing of a goddess. She became Beroe, the aged wife of Tmarian Doryclus, who had once had a noble family, name, and children, and thus she went among the Trojan matrons.

Iris goes on to address the Trojan matrons with a speech that plays on their desires for a city (if they burn the ships, the Trojans will have to settle there) and closes with pointing out the flames at Neptune's altar as a sort of divine endorsement. She then leads the way by lighting and throwing the first torch (5.641-4):

haec memorans prima infensum vi corripit ignem
sublataque procul dextra conixa coruscat
et iacit. arrectae mentes stupefactaque corda
Iliadum. ...

As she said these things, she led the way and violently snatched up threatening fire; forcefully she brandished it from afar with her arm drawn back and threw it. The minds of the Trojan women were aroused and their hearts astonished.

Pyrgo, the royal nurse, tells the other women of the deception, which she recognizes both because Iris' divine nature shines through and because she knows that Beroe was sick and unable to come to the funeral games. The women are unconvinced, and, strangely, it is the wondrous departure of Iris rather than her attempt at persuasion that prompts their

furor and action (5.654-63):

at matres primo ancipites oculisque malignis
ambiguae spectare rates miserum inter amorem
praesentis terrae fatisque vocantia regna,
cum dea se paribus per caelum sustulit alis
ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.
tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore
conclamant, rapiuntque focus penetralibus ignem,
pars spoliant aras, frondem ac virgulta facesque
coniciunt. furit immissis Volcanus habenis
transtra per et remos et pictas abiete puppis.

But the women wavered at first and gazed upon the ships with hostile eyes, torn between between a pitiable desire for the present land and the kingdom named by fate, while the goddess lifted herself through the heavens on paired wings and cut a huge arc under the clouds in her flight. Then they were truly astonished by the omen and, driven by madness, they shouted out and snatched flames from the innermost hearths, while some stripped altars, gathering leaves and brush into torches. Vulcan raged unchecked through the cross-beams and the oars and the pitch-daubed hulls.

This ploy to delay the Trojans is unsuccessful: the fire is seen and reported, Ascanius and Aeneas rush in with their men, and Jupiter sends a storm that saves all but four of the ships. Furthermore, the unhappy women do get their wish, as Aeneas follows the advice of Nautes and leaves Acestes behind in Sicily to establish a city for all those who are weary and wish to cease their travels.²⁶³

In addition to the disguise and persuasive speech already mentioned, there are two other elements of this scene that will reappear in the actions of Allecto in Book 7. First, the fire that is here literal becomes the dominant imagery for the Fury's effect.²⁶⁴ Second,

263 This happy outcome to what might have seemed disastrous is another point of contact with the Harpies episode, as Celaeno's prophecy that so terrified the Trojans is ultimately fulfilled by a perfectly pleasant meal.

264 The cause is different, but the figurative use of *incensus* does appear at the end of the scene, immediately before the vision of Anchises appears, when Aeneas is inflamed by the words of

both Iris and Allecto work within the context of emotion and social connection. I will discuss this as it regards Allecto in the next chapter; in the case of the Trojan women here, not only is their discontent upon which Iris plays tied up in the desire for a home and the longing for the familiar, but it is the recognition of the arriving men that brings the women to their senses and drives Juno from their hearts (*suosque / mutatae agnoscunt excussaque pectore Iuno est*, 5.678-9). Finally, while Iris herself has divine beauty, as opposed to the monstrous forms of the other figures under consideration, the rainbow she forms as she departs is a *monstrum* that prompts *furor* of the women.

At the end of her next scene, Iris again departs with a rainbow, in precisely the same words, but with a very different effect. This mission, which opens Book 9, is to Turnus, and its purpose is to let him know that Aeneas is away from his camp and thus spur him to attack. Her arrival is elided, but she appears in her own form and addresses Turnus directly (9.1-7):

Atque ea diversa penitus dum parte geruntur,
Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno
audacem ad Turnum. luco tum forte parentis
Pilumni Turnus sacrata valle sedebat.
ad quem sic roseo Thaumantias ore locuta est:
'Turne, quod optanti divum promittere nemo
auderet, volenda dies en attulit ultro.
...'

But while these things were happening in a completely different place,

Nautae and torn about what to do (*talibus incensus dictis senioris amici / tum vero in curas animo diducitur omnis*, 5.720-21). Williams' comment suggests that the flame is figuratively transferred from the ships to Aeneas: "While the ships were ablaze Aeneas was in despair (685 f.); when Jupiter answered his prayer and saved them, he was still worried and uncertain what to do (700 f.); now after Nautae's proposal the fires of anxiety burn him" (1960, 178). The only other figurative use of such fiery words in this passage is applied to the gleaming eyes of Iris, one of the signs of her divinity (*ardentisque notate oculos*, 5.648).

Saturnian Juno sent Iris down from the heavens to bold Turnus. At that time, Turnus happened to be sitting in a sacred vale, in the grove of his ancestor Pilumnus. To him the daughter of Thaumatas spoke thus with her rosy mouth: “Turnus, that which not one of the gods dared to promise you who desire it, look! the day as it turns has brought of its own accord. ... “

When she departs, her rainbow leaves Turnus with no doubt of her identity, and he promises to obey (9.14-22):

dixit, et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis
ingentemque fuga secuit sub nubibus arcum.
agnovit iuvenis duplicisque ad sidera palmas
sustulit ac tali fugientem est voce secutus:
‘Iri, decus caeli, quis te mihi nubibus actam
detulit in terras? unde haec tam clara repente
tempestas? medium video discedere caelum
palantisque polo stellas. sequor omina tanta,
quisquis in arma vocas.’ ...

She spoke, then lifted herself into the heavens on paired wings and cut a huge arc under the clouds in her flight. The youth recognized her and lifted his two hands to the stars, pursuing her with such a speech as she fled: “Iris, adornment of heaven, who brought you down to me on land, driven from the clouds? Why is the weather suddenly so clear? I see the center of the sky disperse, the stars wandering in the heavens. I follow such great signs, whoever you are who summons me to arms.” ...

The identification of Iris as daughter of Thaumatas foregrounds her relationship to the Harpies, for their parents are the sea god Thaumatas and Oceanid Electra, who bore swift Iris and the fair-haired Harpies (ἡ δ’ ὠκεϊαν τέκεν Ἴριον / ἠυκόμους θ’ Ἀρπυίας, Ἀελλώ τ’ Ὠκυπέτην τε, Hes. *Theog.* 266-269). As West points out, their shared swiftness is all that links Iris and the Harpies in the *Theogony*, but they do share a communicative role in the *Aeneid*.²⁶⁵

265 West 1966, 242. As discussed earlier, the story alluded to in the *Odyssey* about the Harpies snatching the Pandarids and giving them to the Erinyes also might hint at a similar sort of role as messenger or errand-runner.

In contrast to the episode in Book 5, this is a straightforward appearance, seemly and traditional: Juno uses Iris to provide necessary information to a human, Iris appears as herself, and the communication is successful.²⁶⁶ This success seems to rely on the recognition of Iris' authority as a messenger for a more powerful god, and Turnus clearly does recognize this – his first question is who sent her and his obedience is to whichever god that might be.²⁶⁷ This is somewhat surprising, though, given the strong association of Juno and Iris.²⁶⁸ It is possible that Turnus is simply being obtuse, but it seems more likely that we should imagine her as tied to Juno, but not exclusively. This is demonstrated in her next appearance, when Jupiter sends Iris to stop Juno at the end of the book (9.802-805):

nec contra viris audet Saturnia Iuno
sufficere; aëriam caelo nam Iuppiter Irim
demisit germanae haud mollia iussa ferentem,
ni Turnus cedat Teucrorum moenibus altis.

nor does Saturnian Juno dare to offer him sufficient aid to meet the men,
for Jupiter sent heavenly Iris down to his sister, bearing his harsh
commands, should Turnus not leave the high walls of the Trojans.

This contributes to the impression that there is of a pool of minor divinities upon whom

266 Though see Hardie 1994, 72-3 on the inauspicious nature of the *caeli discessus* and the lack of certainty and clarity relative to the parallel revelations to Aeneas.

267 It might also rely on his recognition of her as Iris in the first place, as her persuasive speech does not seem to work when she is disguised. Allecto's similar attempt to persuade Turnus also fails, and her ultimate success requires her to go beyond the methods she shares with Iris and to use her particular nature to transform him. This, too, might be hinted at in the burning of the ships episode in that it is the shock of seeing Iris' rainbow that drives the women mad (*attonitae monstris actaeque furore*, 5.659).

268 Hardie 1994, 244: "By V.'s time Iris has become Juno's special envoy...and it is a surprise when Jupiter gives her a mission." It is also conceivable that Jupiter uses Iris to send a message to Juno precisely because of their close relationship, as one might send a dog to fetch his master. I will discuss the Dirae later, but both episodes emphasize the ultimate authority of Jupiter.

the Olympians can call, as well as increased flexibility in divine roles. Despite her versatility, Iris basically bears messages and runs errands. The burning of the ships episode is the outlier for her, but fits well within the new type of female demonic figures that Vergil is developing in the *Aeneid*.²⁶⁹ As already mentioned, it can be seen as prefiguring Juno's summoning of Allecto, but a significant distinction is brought out by examination of the apparent relationship between Juno and Iris in these scenes.

In two of the three episodes, Juno simply sends Iris, with her command and purpose presumably revealed in the action that follows. The mission to Dido is the exception among Juno's errands, but one might speculate that it is precisely when performing tasks outside her usual range that Iris is given specific orders, either to carry out, as with Dido, or to convey, as when sent by Jupiter to stop Juno. When she deals

269 Iris' summoning of Helen in Book 3 of the *Iliad* shares the elements of both disguise and, at least the potentially, trouble-making as a motivation. The scene comes near the beginning of Book 3, after the duel between Paris and Menelaus has been arranged. Iris goes to Helen as a messenger (Ἴρις δ' αὖθ' Ἑλένη λευκωλένω ἄγγελος ἦλθεν, 3.121), but there is no indication that anyone sent her, nor is there any reason she is needed as a messenger. As Kirk (1985, 279) points out: "Presumably some ordinary mortal ... would in any event have told Helen what was happening. ... One might feel that the meaning is no more than that Laodike was acting in accordance with the divine disposition of events in general, until one recalls that this duel is a purely human arrangement.... But presumably the poet wishes, nevertheless, to show the divine involvement even in these human proceedings; Helen in particular (who is in addition a daughter of Zeus) is almost a divine pawn after the Judgement of Paris, and her feelings about Paris, Menelaos and her home (139f.) are a moving reminder of the confused moral and human issues of the war. In addition, the summoning by Iris prepares the way for that by Aphrodite which she tries to resist later in the Book." That she comes unprompted is very unlike her role in the *Aeneid*, but it is this that seems to open up the possibility that Iris summons Helen just to cause a bit of painful longing, for this is precisely what her speech does. In disguise as Helen's sister-in-law Laodike (121-4), Iris calls her to come see. She describes the halt in battle, tells her that Paris and Menelaus are about to fight over her, and concludes with the gratuitous reminder that she will be the wife of the victor (130-138). With her speech, Iris thrusts sweet longing into Helen's heart (ὥς εἰποῦσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἴμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ / ἀνδρός τε προτέρου καὶ ἄστεος ἠδὲ τοκίων, 139-40).

with Allecto, Juno also leaves out any specific instructions, but the effect is very different than it is with Iris, who can be seen as an extension of Juno, whether she bears a message, as to Turnus, or disruption, as to the Trojan Women.²⁷⁰ In the latter case, the effect is heightened by the reference to Juno being driven out as the women recognize their loved ones and return to sanity (*suosque / mutatae agnoscunt excussaue pectore Iuno est*, 5.678-9). So Juno does need to explain her purpose and desire to Allecto because the latter is a more independent character than Iris, and the lack of instruction thus signals well-founded faith in Allecto's abilities.

Dido's tragic furies

The Furies themselves are referred to as Dido descends into maddened grief, but their explicitly literary and theatrical nature highlights the distinction from the other demonic figures of the *Aeneid* who are present and active.²⁷¹ Given this, the Furies who are mentioned in Book 4 are less relevant to this study than Dido herself, not because she is a demonic figure, but because she is the victim of a divine attack that has striking parallels

270 Iris' role as instigator in Book 5 is also a reasonable extension of her messenger role, especially since it shares the same ultimate purpose: action and, from a more removed perspective, advancing the plot. This is especially noteworthy in this selection of scenes, as Juno, despite her interest in delaying the success of the Trojans, consistently moves the action forward, using Iris as her agent: she releases Dido's painful paralysis and sends her to the Underworld, she inflames the Trojan Women to action (and it seems that this chain of action prompts the important vision of Anchises at the end of Book 5), and she sets Turnus in motion, just as Jupiter will stop him at the end of Book 9 and, ultimately, in Book 12.

271 As allusions to the tragic stage, these Furies are part of the larger network of tragic allusions in Book 4, and such allusions, as well as the tragic structure of Book 4 as a whole, have been much studied, but are beyond the scope of this study. See Spence 1999 for a discussion of the tragic allusions and scholarship.

in the work of Allecto, which I will discuss further in the next chapter. As Book 1 draws towards its close, and Aeneas and the Trojans have been hospitably received by Dido, Juno's troublemaking potential still worries Venus, as does the reliability of the Carthaginians, so she decides to bind Dido to herself in a shared love for Aeneas (1.657-62):²⁷²

At Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat
consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furem
incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.
quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis;
urit atrox Iuno et sub noctem cura recursat.

But Cytherea mulled over new tricks and new plans in her breast: that Cupid, transformed in face and figure, would go in place of sweet Ascanius, and that he would inflame the raging queen with gifts and entwine her bones with fire. For she feared a changeable house and the double-tongued Carthaginians; fierce Juno stung and her worry returned at night.

Setting her plan in action immediately, Venus asks Cupid for help, reminding him of Juno's unceasing anger and revealing her own plan to anticipate her (1.673-5):

‘...
quocirca capere ante dolis et cingere flamma
reginam meditor, ne quo se numine mutet,
sed magno Aeneae mecum teneatur amore.’

“... For which reason I plan to take her beforehand with tricks and to encircle her with fire, so that no god can change her, but she will be held with me by a great love for Aeneas.”

She goes on to explain that she will keep Ascanius safely away while Cupid takes on his form and proceeds to Dido's court with the gifts Ascanius had been carrying.²⁷³ Once in

²⁷² Given the effects of Venus and Cupid on Dido, it is an ironic inversion to have Juno burning in Venus.

²⁷³ Venus refers to Ascanius as “my greatest care,” (*mea maxima cura*, 1.678), and Petrini (1997,

the presence of Dido, the attack itself can take place (1.683-87):

‘tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam
falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue vultus,
ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido
regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.’

“You, bearing his appearance for one night only, escape notice with a ruse and, yourself a boy, don the form of the familiar boy, so that when Dido, most happy, takes you onto her lap amidst the kingly tables and Lyaeian wine, when she embraces you and plants sweet kisses, you will breathe into her hidden fire and deceive her with poison.”

Cupid succeeds, of course, and Book 1 ends with Dido drinking deep of love and prolonging the feast with questions, which leads to the recounting of Aeneas’ tale that takes up Books 2 and 3. As the narrative gaze returns to Dido in the opening lines of Book 4, Cupid’s flames have taken hold (4.1-2):

At regina gravi iam dudum saucia cura
vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.

But the queen, already wounded by grievous love, nourishes the wound in her veins and is consumed by a dark fire.

And again, as she sacrifices to the gods and seeks guidance in vain, the imagery of raging and wandering is added to that of the fire and wound (4.65-69):

heu, vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furem,
quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas
interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore vulnus.
uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur

90) observes: “*cura* here suggests fire and burning by the insistent etymologies of the previous lines. Every interest in the scene is defined as a fire that consumes and compels characters to violent action. Juno’s hatred and Cupid’s *eros* are emotions predictably described as fire; to describe Venus’ maternal care by the same imagery is striking, another assertion that the same intensity and ferocity affect all relationships and all sympathies in the poem.”

urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,

Alas, the unknowing minds of the seers! What help to the raging woman are offerings, what help shrines? All the while there is a flame in her soft marrow and a silent wound lives beneath her breath. Unhappy Dido burns and wanders raging through the city, like a deer touched by an arrow, ...

These images are key to the allusions to Greek tragedies, which will fully flower when Dido, abandoned, abandons herself to madness, grief, and death, and this passage will be recalled in Book 7 when Amata rages through the cities of Latium and Silvia's wounded deer provokes battle.²⁷⁴ In the meantime, however, Juno notices Dido's suffering and convinces Venus that they should unite their own purposes in joining Aeneas and Dido. The exact significance of this marriage is a longstanding and open interpretative question, but for my purposes it does not matter whether it was a true or binding marriage. What is significant for this study is that the ceremony bodes ill for Dido: not only is it the first cause of death and evils (*ille dies primus leti primusque malorum / causa fuit*, 4.169-170), but, as already mentioned, it prompts the appearance of Fama and, consequently, the complaint from Iarbas to Jupiter that sets in motion the departure of Aeneas. Furthermore, the fact that Juno's plan takes the form of a destructive marriage, one for which she is herself the *pronuba* (4.166), sets up a parallel between the marriage and Allecto, whom Juno sends in Book 7 in order to accomplish her promise that Lavinia will

274 I am primarily concerned here with appearances of the Furies themselves, as opposed to *furiae*, madness, or other words on the *fur*- stem, but Dido's parenthetical comment that she was inflamed by madness (*furiis*) when she saved Aeneas and his companions (*heu furiis incensa feror!*, 4.376) is a particularly interesting line given that it will be echoed in the description of Aeneas at the end of the poem (*furiis accensus*, 12.946) – Dido repents the hospitality she offered that has ended so disastrously for her, and Aeneas is prompted by a reminder of the death of Pallas and thus also, in a way, hospitality that has ended disastrously for Pallas.

have Bellona as *pronuba*, as I will discuss in the next chapter (*Bellona manet te pronuba*, 7.319). Finally, as Sarah Spence points out, “Vergil’s references to tragic figures in Book 4 clarify the dangerous but seemingly inevitable role of *furor* in the founding of a city,” and this, too, will be thematically central to Allecto’s work and the second half of the poem.²⁷⁵

Once she knows Aeneas is leaving, and when he is unmoved by her pleas, Dido goes truly mad. The madness is demonstrated by omens: first of water turning black and wine to gore during sacrifice, then the voice of her dead husband, then the calling of an owl (4.453-464). Finally there are hallucinations and nightmares (4.465-73):

... agit ipse furem
in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui
sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur
ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,
Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus
et solem geminum et duplices se ostendere Thebas,
aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitatus Orestes,
armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.

Wild Aeneas himself drives her raging through her dreams, and always she seems to be left alone, always going unaccompanied on a long path and seeking the Phoenicians in a deserted land, as when mad Pentheus sees the band of Eumenides and a twinned sun and double Thebes display themselves, or the son of Agamemnon, Orestes, pursued on the stage, when he flees his mother armed with torches and dark serpents, and avenging Dirae sit in the doorway.

It is then that Dido decides to die, and the juxtaposition of madness and cunning is striking. In myth, the two are usually opposed, logically enough, but the pairing is one

²⁷⁵ Spence 1999, 89.

that fits Vergil's Furies and their effects.²⁷⁶ Dido's action immediately follows the passage above (4.474-77):

Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque
exigit, et maestam dictis adgressa sororem
consilium vultu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:

And so, when she, conquered by grief, conceived madness and decided to die, she pondered the time and means and then, concealing the plan with her expression and brightening her face with hope, she approached her mournful sister with these words...

The final reference to the Furies or related figures comes in Dido's final speech, in which the avenging Dirae are called as witness to the prayers of the dying woman (4.607-612):

Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,
tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,
nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes
et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
accipite haec, meritumque malis advertite numen
et nostras audite preces. ...

You, Sun, who encompasses all the works of the world with your flames, and you, Juno, my accomplice and interpreter of these cares, and Hecate, howled through the cities at nocturnal crossroads, and the avenging Dirae and the gods of dying Elissa, receive these offerings, direct merited divine attention to evils and hear my prayers. ...

It seems fairly clear that these avenging Dirae either are the Furies in their role as enforcers of oaths, or functionally equivalent. The vengeance explicitly referred to in their title is taken up by the hope for an avenger included in her prayer ("may you, whoever you may be, arise from my bones as an avenger," *exoriare aliquis nostris ex*

²⁷⁶ Medea is a possible exception, but she is, in Euripides' version, marked more by her chilling rationality while planning her deeds, as opposed to having madness be the motivation. Spence (1999, 87-88) points out parallels earlier in Book 4 between Dido and Apollonius' Medea, so it is possible that she remains in the background of the explicit tragic references.

ossibus ultor, 4.625), but the Dirae are present as part of the set of gods who are appropriate to witness and enforce her dying words rather than as agents, and in this they are very traditional.²⁷⁷ Just as Dido herself will reappear in Vergil's Underworld, so too will the idea of vengeance within the context of passion and marriage. In the Underworld, the idea is connected with crime, punishment, and the Furies rather than Dido herself, but the connections set up here in Book 4 are worth highlighting. First, it is the marriage and, more specifically, the fact that Dido began to call Aeneas *coniunx*, that preceded the arrival of Fama and the subsequent woes, so that her grief, death, and desire for vengeance are directly tied to her understanding of marriage, a political and erotic bond. This prefigures, of course, the fated marriage with Lavinia that *will* succeed in forging a new, great people. The success of that fated marriage, however, is always over the horizon; what it brings first is a far more widespread destruction than that of Dido, and Juno explicitly makes this her goal at the beginning of Book 7. Even before Juno explicitly ties together war and marriage, the image of the marriage bed as a site for destruction recurs in Book 6, especially in the Underworld, and it is in the Underworld that we next see the Furies, where they are associated with punishment, domestic crimes, and doorways.

Furies in the Underworld

Book 6 begins with Aeneas weeping for Palinurus and landing at Cumae, home of the

²⁷⁷ This is strengthened by their pairing with the phrase *di morientis Elissae*, which seems to refer to Dido's personal gods, perhaps her Juno (the term for a woman's personal god, comparable to a man's Genius), who would naturally preside over her death. See the introduction for the connections of the Greek Furies to death and the dying.

Sibyl. Although the Trojans have reached Italy, the whole book is a transition between the two halves of the *Aeneid*, since Aeneas must now seek guidance from the Sibyl for another journey, this one to the Underworld in order to speak to his dead father.²⁷⁸ The Underworld itself is the focus of the whole book, but, in contrast to its Odyssean antecedent, it is well grounded in the local landscape. As soon as the Trojans land, men disperse to find the necessities of civilization, fire and religion; within a economical nine lines, we have men exploring the woods and beaches and Aeneas entering the sacred precincts of Hecate and Apollo in his search for the Sibyl, their priestess (6.5-13):

... iuvenum manus emicat ardens
 litus in Hesperium; quaerit pars semina flammae
 abstrusa in venis silicis, pars densa ferarum
 tecta rapit silvas inventaque flumina monstrat.
 at pius Aeneas arces quibus altus Apollo
 praesidet horrendaeque procul secreta Sibyllae,
 antrum immane, petit, magnam cui mentem animumque
 Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura.
 iam subeunt Triviae lucos atque aurea tecta.

... An eager band of youths springs out onto the Italian shore; some seek the seeds of flame hidden in veins of flint, others ravish the woods, close packed home of wild animals, and point out the water they have found. But *pius* Aeneas seeks the summits over which high Apollo rules and, set apart, an immense cave, retreat of the fearsome Sibyl, into whom Apollo the prophet breathes great spirit and understanding; he opens the future. And now they enter the grove of Hecate and approach golden roofs.

Austin points out that the pairing of Hecate and Apollo “seems to be a Virgilian innovation, preparing for the Sibyl’s special function, granted her by Hecate, as priestess in charge of the Underworld and so guide to Aeneas.”²⁷⁹ It is also reminiscent of

278 This book has been the delight of commentators and the scholarship is vast, but I will maintain a relatively tight focus on the Furies and their role, which has received surprisingly little attention.

279 Austin 1977, 37. See also Norden 1916, 118.

Apollo's association with Celaeno, who, along with her fellow Harpies, is strongly associated with the Underworld. Hecate is goddess of crossroads and the Sibyl, as her priestess, guards the entrance to the Underworld and guides Aeneas through it, and thus into the second half of the epic; as will become clear, the Furies in the Underworld are also associated with entrances and access.²⁸⁰ The Sibyl herself seems to have some commonality with the female demonic figures under examination, as I will discuss shortly.

Just as this initial description provides geographical context,²⁸¹ Daedalus and the ephrasis of his doors for the temple of Apollo provide mythic and metapoetic context that highlights the revelation of secrets and the dangers in both artistic creation and desire. It is here that the motif of criminal sex first appears in Book 6 (*Aen.* 6.24-26):

... hic crudelis amor tauri suppostaque furto
Pasiphae mixtumque genus prolesque biformis
Minotaurus inest, Veneris monienta nefandae, ...

Here were the cruel love for a bull and Pasiphae secretly laid under it; the mixed line and biform Minotaur as offspring – monuments of unspeakable love, ...

So engrossed are the Trojans that the Sibyl has to come fetch them, and her prophecy, violently driven through her by Apollo, explicitly places Aeneas in a social context: he is leader of the Trojans, future foe and in-law to the native Italians, a son longing to speak with his father, and a friend required to provide a proper burial for his comrade Misenus.

The horrible war that she foretells, moreover, is tied specifically to the marriage with

280 This also looks back to Celaeno, who provides access to divine knowledge.

281 The exact correlations with the physical site at Cumae and the archaeological remains of temples are debated, but it is clear that there is a relationship between the two; for details, see Austin 1977, 48-58.

Lavinia: *causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris / externique iterum thalami*
 (“...the cause of such evil is another stranger as a bride for the Trojans and another
foreign marriage bed,” *Aen.* 6.93-4).

The first mention of the Furies themselves also comes before Aeneas and the
Sibyl enter the Underworld. Immediately following the funeral of Misenus and the
attainment of the golden bough, Aeneas makes his sacrifices to Night and Earth before
beginning his descent (6.236-263):

His actis propere exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae.
spelunca alta fuit vastoque immanis hiatu,
scrupea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris,
quam super haud ullae poterant impune volantes
tendere iter pennis: talis sese halitus atris
faucibus effundens supera ad convexa ferebat.
[unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornum.]
quattuor hic primum nigrantis terga iuencos
constituit frontique invergit vina sacerdos,
et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas
ignibus imponit sacris, libamina prima,
voce vocans Hecaten caeloque Ereboque potentem.
supponunt alii cultros tepidumque cruorem
succipiunt pateris. ipse atri velleris agnam
Aeneas matri Eumenidum magnaеque sorori
ense ferit, sterilemque tibi, Proserpina, vaccam;
tum Stygio regi nocturnas incohat aras
et solida imponit taurorum viscera flammis,
pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis.
ecce autem primi sub limina solis et ortus
sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri
silvarum, visaeque canes ululare per umbram
adventante dea. ‘procul, o procul este, profani,’
conclamat vates, ‘totoque absistite luco;
tuque invade viam vaginaque eripe ferrum:
nunc animis opus, Aenea, nunc pectore firmo.’
tantum effata furens antro se immisit aperto;
ille ducem haud timidus vadentem passibus aequat.

When these things had been done, Aeneas quickly followed the Sibyl's commands. There was a deep cave, immense and rocky, with a gaping entrance, safely enclosed by a black lake and shadowing woods, above which scarcely any birds could fly safely – such was the steam that went up to the dome of the heavens, pouring forth from its black jaws. [For which reason the Greeks called this place Avernus.] Here he first set up four black-backed steers and, as officiant, sprinkled their brows with wine; he plucked the top bristles from the middle of the forehead, between the horns, and placed them on the sacred flames as the first offerings, calling aloud on Hecate, powerful here and in Erebus. Others applied sacrificial knives and received the warm blood in libation bowls. Aeneas himself gave a black sheep by sword to the mother of the Eumenides and her great sister, and a virgin heifer to you, Proserpina. Then he began sacrifices to the Stygian king, on altars for nocturnal rites, and placed all the viscera of the bulls on the flames, pouring rich oil over the burning organs. But look! At the threshold of the first sunlight and its rising the ground groans underfoot, the wooded ridge begins to to be moved, and dogs seem to howl throughout the shadows as the goddess approaches. “Begone! Begone, uninitiated ones,” cried the prophet, “and keep away from the whole grove. But you, rush upon your path and draw your sword from its sheathe: now there is need of courage, Aeneas, now there is need of a steadfast heart.” Having said this much, she plunged herself, raging, into the open cave; he, not at all afraid, matched the steps of his rushing guide.

The Sibyl here suggests an inversion of Celaeno: *now* is the time for courage and the sword, and this clear statement of appropriate action recalls the warning against inappropriate action in the Harpies episode. The speed of her descent also evokes the swiftness of the Harpies, and will be mirrored in turn by Allecto's arrival from the Underworld in Book 7 – an actual Fury arising from Hell rather than a raging seer plunging into it.²⁸² Allecto's summoning will be discussed at length in the next section,

282 Austin (1977, 114) says of *se immisit*: “this complements *furens*; a swift, impulsive plunge.” The Sibyl, who is both human and beneficent, does not fall within the category of female demonic figures, but there are two additional points that strengthen the resemblance: 1) under the influence of Apollo (who also resembles a Fury in his goading) she wanders madly (*bacchatur*, 6.78) and rages under his reins and spurs (*ea frena furenti / concutit et stmiulos sub pectore vertit Apollo*, 6.100-101); and 2) she penetrates the Underworld, even into the forbidden realm of Tarturus, as an agent of Hecate (6.563-65), which gives her parallels to the Furies both as an agent for a god and as one who has a function within the Underworld, even if

but it is worth noting now that the specific and tangible elements of the descent in Book 6 (steps, path, cave) are absent in Allecto's first entrance, although we do get physical details (*tot sese vertit in ora, / tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris*. 7.328-329). This seems to underscore the difference between divine and human movement, especially in bridging the worlds.

This entrance to the Underworld is marked by both a cave and a lake, both of which break any definite division between above and under ground and are thus particularly suited to its liminal nature.²⁸³ The mention of the Furies in this opening sacrifice associates them with the entrance and suggests that they can be used as a defining feature of the Underworld itself.²⁸⁴ Both of these aspects are emphasized by the scene that greets Aeneas and the Sibyl after their descent, in which the Eumenides are among those who surround the gates of Hades (6.273-281).²⁸⁵

temporary and limited in the case of the Sibyl.

283 The cave also recalls the Harpies, as discussed in the last section, and the setting as a whole will be recalled when Allecto leaves the upper world (7.561-571).

284 The Furies are children of Earth in Hesiod (*Theog.* 185) and in Aeschylus they are children of Night (*Eum.* 416); the other major genealogy in Vergil's literary tradition has Earth and Darkness as their parents (Soph. *OC* 40). In later sources, the tradition of their parentage is more varied, particularly in the Orphic tradition, and Allecto, as we shall see, is also the daughter of Pluto (7.327). Servius says that Night is the mother of the Eumenides and Earth her sister, which is corroborated by references later in the *Aeneid* to Night as the mother of both Allecto and Megaera, along with the Dirae (Allecto, *virgo sata Nocte*, 7.331; the Dirae, *quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram / uno eodemque tulit partu*, 12.846-7). Vergil's phrasing, however, by naming only the Furies, allows for reading Earth as the mother and Night the aunt, so that the Hesiodic and Aeschylean genealogies can coexist. Fletcher 1941, 48, says: "Why Earth is called Night's sister we do not know." The *Theogony*, however, can be read as portraying both Earth and Night as offspring of Chaos (116-117, 123), and Norden (1916, 203) points to epigraphical evidence for sacrifices to the two together. The lack of a consistent genealogy combined with the strong chthonic association contributes to the functional basis and flexibility that allows room for different aspects to be fleshed out into different characters as seen in the *Aeneid*.

285 It is also worth noting that the Furies seem to be particularly associated with the rivers in the

vestibulum ante ipsum primisque 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.

before the entrance itself and in the first gates of Orcus Grief and the
 vengeful Cares have their rooms; both pale Diseases and grievous Old-age
 dwell there, and Fear and ill-advising Hunger and shameful Need, terrible
 shapes to see, and Death and Suffering; then Death's kin — Sleep and
 evil-minded Delights, and facing them in the doorway death-bearing War,
 and the iron chambers of the Eumenides and mad Discordia, her snaky
 hair bound with gory ribbons.

The first figures seen are Grief and the vengeful Cares, a pair that strongly evokes the
 traditional associations of the Furies.²⁸⁶ The chamber of the Furies, on the other hand,
 appears between War and Discord, which fits with the shift in their function in the
Aeneid.²⁸⁷ In addition to the clear association with war and strife, the iron chambers of
 the Eumenides and the beds of Grief and the vengeful Cares hint at the dangerous
 passions of marriage beds.

Underworld, and, like doors, rivers serve as both boundaries and points of access. Statius
 develops this by showing Tisiphone lounging by her river, but elsewhere the association
 seems to be generic enough to serve almost as a defining marker. The most dramatic example
 is in the summoning of Allecto in Book 7: Juno says that she will stir up Acheron (*Acheronta
 movebo*, 7.312) and the corresponding action is calling forth Allecto. Other instances include
 6.374-5 (*tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum / Eumenidum aspicias, ripamve iniussus
 adibis?*) and *Georgics* 3.37-38: *Invidia infelix Furias amnemque severum / Cocyti metuet ...*

286 See Norden (1916, 213-14) for more on the groups in general.

287 The depiction of Discordia with snaky hair and gory ribbons strengthens the association, and,
 as Austin (1977, 120) points out, the similar grouping on the shield of Aeneas (*saevit medio in
 certamine Mavors / caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae, / et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia
 palla*, 8.700-702). As I will discuss shortly, Tisiphone in her role as punisher is called *ultrix* at
 6.570, but it is clear that the adjective is not restricted to the Furies.

Strictly speaking, *thalamus* refers to the room and *cubile* to the bed, but both can, and frequently do, stand for the marriage and sex that are focussed there. *Thalamus* is especially tied to marriage (or quasi-marital sex) and almost exclusively so in the *Aeneid*, which makes the use of the term in connection with the Eumenides all the more striking.²⁸⁸ One of these ‘neutral’ uses is the instance just mentioned, the chambers of the Furies; the other two refer to the chamber of Dido and are infused with the word’s symbolic meaning as foreshadowing. In the first, she delays before the fateful hunt (*reginam thalamo cunctantem*, “the queen, lingering in her chamber,” 4.133), and in the second, she calls for the arms of Aeneas as she prepares to commit suicide (*et arma viri thalamo quae fixa reliquit*, “and the arms of the man, which he left hanging in our bedroom,” 4.495).²⁸⁹ In fact, apart from one reference to those of Priam’s children (and the lost potential grandchildren), all four instances of *thalamus* before Book 6 relate to

288 The word appears twenty times, but in only three cases does it refer solely to the room itself rather than sex or marriage. I should note here that I use the ‘marriage bed’ to refer to the symbolic site of sanctioned sex, usually with some suggestion of possible heirs. Norden (1916, 214) agrees that it is specifically a bed chamber, though with no mention of the marriage context, where the Furies sleep when they are not busy, pointing to the references in magical papyri to waking demons. As for the question of why the Furies sleep here but are also in Tartarus, while it could reflect learned variation that would have been smoothed in final revisions, it seems perfectly reasonable that their home is simply the Underworld – their chamber is placed among the other guardians of the gates, they perform their duties as punishers in Tartarus, and they presumably either frequent the Cocytus or are emblematic enough to be used synonymously with the Underworld, as discussed above, for the Sibyl refers to it as the river of the harsh Eumenides (*amnemque severum / Eumenidum*, 6.374-5).

289 Furthermore, as Segal (1990, 9) points out, “we are sensitized to the word’s marital significance in Dido’s first speech of the book. Here she takes the crucial step of separating herself emotionally from the revered *thalamus* of her former husband: *si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset, / huic uni forsan potui succumbere culpae* (‘If I had not been thoroughly weary of the marriage-chamber and the wedding-torch, to this one fault, perhaps, I could have yielded,’ 4.18f.)” He goes on to show how “the marriage-bed is then grotesquely metamorphosed into her bier-to-be, decorated by flowers and wreaths and holding the lifeless statue and the deadly sword instead of the loving husband (504-8)” (9).

Dido. Furthermore, although *cubilia* is itself a more general term,²⁹⁰ the avenging Curiae who sleep here in Vergil's Underworld evoke both Dido's *cura* for Aeneas that opens Book 4 (*At regina gravi iam dudum saucia cura*, "But the queen, already wounded by grievous love," 4.1) and her desire for vengeance as it closes (*exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor*, "may you, whoever you are, arise from my bones as an avenger," 4.625; '*moriemur inultae, / sed moriamur*, ' "I will die unavenged, but let me die," 4.659-60). On the other hand, Luctus, Grief, anticipates the Fields of Mourning, where Aeneas will see Dido once more (6.440-44):²⁹¹

nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem
Lugentes campi; sic illos nomine dicunt.
hic quos durus amor crudeli tabe peredit

290 And less common in the *Aeneid*, appearing only eight times. We do not see *cubile* again in book 6, but its other appearances in the *Aeneid* are interesting. It appears first at 3.324, in Andromache's response to Aeneas (3.321-324): '*o felix una nate alias Priameia virgo, / hostilem ad tumulum Troiae sub moenibus altis / iussa mori, quae sortitus non pertulit ullos / nec victoris heri tetigit captiva cubile!* At 4.584-5 (and 9.459-460), we have the stock image of Dawn leaving Tithonus' bed: *Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras / Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile*. Again in book 4, immediately before Dido's suicide (4.648-650): *hic, postquam Iliacas vestis notumque cubile / conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata / incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba*. We see it again in the metaphor of a wife applied to Vulcan (and should note that Venus began the scene *thalamoque haec coniugis aureo*, 8.372) (8.412-413): *...castum ut servare cubile / coniugis et possit parvos educere natos*. Typhoeus has a *durum cubile* at 9.715, and then we have the word's final appearance in Juno's address to Juturna (12.143.144): *...quaecumque Latinae / magnanimi Iovis ingratum ascendere cubile*.

291 It is also worth bearing in mind that Vergil refers to Allecto as *luctifica* (*luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum*, 7.324), which echoes both Luctus and *mortiferum Bellum*. In that passage, the particular grief she is ordered to bring is war, but *luctus* also refers to the grief specific to the death of a loved one, mourning (*OLD* 1047), which evokes the family context of the Greek Furies, both Homeric and tragic. A familial grief is fitting here, too, because the war will be between peoples destined to become family. This context is emphasized by the conclusion of Juno's speech (7.313-322), in which *gener atque socer* evokes the civil wars so fresh in the minds of Vergil's audience. Furthermore, Juno had specifically, and poignantly, addressed Lavinia, whose dowry will be blood and whom Bellona will escort to marriage, thus firmly placing this entire second half of the *Aeneid* in the context of family relationships, however bloody. I will return to the pairing of marriage and war shortly.

secreti celant calles et myrtea circum
silva tegit; curae non ipsa in morte relinquunt.

Not far from here the Fields of Mourning are revealed, spread out in every direction; so they call them. Here the secluded paths hide and the myrtle woods cover over those whom harsh love devoured with cruel wasting away; their cares do not leave them even in death.

Both the famous appearance of Dido and the verbal echoes of the *cubilia* of Grief and the vengeful *Curae* in *lugentes* (441) and *curae* (444) seem to reinforce the erotic context for the phrase in the earlier description of the entrance. I do not suggest that this is an exclusive meaning of *Curae* there, of course, but it is a meaning activated by its context.²⁹²

Marriage, then, is a recurring motif in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* and one that is both thematically important and structurally pivotal. In addition to the recollections of the imagery of marriage and grief in Book 4 just discussed, the marriage bed appears as a site of punishable crimes (and in the context of the Furies, punishers extraordinaire), before the book closes with a glimpse of the glories that will issue from the fated marriage bed of Aeneas and Lavinia. When Juno, goddess of marriage, takes up the motif just before summoning Allecto (7.313-322) and setting in motion the second half of the poem, it is again connected to the idea of punishment and also grounded in Roman marriage ritual.

The motif then has a final echo in the fatal baldric of Pallas and its scene of a wedding

²⁹² The *thalamus* was mentioned once more on their journey from the gates to the Fields of Mourning, when Charon names the only living passengers he has carried, first Heracles, who took Cerberus, and then Theseus and Pirithous, who tried to steal Persephone from her chamber (*hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti*, 6.397). This reminder that the Underworld is ruled by one of the most famous brides of myth and religion, and one strongly associated with family ties and their violation, is also thematically appropriate. Norden (1916, 240) points out a parallel to this passage in grave epigrams.

chamber befouled with blood (*thalamique cruenti*, 10.498), which spurs Aeneas to the final act of the poem.²⁹³ The Furies had traditionally been associated with families by their tie to blood guilt and their role in enforcing oaths and correct relationships, and extending that conceptually to include an association with marriage is not necessarily strange. Nonetheless, it is a powerful shift, and the inversion of the pleasure and creative union of the marriage bed seems to highlight the flexibility of Vergil's Furies, whose destruction is less constrained than that of their forebears. It is also a suitable locus for the striking ambivalence of his Furies' association with both punishment and provocation, as the image of the marriage bed contains both the desire that can provoke crimes and the social order that demands their punishment.

To continue with the journey through the Underworld, Aeneas and the Sibyl move from the Fields of Mourning to the region of the war heroes. It is here that the horribly wounded Deiphobus tells his story, which takes place in the unfortunate *thalamus* he shared with Helen (6.520-530):

tum me confectum curis somnoque gravatum

293 This motif seems to have escaped much scholarly notice. The relationship of Dido and Aeneas, of course, has attracted much attention, and readers have also noted that both the character and (promised) marriage of Lavinia are, despite their centrality to the plot, notable in the lack of narrative focus received. Smolenaars 2004 addresses the scene of Venus soliciting arms from Vulcan, in which we have both a golden *thalamus* (8.372) and a *cubile* (8.412) in the explicit context of marriage, but he is more concerned with Venus' morals than the relevance of the marriage imagery to the rest of the work. Pavlock 1992 argues that parallels between Silvia's stag and Dido provide a reference to marriage in the immediate provocation of war, and Eidinow 2003 points out the emphasis on inheritance and legitimate heirs in Book 4, which would have had contemporary relevance for Vergil's initial audience in the persons of Caesarion and Octavian/Augustus. Gutting 2006, though interested primarily in connections to contemporary concerns about the death penalty for elite Romans, points out that the promised marriage to Lavinia is part of the focus on treaties later in the poem.

infelix habuit thalamus, pressitque iacentem
dulcis et alta quies placidaeque simillima morti.
egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis
emovet, et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem:
intra tecta vocat Menelaum et limina pandit,
scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
et famam exstingui veterum sic posse malorum.
quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo, comes additus una
hortator scelerum Aeolides. di, talia Graeis
instaurate, pio si poenas ore reposco.

Then the unfortunate bedchamber held me, worn out with worries and weighed down by sleep, and a sweet and deep rest, very like untroubled death, pressed down on me as I lay there. Meanwhile this extraordinary wife removed all arms from the building, and had also slipped the trusty sword from under my head: she summoned Menelaus within and opened the door, clearly hoping that this would be a great service to her lover and that her reputation for old evils could thus be destroyed. Why do I delay? They burst into the bedchamber, together with Ulysses as an inciter to evils. Gods, revisit such things upon the Greeks, if I demand these punishments with a *pius* mouth.

This passage explicitly brings together the marriage bed, violence, and punishment, and it might also evoke the image of Helen as a Fury discussed in the first chapter. The bed itself is made defenceless by the removal of his sword, and it is his bride who brings the enemy into her overdetermined marriage chamber. There are layers of vengeance here, as Menelaus takes vengeance on Deiphobus and he calls for vengeance in turn – one truly could imagine this a Fury’s chamber. Finally, this betrayal of one *thalamus*, along with the presence of Menelaus, strongly evokes the earlier betrayal that began the Trojan War and thus echoes the Sibyl’s prophecy of wars provoked by another foreign bride.²⁹⁴

294 There are layers of violation here, of course, although Helen’s assistance might stand out in violating norms regardless of perspective. Nevertheless, the passage also highlights the extent to which she was passed around. Austin, however, takes it as a further betrayal (1977, 177): “Helen hopes to save her face after her desertion of Menelaus, first for Paris, then for Deiphobus.” I had not imagined her marriage to Deiphobus as freely chosen, and certainly not as further desertion. Norden, on the other hand, points out the unjustified jab about gifts

It is as they leave Deiphobus that Aeneas looks over and sees the fearsome gates of Tartarus, and the Sibyl tells him of those she saw punished within. Several of these iconic punishments fit the theme of marital sex, to which I shall return, but this is also where we first meet Tisiphone, who guards the entrance of Tartarus and presides over its punishments (6.547-579):

Respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra
moenia lata uidet triplici circumdata muro,
quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,
Tartareus Phlegethon, torquetque sonantia saxa.
porta aduersa ingens solidoque adamante columnae,
uis ut nulla uirum, non ipsi excindere bello
caelicolae ualeant; stat ferrea turris ad auras,
Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta
uestibulum exsomnia seruat noctesque diesque.
hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeua sonare
uerbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.
constitit Aeneas strepitumque exterritus hausit.
'quae scelerum facies? o uirgo, effare; quibusue
urgentur poenis? quis tantus plangor ad auras?'
tum uates sic orsa loqui: 'dux inclute Teucrum,
nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen;
sed me cum lucis Hecate praefecit Auernis,
ipsa deum poenas docuit perque omnia duxit.
Cnosius haec Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna
castigatque auditque dolos subigitque fateri
quae quis apud superos furto laetatus inani
distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.
continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello
Tisiphone quatit insultans, toruosque sinistra
intentans anguis uocat agmina saeua sororum.
tum demum horrisono stridentes cardine sacrae
panduntur portae. cernis custodia qualis
uestibulo sedeat, facies quae limina seruet?
quinquaginta atris immanis hiatibus Hydra
saeuior intus habet sedem. tum Tartarus ipse

(1916, 269, with reference to Heinze). Less charitably, one could imagine that the paradoxically sweet sleep of worried Deiphobus is post-coital, thus adding seduction to Helen's plot.

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

Unexpectedly, Aeneas looks back and sees an extensive, triple walled fortress, which a swift river, Tartarean Phlegethon, surrounds with torrential flames as it tumbles crashing rocks. An immense gate faces him, with pillars of solid adamant, so strong that no human strength, not even the gods themselves could destroy it with war. An iron tower stands there, rising to the winds, where Tisiphone sits in her gory robe and tirelessly guards the entrance day and night. From within groans are heard, and savage blows resound, and the clang of iron and dragging chains. Aeneas halts and absorbs the din, terrified. "What sort of evils are these? O maiden, tell me! With what punishments are they beset? What is this great wailing to the heavens? Then the prophet thus began to speak: "Famous leader of the Trojans, it is not permitted that anyone pure cross this profaned threshold, but when Hecate put me in charge of the groves of Avernus she instructed me in the punishments of the gods and led me through all. Cretan Rhadamanthus holds this harshest kingdom; he corrects and listens to the wretches, and forces each to confess those faults that he had happily committed in secret in the world above and vainly deferred too long, until death. Avenging Tisiphone, armed with her whip, leaps upon the guilty at once and makes them tremble; menacing them with the fierce snakes in her left hand, she summons her savage flock of sisters. Only then are the sacred doors thrown open, resounding with a terrifying screech on their posts. Do you see what sort of sentinel sits in the doorway? What manner of thing guards the threshold? The vast and very savage Hydra, with fifty black mouths, has her place within. Beyond that lies Tartarus itself, and it extends precipitously downwards twice as far from the underworld as it is from above ground to heavenly Olympus.

Tisiphone is clearly presented as one who guards and punishes, a crucial agent of authority in the Underworld who acts upon the decisions of Rhadamanthus. The repeated forms of *saevus* and *strido* in this passage are characteristic of the other female demonic figures, as already seen in the Harpies episode and still to come with Allecto and the Dirae, and so too is the speed that is emphasized in Tisiphone's response to the judgment (570-572). The whips and snakes that tend to mark the Furies in particular are also present, and the serpentine imagery is reinforced by the presence of the Hydra, especially

savage (*saevior*, 577), who guards the threshold.²⁹⁵ Tisiphone herself is called *ultrix* at 570, which is almost certainly a play on her name, a combination of the Greek words for retribution (τίσις) and murder (φονή), but, ironically, the passage highlights how Vergil has intensified her punishing aspect while removing any association with vengeance or murder in particular.²⁹⁶

It is in the context of punishment that Tisiphone's savage sisters are mentioned, and this not only emphasizes their nature as a family, which will be taken up consistently in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but also highlights the flexibility of Vergil's Furies, for not

295 Slightly earlier in Book 6, Aeneas and the Sibyl another guardian figure with serpentine elements in Cerberus, whose neck bristled with snakes (*cui vates horrere videns iam colla colubris / melle soporata et medicatis frugibus offam / obicit*, 6.419-21).

296 Tisiphone's first named appearance in literature is in the fragments of Lucilius, a second-century BCE satirist, but she is named earlier, in Greek and along with Megaera, on a 4th century BCE lekythos by Asteas, a vase painter active in Paestum (Megaira and Allecto are named on an amphora by the same painter and Allecto alone on a hydria with two Furies depicted; LIMC v. 3, Erinys (Sarian), 389, cat. 64, 51, 88, respectively.) The Lucilius fragment (Marx 169, Warmington 162-3, Krankel 175-76) refers to the punishment of Tityos, which I will address later in this section, and calls Tisiphone the holiest of the Furies (*Eumenidum sanctissima Erinys*); her appearance in Vergil's *Georgics*, which is discussed in the introduction and this section, has less in common with Tisiphone as terrifying punisher in the Underworld than with female demonic figures elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, including Tisiphone herself as she rages on the battlefield (*pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit*, 10.761). She is also named in a much later passage in pseudo-Plutarch's *de Fluviiis* (2.2), in which Tisiphone, one of the Furies (μία τῶν Ἐρινύων), falls in love with young Citharon and sends him a letter. When he does not return her affections, Tisiphone plucks a serpent from her hair and throws it at him; Citharon is strangled by the serpent and has the mountain named for him. I mention this both because the author cites the 4th century BCE historian Leon of Byzantium as the source of the story, though of course there is no way to tell whether the name was included, and because the image of a lovestruck Fury roaming the mountains of Boeotia like a strange nymph seems appropriate here. On the issue of naming in general, there is a notable contrast between the named figures on 4th century South Italian pots (and in Etruscan funerary art) and the exchange in Euripides' *Orestes*, staged in 408 BCE and thus not much earlier, that makes explicit the reluctance to name such dread goddesses even by a group title or euphemism – when Orestes' reports his visions of three maidens resembling Night, Menelaus knows who he means but does not want to name them, and Orestes approves his restraint (οἷδ' ἄς ἔλεξας, ὀνομάσαι δ' οὐ βούλομαι. / σεμναὶ γάρ· εὐπαιδέυτα δ' ἀπετρέπου λέγειν, 409-410).

only are they capable of both provoking mad desire and punishing crimes, but this reference makes it clear that there is no strict division of labor in doing so. Tisiphone herself demonstrates this flexibility quite clearly, as her other appearance in the *Aeneid* is not in the Underworld, but raging among human battles (10.755-761):

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

Now grim Mars was balancing out griefs and reciprocal funerals; victors and victims equally slaughtered and equally fell, and no escape was experienced on these men or the others. The gods in Jupiter's halls pitied the vain wrath of both sides and that the sufferings of mortals were so great; here Venus watched, and here opposite Saturnian Juno. Pale Tisiphone raged among the thousands.

In this, she is very like the Erinys in Book 2 who summons men to war and is thus, as I argued in the previous chapter, kin to the personified gods who accompany the god of war; this relationship is even more clear in this passage, as Tisiphone and Mars are both at work on the field of battle. In addition, the parallel with Turnus (*talis equos alacer media inter proelia Turnus / fumantis sudore quatit, miserabile caesis / hostibus insultans*, "so did swift Turnus whip his horses, steaming with sweat, into the midst of the battles, leaping upon his pitiably slaughtered enemies," 12.337) seems to strengthen this allusion, especially as Turnus is being compared to Mars.²⁹⁷

In addition to the general theme of the dangerous marriage bed that I have suggested, the more specific image of inverted marriage is suggested by both the iron

²⁹⁷ The parallel is pointed out by both Austin (1977, 185) and Tarrant (2012, 173-4).

chambers of the Furies and the *cubilia* of avenging Cares at the entrance to Hades and the image of Bellona as *pronuba* in Book 7.²⁹⁸ This is an interesting echo of an earlier Vergilian Fury, Tisiphone in the *Georgics*, who appears as a monstrous inversion of a good shepherd as she ushers in the horrific plague (3.551-53):

saevit et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris
pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque,
inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert.

Pale Tisiphone rages and, sent forth from the Stygian shadows into the light, she drives before her Diseases and Fear, and, rising by the day, she lifts her insatiable head.

As discussed in the introduction, the *Georgics*' Tisiphone and the related imagery of maddening lust cast helpful light on the role of the female demonic throughout the *Aeneid*; here the relevance is less to the punishing Tisiphone within the Underworld than to the power of the Furies in general to overturn and pervert.²⁹⁹

To return to the punishments that Tisiphone oversees, first comes a series of those who assaulted or insulted Jupiter (6.580-94):

hic genus antiquum Terrae, Titania pubes,
fulmine deiecti fundo uoluntur in imo.
hic et Aloidas geminos immania uidi
corpora, qui manibus magnum rescindere caelum
adgressi superisque Iouem detrudere regnis.
uidi et crudelis dantem Salmonea poenas,

298 The inversion of purity rules that governs entry to Tartarus (*nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen*, 7. 563) fits with this image as well.

299 Also relevant, though more to the Tisiphone seen in Book 10, is her connection to Mars, as pointed out by Christopher Nappa (2005, 157): "The *Georgics*' book on pastoral life has introduced one final grim shepherdess, the Fury Tisiphone. Her raging bloodbath suggests the *impius* Mars at the end of Book I, of whom the verb *saevit* is also used (1.511). In that passage an emblem of Rome—the god Mars—was turned against Rome itself, becoming *impius* and slaying not foreign enemies but Romans themselves; here the pastoral world is inverted as the book's last act of husbandry is the grotesque destruction of the flock."

dum flammas Iouis et sonitus imitatur Olympi.
quattuor hic inuectus equis et lampada quassans
per Graium populos mediaeque per Elidis urbem
ibat ouans, diuumque sibi poscebat honorem,
demens, qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen
aere et cornipedum pulsu simularet equorum.
at pater omnipotens densa inter nubila telum
contorsit, non ille faces nec fumea taedis
lumina, praecipitemque immani turbine adegit.

Here the ancient family of Earth, her Titan children, cast down by thunderbolt, turn in the deepest pit. And here I saw the huge bodies of the twin sons of Aloeus, who undertook to tear down great heaven with their hands and to expel Jupiter from his heavenly rule. And I saw the administration of Salmoneus' cruel punishment, earned by his imitating the flames of Jupiter and thunders of Olympus. Drawn by four horses and brandishing torches, he went, as if celebrating, among all the peoples of Greece and through the city in the middle of Elis, and demanded for himself the honours due gods – a madman who imitated both stormclouds and the inimitable thunderbolt of bronze with the pounding hooves of his horses. But the all-powerful father hurled a bolt into the dense cloud (not like his torches and smoky light of pitch-pine!), and drove him down headlong with an immense whirlwind.

This is followed by a series of those who assaulted the bedmates of either Jupiter or Hades (6.595-607):

nec non et Tityon, Terrae omniparentis alumnum,
cernere erat, per tota nouem cui iugera corpus
porrigitur, rostroque immanis uultur obunco
immortale iecur tondens fecundaque poenis
uiscera rimaturque epulis habitatque sub alto
pectore, nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis.
quid memorem Lapithas, Ixiona Pirithoumque?
quos super atra silex iam iam lapsura cadentique
imminet adsimilis; lucent genialibus altis
aurea fulcra toris, epulaeque ante ora paratae
regifico luxu; Furiarum maxima iuxta
accubat et manibus prohibet contingere mensas,
exsurgitque facem attollens atque intonat ore.

Nor did I miss Tityos, child of Earth, mother to all, whose body lies

stretched out over nine whole acres, and the immense vulture feeding upon his liver with hooked beak. It resides under his deep breast and scratches around in his fruitful viscera for its feasts as his punishment, nor is he given any respite by his ever reborn flesh. What shall I recount of the Lapiths, of Ixion and Pirithous? Above them a black rock looms just about to slip and very close to falling; golden bedposts shine on high festal couches and a feast is laid out with kingly luxury; the greatest of the Furies is couched next to them and keeps their hands from reaching the tables – she rises up brandishing her torch and thunders forth with her mouth.

First Tityos, who assaulted Leto, is afflicted with the torment of the vulture and a perverse fertility that makes his punishment neverending.³⁰⁰ Pirithous, as mentioned earlier, attempted to abduct Persephone, and Ixion, while a guest on Olympus, tried to sleep with Hera; the reminder that they are Lapiths, moreover, recalls the wedding party gone spectacularly wrong in the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs. The Fury who torments them (*maxima* like Celaeno)³⁰¹ offers another image of inversion at this hellish feast – she forbids rather than offers food, and does so, moreover, with a torch that threatens rather than celebrates.³⁰²

Finally, the Sibyl pairs an incestuous *thalamus* with political crimes as she sums up other crimes punished in Tartarus (6.608-627):

300 In the Homeric parallel, Leto is explicitly linked to Zeus as his renowned wife (Λητώ γὰρ ἔλκησε, Διὸς κυδρήν παράκοιτιν, *Od.* 11.580.

301 In his discussion of Servius' unconvincing suggestion that this *maxima Furiarum* is Famine, Conington (1979, v.2, 505) says that "there is no reason to suppose that the expression has any other but its ordinary sense, one of the Furies, conceived of as the eldest of the sisterhood, being charged with the execution of this mode of punishment." I do think this passage refers to a Fury, but taking the adjective as referring to an ordering, whether of age or ferocity, causes unnecessary complications; it seems much more appropriate to take as meaning 'very great.'

302 The threatening and funereal nature of the Furies' torches recurs in Book 7, as I will discuss in the next chapter. The use of *intono* in this passage might also evoke Jupiter and thus suggest that the Fury is the authority to be feared here.

hic, quibus inuisi fratres, dum uita manebat,
 pulsatusue parens et fraus innexa clienti,
 aut qui diuitiis soli incubuere repertis
 nec partem posuere suis (quae maxima turba est),
 quique ob adulterium caesi, quique arma secuti
 impia nec ueriti dominorum fallere dextras,
 inclusi poenam exspectant. ne quaere doceri
 quam poenam, aut quae forma uiros fortunaue mersit.
 saxum ingens uoluunt alii, radiisque rotarum
 districti pendent; sedet aeternumque sedebit
 infelix Theseus, Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis
 admonet et magna testatur uoce per umbras:
 “discite iustitiam moniti et non temnere diuos.”
 uendidit hic auro patriam dominumque potentem
 imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit;
 hic thalamum inuasit natae uetitosque hymenaeos:
 ausi omnes immane nefas ausoque potiti.
 non, mihi si linguae centum sint oraue centum,
 ferrea uox, omnis scelerum comprehendere formas,
 omnia poenarum percurrere nomina possim.

Here, those who, while alive, hated their brothers, struck a parent, or wove deception against a client, or those who were devoted to wealth accumulated for themselves and did not set a portion aside for their relations, which was the largest group. And those killed for adultery and those who took up *impius* arms and were not afraid to violate the pledges of their masters, here they are imprisoned to await punishment. Do not seek to be told what punishment, or what beauty or turn of luck sank these men.³⁰³ Some roll an immense stone, and others hang stretched out on the spokes of a wheel. Here unhappy Theseus sits, and will sit forever, and most miserable Phlegyas warns all and bears witness throughout the darkness with a great voice: “Learn the justice of this warning and to not scorn the gods.” This one sold his fatherland for gold and placed it in the power of a master; he established and annulled laws for a price; this one entered the bed of his daughter and forbidden marriage: all dared immense crime and accomplished it. I could not recount all the forms of evil, run through all the names of the punishments, not if I had a hundred tongues and a hundred mouths, a voice of iron.

These anonymous examples have the effect of making explicit the categories illustrated by the famous offenders she has described; the pairing also underscores the significance

303 With thanks to Christopher Nappa for the interpretation and phrasing of *forma ... fortunave*.

of domestic crimes.³⁰⁴ The multiplicity of mouths and tongues also recalls Fama, whose appearance in Book 4 was tied to a wrong that similarly conjoined ruling power and the domestic context.

This motif of the conjugal bed as a source or site of crimes and ills sets up a contrast with the famous parade of heroes that Anchises shows Aeneas near the end of the book. That demonstration of the glory that can arise from a marriage bed begins with an explicit reference to the marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia – Silvius, who will be a king and father of kings (*regem regumque parentem*, 6.765) is the son his wife Lavinia will bear, and Lavinia is identified both as *coniunx* and, for the first time in the *Aeneid*, by name (*Lavinia coniunx*, 6.764). The relationships that surround her, if not the woman herself, will come to the fore once the action returns to Italy in Book 7, but the earlier, troublesome, marriage beds of Book 6 also set up Juno's actions in Book 7. In fact, once Aeneas leaves the Underworld, the dangerous lusts and griefs connected with the *thalamus* in Book 6 are entwined in his approaching marriage to Lavinia. This opposition between glorious and criminal results of sex also fits well with the questions of appropriate versus inappropriate behaviour discussed above, which continue in the rest of the poem. As we have seen, the female aspect of the Furies is thematically appropriate, and fruitful, both for familial crimes and for personifications of madness, lust, and war. Their role in Vergil's Underworld seems to be somewhat unusual in that the two strands appear together.

304 As Austin (1977, 195) points out, this would have been a live issue: "The *lex Iulia* had been preceded by an earlier attempt by Augustus (28 B.C.) to curb sexual licence, but without success...: it is unlikely that Virgil did not have in mind the contemporary scene and its moral climate ..., and the prospect of some intended reform."

Two concepts associated with female demonic figures earlier in the *Aeneid* come to the fore in Book 6: mediation and punishment. The fact that the Furies are emphasized both in the initial sacrifice, and again at the doorway to the halls of Hades itself, not only encourages us to view them as emblematic of the Underworld, but also suggests a possible connection with doors and, consequently, connection and mediation. Tisiphone at the gate to Tartarus reinforces this connection strongly, as she is not simply an emblem marking the entrance, but an active guardian and punisher.³⁰⁵ If part of the role of the Furies is to act as intermediary between divine and human, guarding the points of transition between hell and earth could be viewed as more passive counterpart to the role that Allecto and the Dirae take in enforcing divine commands. This would also fit with the emphatically monstrous nature of all these figures, given that monsters guard boundaries, while also crossing them within their own hybrid bodies. I mentioned Hesiod's Echidna earlier, and her offspring Cerberus is interesting in this context. As Jenny Strauss Clay points out, "Cerberus will later receive a place and function in the organization of Tartarus, ensuring that the dead cannot escape from the underworld (769-73) and thus enforcing the clear distinction between the gods and mortals."³⁰⁶

The institution of marriage is also a form of mediation, between men and women, whole families, and even political factions. In the legend of the Sabine women, it is

305 The references in Books 4 and 12 to Dirae in a doorway also support this association, as does, in a different context, Celaeno, who reveals information she has from Apollo and Jupiter.

306 Clay 1993, 110. Furthermore, as Ogden (2013, 106) points out, "Cerberus had a serpentine element from the beginning of his iconographic tradition." Ogden (2013, 104-115) views Cerberus as a composite *drakon* and provides a full discussion of the myths of Heracles and Cerberus. His snakes also recall the proliferation of snakes and serpentine monsters in Etruscan funerary art.

intimately bound up with both Roman history and violence, both of which are also stressed in Vergil's depiction of the marriage with Lavinia that binds the erstwhile Trojans to their new home. As I have shown, the potential dangers of the marriage bed are also a theme weaving through Book 6 of the *Aeneid*.³⁰⁷

The presence of Tisiphone, and her vivid punishments, in the context of execution of judgment suggests that punishment might be another sort of mediation, that between the law and individuals. Tisiphone seems almost to embody that mediation as she leaps to enact the judgments of Rhadamanthus. The Greek Furies are seen as enforcers, but the more generalized punishment in this Underworld court leaves us with a very different sort of Fury, one made even more horrifying by the variety of torments and the authority she represents. Furthermore, Tisiphone, no longer tied specifically to blood guilt or oaths, has no need to pursue — in Vergil's Underworld, all who merit punishment come her way.

Juno will take up these threads of destructive marriage and divine wrath very forcefully in Book 7, but first there are several scenes at the beginning of the book that emphasize the strangeness of this land with which Aeneas and the Trojans must merge. After completing the funeral rites for his nurse Caieta at the very beginning of Book 7, Aeneas and his fleet sail past Circe's island. This prompts Neptune to provide a favorable wind so that the Trojans might not be brought to the dread shore (7.21-23, *litora dira*, 7.22), and the brief description of the creatures on Circe's island has further verbal echoes of the language used in the context of female demonic figures: the roars of

³⁰⁷ Doors are important in this context as well, given that a central part of Roman marriage ceremony is the ritual crossing of the threshold.

the lions are wrathful (*gemitus iraeque leonum*, 15), boars and bears rage (*saevire*, 18), and Circe is a fierce goddess (*dea saeva*, 19). Furthermore, as Segal points out, “she foreshadows the violence, passion, and chthonic magic of Allecto, with whom she shares the themes of *venena* (see 7.341, 354) and *monstra* (see 7.348, 376).”³⁰⁸ The Trojans are steered clear of Circe, but she is already part of the history of the Latins as the wife of Picus, grandfather of king Latinus (7.189-91). She still represents strange and dangerous divinity, of course, but also the closeness of the Italians to such strangeness.³⁰⁹

This proximity is also demonstrated in the scene in which Latinus retreats to a grove for advice from his ancestor Faunus (7.81-91):

At rex sollicitus monstris oracula Fauni,
 fatidici genitoris, adit lucosque sub alta
 consulit Albunea, nemorum quae maxima sacro
 fonte sonat saevamque exhalat opaca mephitim.
 hinc Italiae gentes omnisque Oenotria tellus
 in dubiis responsa petunt; huc dona sacerdos
 cum tulit et caesarum ovium sub nocte silenti
 pellibus incubuit stratis somnosque petivit,
 multa modis simulacra videt volitantia miris
 et varias audit voces fruiturque deorum
 conloquio atque imis Acheronta adfatur Avernis.

308 Segal 1968, 430, and see the full article, but especially 430-434, for further discussion of the ominous weight given to Vergil’s Circe. I will discuss Circe’s possible relationship to female demonic figures further in the *Metamorphoses* chapter.

309 See Moorton 1988 on the role of Circe in the genealogy of Latinus and an argument for taking *coniunx* at face value. There is further element of danger and transformation in the context of her relationship to Picus, as she, captured by desire, turned him into a woodpecker (*Picus, equum domitor, quem capta cupidine coniunx / aurea percussum virga versumque venenis / fecit avem Circe sparsitque coloribus alas*, 7.189-191). As Moorton (1988, 254) points out in discussing possible motivation for the act: “If Picus was unfaithful, or merely desired by another, (and, as we have seen, his legends connect him with several females), jealous passion might well have prompted his sorceress wife to transform him into a bird to keep him from her rival. This is an ominous note consistent with Circe’s portrayal in the *Aeneid*: ultimately Circe alienates and bestializes everyone she encounters, even those she loves.”

But the king, disturbed by the portents, sought the oracles of Faunus, his prophetic sire, and consulted the grove under high Albunea, which was the greatest of the groves and resounded with its sacred spring and darkly breathed forth a fierce vapor. Here the Italian peoples and the whole land of Oenotria seek answers when in doubtful situations; here, when he has brought gifts and slept under a silent night sky using the pelts of shorn sheep as blankets and asked for dreams, the priest sees many images flying about in wondrous ways and hears various voices and enjoys conversation with the gods and even addresses Acheron in the depths of Avernus.

This new home for the Trojans clearly abounds in doorways to the Underworld. So soon after the descent of Aeneas and the Sibyl and the alternate exit provided by the gates of horn and ivory (6.893-99), Vergil depicts another point of access, and one with which the king is very familiar, even to the point of being able to converse with both the gods in general and the Underworld itself. This might be considered somewhat ominous in a father-in-law. Nonetheless, Faunus tells Latinus that his daughter Lavinia must be married to a stranger (7.96-101), and it is this that the king recalls when approached by the Trojan embassy (7.249-73).³¹⁰

Thus the marriage is arranged and alliance made between the Latins and the Trojans, and it the sight of the Trojans happily settling in that angers Juno as she returns from Argos (7.286-91):

Ecce autem Inachiis sese referebat ab Argis
saeva Iovis coniunx aurasque invecta tenebat,
et laetum Aenean classemque ex aethere longe
Dardanium Siculo prospexit ab usque Pachyno.
moliri iam tecta videt, iam fidere terrae,

310 I will discuss this later as well, but the prophecy goes on to specify a foreign sons-in-law who will bear the Latin name to the stars with blood (*externi venient generi, qui sanguine nostrum / nomen in astra ferant*, 7.98-99), which, as Reckford 1961, 260 points out, has a fittingly appropriate ambiguity in *sanguine*.

deseruisse rates: stetit acri fixa dolore.

But look! the fierce wife of Jupiter was returning from Inachian Argos and holding course as she is borne through the air when, from afar in the heavens, she made out happy Aeneas and the Dardanian fleet from as far as Sicilian Pachynus. She sees that they are already building, already trusting to the earth, had abandoned their ships: she stood transfixed by sharp grief.

This prompts an indignant monologue that itemizes the punishments other gods were able to mete, and frames the repeated failure of her attempts to punish as a sign of diminished honor and power. Undaunted, she has a final move, one that takes up the motif of dangerous marriage from Book 6 quite dramatically (7.308-322):

ast ego, magna Iovis coniunx, nil linquere inausum
quae potui infelix, quae memet in omnia verti,
vincor ab Aenea. quod si mea numina non sunt
magna satis, dubitem haud equidem implorare quod usquam est:
flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.
non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis,
atque immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx:
at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus,
at licet amborum populos excindere regum.
hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum:
sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo,
et Bellona manet te pronuba. nec face tantum
Cisseis praegnas ignis enixa iugalis;
quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter,
funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae.’

...

But I, the great consort of Jupiter, I who, unfortunate, had the heart to leave nothing undared, who turned myself to everything, I am beaten by Aeneas. But if my divinity is not great enough, I, for my part, should scarcely hesitate to beg anything anywhere: if I cannot bend the gods above, I will stir up Acheron. It is not permitted to keep him from a Latin kingdom, and Lavinia remains his wife, unchangeable by fate – so be it! Nonetheless, it is permitted to drag out these matters and add a great many delays, and it is permitted to inflame the people of both kings. Let father and son in law come together with this price for their own relatives:

You will be dowered with Trojan and Rutulian blood, maiden, and Bellona awaits you as your wedding attendant. Nor did Hecuba, pregnant with a firebrand, bear so great a wedding flame; let Venus have the same as her own offspring and another Paris, and let there be funeral torches once again in Troy reborn.”

The use of *pronuba* here looks back to Book 4 and Juno’s attempt to forestall Aeneas’ fated marriage by settling him in another (4.166-170):

... prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno
dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether
conubiis summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae.
ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
causa fuit; ...

... first Earth and Juno *pronuba* give the signal; lightning flashed and the aether was witness to the marriage and Nymphs howled from the highest peak. This day was the first cause of death and of evils. ...

When Juno’s plan has succeeded and Dido and Aeneas seek shelter in the same cave, Earth and Juno as *pronuba* give the signal and the heavens witness the marriage. This parallel is emphasized by the phrase ‘Troy rebuilt’ – *recidivus* appears only three times in the *Aeneid*, always modifying Troia: here, in Venus’s speech to Jupiter at 10.58, and in Aeneas’s speech to Dido (4.336-344):

... urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum
reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.

... first I would be tending a Trojan city and the cherished remnant of my people, the high halls of Priam would endure, and I would have set up Troy renewed for the conquered.

This double reminder of Dido highlights the contrast between her barren and ultimately funereal *thalamus*, and that of Lavinia, which will be productive of glory as well as of

violence.³¹¹

At the conclusion of this pivotal monologue, Juno promises Lavinia war as a dowry and Bellona as *pronuba* immediately before summoning the Fury Allecto to provoke this war.³¹² This disturbing promise evokes the Trojan war, as befits the opening of the Iliadic half of the *Aeneid*, and connects to the imagery of marriage that highlights its role as a powerful, but dangerous, social institution in the Roman context. The torches with which Juno's speech closes are taken up to great effect in the work of the Fury Allecto, which is the subject of the next chapter.

311 The coming marriage of Lavinia is also the barely visible but strong current that propels the rest of the poem, and four of the seven remaining uses of *thalamus* refer specifically to Lavinia's marriage: Faunus warning Latinus (7.96-97), Latinus pondering (7.523), Amata delaying (7.387-388), and Turnus taunting the phantom Aeneas with which Juno draws him from the field of battle (10.649). The others refer to sexual crime (10.389), social alliance (9.593-4), and Venus and Vulcan, within the context of arming Aeneas (8.372).

312 This suggests a literal substitution fulfilling the promise of *Bellona manet te pronuba* (7.319) and thus seems to rely upon an element of interchangeability in Bellona and Allecto, which would fit with the affinity between Vergil's Furies and war that has already been discussed. Also note that *virgo* appears in line 318, referring to Lavinia and followed closely by Bellona, and again in 331, of Allecto. The use of *coniunx* (308, of Juno, and 314, of Lavinia) is thematically related and reminds us that Juno is particularly appropriate for a plot involving marriage.

Chapter 4: Allecto

Allecto was, in many ways, the starting point of this dissertation; her appearance and actions in Book 7 of the *Aeneid* demonstrate, extensively and with great poetic attention, key elements of the new sort of female demonic figure that is one of Vergil's striking innovations and central to any understanding of the Furies and similar figures in Latin epic. This innovation begins with the very fact that she is an individual, named, character who has her own agency and personality, and other distinctive and strikingly new features follow immediately within her individualized description: her changeable form, her power to instigate desire, and her association with war.³¹³

By this point in the poem, the reader has met a variety of female demonic figures, and I have discussed their relationships with each other, their antecedents, and the poem in the previous chapter. In the second half of the *Aeneid*, however, once Allecto and Juno have made sure that war has taken hold, it is the horrors of human battle that take center stage. With the intriguing exception of a brief mention of Tisiphone raging on the battlefield in Book 10, it is not until Jupiter's Dirae appear in Book 12 to initiate the final

313 This is, in fact, her first named appearance in Latin literature. The earliest evidence we have for the names of the three Furies Allecto, Megaera, and Tisiphone comes from labels (in Greek) on works by Asteas, a 4th century BCE vase painter active in Paestum. Tisiphone is named along with Megaera on a lekythos, Megaira and Allecto on an amphora, and Allecto alone on a hydria with two Furies depicted (*LIMC* v. 3, Erinys (Sarian), 389, cat. 64, 51, 88, respectively). Apollodorus follows Hesiod in the origins of the Furies (the drops of blood from the severed genitals of Ouranos that fell upon Earth), but also limits them to three and names them (1.1.4): οἱ δὲ Ωκεανοῦ χωρὶς ἐπιτίθενται, καὶ Κρόνος ἀποτεμὼν τὰ αἰδοῖα τοῦ πατρὸς εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀφίησεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν σταλαγμῶν τοῦ ῥέοντος αἵματος ἐρίνυες ἐγένοντο, Ἀληκτῶ Τισιφῶνη Μέγαιρα.

episode of the war that any of these monstrous figures are once again seen in action.³¹⁴ Furthermore, strong parallels between the monstrous sendings emphatically bracket the war that is the primary concern of the Iliadic second half of the poem; I will return to these parallels and their thematic significance after dealing with the Dirae in the next chapter, but highlight here the contrast with the demonic figures in the first half of the poem, who display far more variability in function, appearance, and associations.

Vergil clearly situates both Allecto and the Dirae within a larger family of related figures, but also, in the image of an Olympian god sending another deity to punish and terrify, activates the motif of divine punishing agents. This has significant overlap with the traditional role of the Furies, as discussed in the introduction, but the shift to having them deployed by another god is a crucial change. In contrast to the varied monsters of the first half of the poem, the Furies and Dirae who bracket the second half demonstrate their close kinship by a shared mother and the snakes with which she bound them, as well as the ability to terrify with their monstrous forms.³¹⁵ Their parallel episodes, however,

314 Cacus, the indigenous monster defeated by Hercules in Evander's aetiology (8.185-305) might be considered an exception, but he is a traditional monster who simply causes trouble in the vicinity of his own cave, as is emphasized by the fact that he is explicitly counted among Hercules' many monster conquests. Cacus does have an association with fire in common with the Furies, but even then there is a strong contrast between his fiery nature as son of Vulcan and the torches the Furies wield as weapons. There is an intriguing but rather tenuous possible point of contact in shared awareness of Etruscan myth. See Small 1982 for an analysis of Roman reworkings of the Etruscan legendary figure Cacus, who was, in his earliest appearance on a late 4th century BCE mirror, a young man with a lyre and youthful companion, seen with his attackers hidden in ambush.

315 The description of the Dirae as siblings of Megaera, all bound with snakes by their mother, Night, will be discussed more in the next chapter (*Dirae, / quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram / uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit / serpentum spiris ventosaque addidit alas*, 12.845-48). As discussed in the introduction, snakes are strongly associated with the earth and chthonic powers; in Etruscan iconography, they are used to mark denizens of the World Beyond, including not only demonic figures such as Charun and Vanth, but Persephone

also highlight a significant difference between Allecto and the Dirae: Allecto incites, and the Dirae paralyze. The power of incitement is shared with other female demonic figures in the *Aeneid*, but here I argue that Vergil's Furies have associations particular to them, namely marriage and domestic crimes.³¹⁶

Allecto is certainly not the only Vergilian figure who influences later depictions of the Furies and demonic figures, but she is by far the most influential, both in the specifics of her appearance and action and in the simple fact that she is summoned, appears, and acts as her own character. This chapter will thus examine in some detail the five acts, so to speak, of Allecto's time in the spotlight (her summoning, her interactions with Amata and Turnus, the hunt, and her dismissal), then discuss her significance, with particular attention to her innovative role as one who incites destructive desire.

Summoning

As discussed in the previous chapter, the first part of Book 7 features omens and divine reassurance for both the Trojans and the Latins; by the time Juno arrives on the scene, gifts have been exchanged, marriage promised, and peace announced. But these first steps toward the happy future foretold by Anchises in Book 6 are in fact the necessary prompt for the terrible war that the Sibyl revealed to Aeneas at the beginning of Book 6 (6.86-94):³¹⁷

herself, depicted with serpents rising from her hair in the Tomb of Orcus (Moltesen and Weber-Lehmann 1992, 1.48, p. 57).

316 The particularity of this association is underscored by the fact that it is only the Furies who have torches, which can represent both funerals and weddings.

317 See the end of the previous chapter for a discussion of the motif of marriage in Book 6 and

... bella, horrida bella,
et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra
defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno
usquam aberit, cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
quas gentis Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!
causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
externique iterum thalami.

... I see wars, horrible wars, and the Tiber foaming with much blood. You will not lack a Simois, nor a Xanthus, nor a Greek camp. Another Achilles has already been produced by Latium, and he too is born of a goddess. Nor will Juno ever fail to be inflicted on the Trojans until you, as a suppliant in your need, beseech as many cities and peoples of the Italians as possible! The cause of such great evil is another stranger as a bride for the Trojans and another foreign marriage bed.

Both war and marriage are required, and it is the wrath of Juno that connects the two.

Denied her right to punish those who offend, by the failure to destroy or divert Aeneas and the Trojans *en route*, she is determined to bring destruction to the fated marriage. In this condensed reprise of the origin story for the Trojan War, Juno makes the conjunction of wedding and war far more direct. Rather than Strife's golden apple that sowed the seeds of the Judgment of Paris and, consequently, war at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, Juno promises to stir up Acheron and provide Bellona, the goddess of war, as Lavinia's wedding attendant (7.312-319):³¹⁸

flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.
non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis,
atque immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx:
at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus,
at licet amborum populos excindere regum.

Juno's speech in Book 7.

318 Framing the threat in terms of marriage and war is an important point, but detailed attention to Juno's speech is beyond the scope of this work. Note, however, both her authority as goddess of marriage and the associations of Juno with war in Latin cult.

hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum:
sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo,
et Bellona manet te pronuba. ...

... if I cannot bend the gods above, I will stir up Acheron. It is not permitted to keep him from a Latin kingdom, and Lavinia remains his wife, unchangeable by fate – so be it! Nonetheless, it is permitted to drag out these matters and add a great many delays, and it is permitted to inflame the people of both kings. Let father and son in law come together with this price for their own relatives: You will be dowered with Trojan and Rutulian blood, maiden, and Bellona awaits you as your wedding attendant. ...

Detailed attention to Juno's speech is beyond the scope of this work, but the thematic importance of the way she frames her threat in terms of marriage and war seems to echo her religious roles, given her authority as goddess of marriage and the associations of Juno with war in Latin cult.³¹⁹ Later in this chapter I will discuss the ways in which Allecto's representation and action accord with those of both war and love deities; at this point I will simply highlight that the two domains are aligned in the image of Bellona as wedding attendant and that Allecto seems to step into this image as she fulfils Juno's promise.

After Juno's speech, it is the poet who introduces Allecto (7.323-329).³²⁰

Haec ubi dicta dedit, terras horrenda petivit;
luctificam Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum
infernisque ciet tenebris, cui tristia bella
iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi.
odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores
Tartarae monstrum: tot sese vertit in ora,

319 In the next line (7.323), Juno is herself called *horrenda*, terrifying, and I will return to this briefly in the conclusion to this chapter after discussing the Dirae who attend fierce (*saevus*) Jupiter (12.849).

320 It is worth emphasizing that everything happens very quickly once Juno enters the picture – her observation, speech, and summoning of Allecto all happen in 55 lines (7.286-341). This speed will go on to mark the actions of Allecto herself.

tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris.

When she had made this speech, terrifying Juno sought the earth; she summoned sorrow-making Allecto from the seat of the dread goddesses in the shadows of the underworld, Allecto, to whom grievous battles and anger and plots and harmful crimes are dear. Even her own father, Pluto, hates her; her Tartarean sisters hate the monster: so often does she change her appearance (such ferocious forms!), so often does she, black, sprout with snakes.

The first point to note is that when Juno does stir up Acheron, she does so not by calling on generic powers of the Underworld, but by summoning Allecto, who swoops up into the world very much her own creature. In addition to the startling use of the name Allecto, here for the first time in Latin literature, as noted above, this passage is full of innovations.

Even before her name is given, Allecto is called *luctifica* – she creates sorrow rather than avenging it. This is a significant inversion of the traditional Furies of Greek tragedy, and one that is supported by the list of her particular concerns that follows. The first of these is war, which is, as I have mentioned, a crucial development.³²¹ The rest (wrath, plots, harmful crimes) are more personal and call to mind those she might punish, but also, and more immediately, given what she is being called upon to do, the means by which she works (as is made explicit in Juno's speech to her). From her first introduction, then, Allecto has both martial and domestic associations, and this conjunction of the political and personal realms is a crucial element of both the *Aeneid* and the role of the Furies within it. In this particular instance, the adjective *luctifica*

321 This may be influenced by Etruscan funerary imagery, in which winged demonic figures occur regularly in the context of death, often on the battlefield.

encapsulates the juxtaposition:³²² she creates grief in this instance by bringing war, but she also uses grief to bring the war. Grief is an intimate and personal emotion, and, as we shall see, this is precisely the sort of emotion that Allecto uses in each her attacks.

The association of *luctus* with mourning, the grief particular to the death of a loved one, situates Vergil's Allecto within the Furies' traditional context of the home and family, but a familial grief is especially fitting at this point of the *Aeneid* because the coming war will be between peoples destined to be family. This context is emphasized by the conclusion of Juno's monologue (7.313-322), in which *gener atque socer* evokes the civil wars so fresh in the minds of Vergil's audience.³²³ Furthermore, Juno had specifically, and poignantly, addressed Lavinia, whose dowry will be blood and whom Bellona will escort to marriage, thus firmly placing this entire second half of the *Aeneid* in the context of family relationships, however bloody.

The domestic aspect of Allecto's power is a key part of Juno's speech to her, to which I shall turn shortly, but the ambivalent nature of her initial description as encapsulated in *luctifica* should be kept in mind. In this respect, the word is reminiscent of the Aeschylean coinage applied to Helen (νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς, *Ag.* 749), which, as I discussed in Chapter 1, is a likely influence on Vergil's image of a *communis Erinys* as a source of general destruction. Vergil's use of *luctifica* at this pivotal point in the poem suggests that Helen might also be a model for an inherently feminine destruction that

322 The adjective first appears in Cicero's translation of Aeschylus' *Prometheus* (or Accius', per Klotz, p. 254) (*TLL* 7.2. s.v.). The formation may be "typical ... of early tragedy" (Horsfall 2000, 226), but it also shows up frequently in epic.

323 The allusion is specifically to Catullus 29.24, where *socer generque* refers to Caesar and Pompey. Both the phrase and the pair come to be emblematic of the civil wars.

bridges the realms of the domestic and the martial and is here embodied so remarkably in Allecto.

The next phrase, *dirarum ab sede dearum*, recalls the dread goddesses in Book 4 and elsewhere, as well as Celaeno and the Harpies.³²⁴ It also recalls the crowded entryway to Hades seen in Book 6, and this image is reinforced by the next two lines: *tristia bella / iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia*. Here, grievous wars and anger and plots and harmful accusations are things particularly dear to Allecto, but they could almost be a reappearance of the Furies' neighbours in the Underworld (6.273-281):

vestibulum ante ipsum primisque 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.

Before the entrance itself and in the first gates of Orcus Grief and the vengeful Cares have their beds; both pale Diseases and grievous Old-age dwell there, and Fear and ill-advising Hunger and shameful Need, terrible shapes to see, and Death and Suffering; then Death's kin — Sleep and evil-minded Delights, and facing them in the doorway death-bearing War, and the iron chambers of the Eumenides and mad Discordia, her snaky hair bound with gory ribbons.

Prominence is given to Grief (*Luctus*), but War is also present (and *mortiferum*, more

324 Note that *dira* is used as an adjective 5 times in the Harpies episode, as well as modifying Celaeno again when she is mentioned at 3.713. It is not evident that the "Harpies are commonly identified with the Furies" (Williams 1962, p. 106), but he is right to consider the emphatic use of *dira*. Rather than search for possible equation with the Furies, I think it is more helpful, and accurate, to consider first what *dira* might signify about a category that includes the Vergilian Furies. The connection to the Harpies might be emphasized by the use of the word *sedes*, which is used of perches for birds as well as any creature's home.

straightforward kin to Allecto's *luctifica*), and both *mala mentis Gaudia* and *Discordia demens* could encompass the *iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia* here in Book 7. The *Curae*, who have taken on the traditional avenging role of the Furies in this Underworld portrait, are thematically important to Allecto's task as a whole and are especially visible in the *Amata* episode.³²⁵

A note of caution, however, is in order. I have already argued that one influence on Vergil's Furies is the band of personifications that accompany *Ares* in the *Iliad*, and the broader category of personifications is an important aspect of both their literary heritage and their reception, and the relationship between the Furies and the madness they create is a recurring theme.³²⁶ Nonetheless, Allecto is manifestly *not* a personification, but her own character, and she thus has much more in common with *Venus*, who is both an individual goddess and, in a way, the embodiment of sexual desire. This individuality is a fundamental part of Vergil's innovative Allecto, and it seems to be the very separation

325 Furthermore, Allecto's particular concern with these evils itself recalls *curae*, as might be emphasized by the idiomatic use of *cordi* to express that they are dear to her heart

326 See Horsfall (2000, 224) for a brief discussion with sources. Buchheit (1963, 102) takes her to be a personification of evil, but the opposition of rectitude and evil relies on a dichotomy that is false in this context, and one that is bound up with his conception of *Juno* and Allecto as powers fundamentally opposed to *imperium* and *Augustus*. Certainly Allecto is presented as inherently disruptive and destructive, but the power of destruction is dear to all gods and thus not intrinsically oppositional. Furthermore, Allecto's manifest joy in her work could rightly be called malice, but I cannot agree with Buchheit that she embodies it, as that suggests a limitation that is contrary to Vergil's presentation of Allecto and related figures. Her enthusiastic malice is a key innovation, but she is a far more rich character (and Vergil's whole category too rich a combination of mythic and literary models) to allow a simple personification, especially one that does not take into account the element of punishment, which suggests association with rightful authority. Finally, as I will discuss later, a more likely element of personification that might be in play is that of maddening desire. The role of anger is also an important part of the representations of the Furies and related figures, but it too will be discussed more fruitfully after the relevant scenes have been laid out. For now, I simply point out that *Juno's* characteristic wrath is here at a peak.

from anonymity that eventually allows space for personifications to appear as more fully fleshed out characters.³²⁷

Just as the individuality of Allecto is notable, so too is the emphasis Vergil gives her own family home and relationships – the home of the dread goddesses is mentioned right after her name in line 324 (*dirarum ab sede dearum*) and three lines later we learn that her father and sisters hate her (7.327-329):³²⁸

odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores
Tartareae monstrum: tot sese vertit in ora,
tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris.

Even her own father, Pluto, hates her; her Tartarean sisters hate the monster: she changes into so many faces (such ferocious forms!), she sprouts, black, with so many snakes.

This hatred, it seems to me, is a mark of power for a goddess whose role is to terrify and spread discord – if the king of the Underworld hates you, you are clearly doing a good job.³²⁹ This is the primary force of the detail, but it also has several other points of

327 I am thinking especially of Virtus in the *Thebaid*, but she is far from alone.

328 The exact relationship between the Furies, the *dae dirae* referred to here, and the *Dirae* in Book 12 is a longstanding and still unsettled question that I will address when discussing the *Dirae*, who are explicitly sisters of Megaera (*quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram / uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit / serpentum spiris ventosasque addidit alas*, 12.846-8). The clear impression, however, and arguably part of Vergil's point, is that there is a whole extended family of dread goddesses. This is further supported by the emphatic use of the adjective *dirus* in the Harpies episode, discussed in Chapter 2 and more fully in Appendix A.

329 Ares is a Homeric model for this familial hatred (*Il.* 5.890), and particularly apt here given Allecto's role as a sort of war goddess. Other partial parallels include the Gorgons in *Prometheus Bound*, who could serve as a model for (or relative of) the Vergilian Furies (πέλας δ' ἀδελφαὶ τῶνδε τρεῖς κατάπτεροι, / δρακοντόμαλλοι Γοργόνες βροτοστρυγεῖς, Aesch. *Pr.* 798-99), and the title characters of the *Eumenides*, of whom Apollo says: μισήματ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων (Aesch., *Eum.* 73). The superlative horror of the Harpies is described in similar terms, albeit without reference to hatred or families specifically (3.214-5): *tristius haud illis monstrum, nec saevior ulla / pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis*. Pluto (Hades) is not normally the father of the Erinyes, who predate him in the *Theogony*, but there are Orphic references to Pluto and Persephone as the parents of the Furies. (Αἰδῶ χθόνιαι, *HOph.* 69.8

interest. First, her family hates her *because* of her terrifying and changeable forms, and the power of her form is thus given a double emphasis, by position and its efficacy.³³⁰ Second, she is hated as a *monstrum* (*odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores / Tartareae monstrum*, 7.327-8). Finally, although her family's hate is most directly linked to her physical form, it is also connected to the concerns dear to Allecto in particular that are spelled out in the lines immediately preceding: grievous battles, anger, plots, and harmful crimes (*cui tristia bella / iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi*, 7.325-6). All of these aspects are of great importance to her characterization, so I will address them in turn.

Allecto's appearance is only gestured at here, but it is a powerful sketch, and the two most striking elements are her shapeshifting ability and the integration of snakes into her form. Snakes and blackness are traditionally associated with the Furies, as is appropriate for chthonic divinities, but the serpents are given an expanded role in the *Aeneid* and receive even more attention in representations of the Furies in later epic.³³¹ They also recall the serpentine imagery that, as Bernard Knox has shown, pervades Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, which adds resonance to Allecto's role here in Book 7. As Knox points

[Quandt 1955]; ἀγναὶ θυγατέρες μέγαλοιο Διὸς χθονίου / Φερσεφόνης τ', *HOrph.* 70.2-3 [Quandt 1955])

330 The power contained within her physical form is shown in action and with far more detail in the coming scenes with Amata and Turnus.

331 Horsfall (2000, 230, 231) points out the "agricultural metaphor" of *pullulat* and the "biological metaphors" used by Juno in both this speech and her preceding monologue. The use of *pullulo* is interesting as a relatively subtle reinforcement both of the imagery of fertility evoked by the focus on marriage, which in turn hearkens back to the *ferrei thalami* of the Furies in the Underworld, and, *via* its connection to *pullus*, possibly the developing avian imagery. Weber (1990, 211) suggests a relationship with the adjective *pullus*, dark. The monstrous image of Allecto sprouting snakes is also reminiscent of the Hydra.

out, “it is an ambivalent image. Besides suggesting the forces of destruction, it may also stand for rebirth And this connotation of the serpent is of the utmost importance for the second book of the *Aeneid*, which tells of the promise of renewal given in the throes of destruction; the death agonies of Troy are the birth-pangs of Rome.”³³² This is true in Latium, too, and the bloodied marriage that is Allecto’s task recapitulates such violent creation.

More generally, serpentine form is an attribute of monsters and children of Earth, and, as such, associated with opposition to Jupiter and the Olympians. The image of Night herself binding her children with coils of snakes in Book 12 (... *revinxit / serpentum spiris*, 12.847-8) might suggest that snakes are increasingly a marker of dark power, and in this scene that would underscore the opposition of Acheron and the gods above set up in Juno’s first speech.³³³ As soon becomes apparent, however, snakes distinguish not only Allecto’s appearance but her means of attack. This is a natural enough extension of the nature of snakes, but one that is nonetheless new; taken together, these developments are strikingly reminiscent of Etruscan funerary imagery, in which snakes consistently mark divine figures associated with death.³³⁴ It is also an important marker of her increased agency in comparison to earlier representations of Furies, and it

332 Knox 1950, 380.

333 It is also reminiscent of the Etruscan tomb painting that shows Persephone with snakes in her hair (Tomb of Orcus). The precise significance is uncertain (see [Krauskopf 1997 for an argument that these zoomorphic elements represent earlier forms of Etruscan deities), but the effect is of a crown of snakes, which suggests they were as representative as the rays of Helios, or the mural crown of Tyche, protectress of cities. As discussed elsewhere, snakes (or snaky limbs and wings) are emblematic of many inhabitants of the Etruscan Afterworld.

334 It has been suggested (Hostetler 2007) that Charun’s characteristic blue color represents the effects of the deadly bites of the snakes indigenous to Etruria.

allows her to be viewed as a smaller scale analogue to Jupiter who deploys the Dirae and Athena, who wields her snaky aegis as a weapon.

The shape-changing that is referred to in this initial description of Allecto (*tot sese vertit in ora, / tam saevae facies*, (7.328-9) is not a common trait in earlier representations of the Furies, but here, even before it is displayed in action, it is given significant emphasis.³³⁵ Furthermore, it is habitual, the appearances varied and fearsome, and this too seems to be a departure from mythic models. Allecto's skill also, however, takes the form of human disguise in the *Aeneid* and, as such, is more akin to the disguises donned by gods coming to advise mortals.³³⁶ When Allecto takes on the appearance of Juno's priestess Calybe before visiting Turnus (7.415-34), it is precisely to disguise her monstrous form(s) (*Allecto torvam faciem et furialia membra / exuit...*, 7.415-16), thus demonstrating that her ability to change her shape is a double-edged weapon.

Disguise is a recurring theme in the *Aeneid* and it is important to note that it is not used only by maleficent characters, nor only by agents of hostile gods. This suggests a

335 The closest parallel has the Furies appearing in various monstrous shapes to the hallucinating Orestes (Eur. *IT* 284-94), but there is a crucial difference between terrifying shapeshifting as means of attack and as symptom. The Pythia's description in the *Eumenides* is an interesting passage in this context; she describes the Furies as a negative space defined by the things they resemble but are not, and by she increases their horror and suggests that it is indescribable *because* it is in flux or undetermined (θαυμαστός λόχος / εὔδει γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἦμενος — / οὔτοι γυναικας, ἀλλὰ Γοργόνας λέγω / οὐδ' αὖτε Γοργείοισιν εἰκάσω τύποις. εἶδόν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένης / δεῖπνον φερούσας ἄπτεροί γε μὴν ἰδεῖν / αὐται, μέλαιναι δ', εἰς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι, Aesch., *Eum.* 46-52.)

336 Such descriptions in earlier Greek sources are much more straightforward. Sometimes it seems to be nothing more than a shift to human appearance that is required in order to be visible to humans, but even when the intent is persuasive or deceptive, as with Athena as Mentor in the *Odyssey*, very little attention is given to the physicality of the disguise. As for models of shape-shifting in a broader sense, Zeus is the obvious model, and Dionysus, Thetis, and Proteus also demonstrate the ability. In all cases that I am aware of, however, the shift is an immediate means to an end with no particular attention given to describing the forms.

possible point of deeper connection with the reference to Allecto as a *monstrum* that introduces the description: *monstra* are, at root, things or events that reveal something, and they can be frightening wonders even when the message is positive, as befits a form of divine communication.³³⁷ This is not the place to discuss all thirty-one appearances of the word *monstrum* in the *Aeneid*, but the usage is fairly evenly distributed between the more mundane meaning of ‘monster’ and the religious meaning of ‘sign’.³³⁸ These signs

337 The relevance of Circe to the category of the female demonic will be discussed in the chapter on Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, but I will here mention a slight but suggestive parallel at the beginning of *Aeneid* 7 that might support the idea that mutability, even more now than hybridity, is a key part of the significance of *monstrum*. After completing the funeral rites for his nurse Caieta at the very beginning of Book 7, Aeneas and his fleet sail past Circe’s island, which prompts Neptune to provide a favorable wind so that the Trojans not be brought to the dread shore and endure such *monstra* (*quae ne monstra pii paterentur talia Troes / delati in portus neu litora dira subirent, / Neptunus ventis implevit vela secundis*, 7.21-23). Horsfall (2000, 60) argues that *monstra* cannot refer simply to the beasts, but “is virtually ‘metamorphoses,’” citing Boethius’ *sola mens stabilis super / monstra, quae patitur, gemit* (*Cons. 4 carm. 3.27f.*). (It is less clear why he sees a clear contrast with the “real threat of 3.583f. (*immania monstra / perferimus*);” volcanic activity can be a real threat, obviously, but the Trojan fear is grounded in the unknown nature of the sounds, as the rest of the sentence makes clear: *nec quae sonitum det causa videmus*, 3.584.) I also note that the brief description of the creatures on Circe’s island has some verbal similarity with the Allecto episode: the roars of the lions are wrathful (*gemitus iraeque leonum*, 15), boars and bears rage and wolves howl (*saevire, ululare*, 18), and Circe is a *dea saeva* (19).

338 Regarding the full list of uses of *monstrum* in the *Aeneid*, it is worth pointing out that Books 3 and 7 have the highest concentration (6 and 7, respectively), with Book 8 next with 4. In order, the passages are 2.171 (in Sinon’s speech, referring to the clear signs of Minerva’s displeasure), 2.245 (the Trojan Horse), 2.680 (Iulus and the flame); 3.26 (the blood dripping from the roots at the beginning of the Polydorus episode), 3.59 (*monstra deum* referring to the whole episode reported by Aeneas to his father and the other Trojans), 3.214 (in the list of (hypothetical and unnamed) horrors from the Underworld that the Harpies exceed in awfulness), 3.307 (Aeneas and his men are the portents that terrify Andromache, *magnis exterrita monstris*), 3.583 (of the volcanic noises of Aetna that disturb the Trojans), 3.658 (describing Polyphemus, *monstrum horrendum*); 4.181 (*monstrum horrendum* again, here referring to Fama); 5.523 (*magnoque futurum / augurio monstrum*; the precise meaning of the phrase here is debated, but it refers to the omen of Acestes’ arrow), 5.659 (*tum vero attonita monstris actaeque furore*, referring to the rainbow Iris leaves in departure, and possibly her deceptive appearance in the first place, which is discussed in Ch. 3), 5.849 (in Palinurus’ response to Sleep disguised as Phorbas – an interesting parallel discussed below); 6.285 (*variarum monstra ferarum* in the entry to the halls of Dis), 6.729 (in Anchises’ response to

in turn range from the auspicious white sow (8.81), to the minatory and gory roots of the Polydorus episode (3.26, 3.59), to those that are ambiguous or deceptive, such as the Trojan Horse (2.245), Acestes' arrow (5.523), or Juturna's false omen (12.246). In fact, to state the obvious, the strangeness or even horror seems to be a necessary commonality; *monstra* as divine messages must deviate from the norms of reality in order to catch human attention, which is a requirement for further communication. Vergil's innovation is the increased attention to the two as one in the *Aeneid*, as well as an emphasis on mutability, which, unlike hybridity, had not traditionally been a notable characteristic of monsters.³³⁹

One passage that is worth particular attention here occurs at 5.849, in Palinurus's

Aeneas' quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?, referring to sea monsters); 7.21 (the *monstra...talìa* of Circe's island, discussed elsewhere), 7.81 (the disturbing omens that send Latinus to the oracle of Faunus), 7.270 (Latinus referring to the omens that forbid a local marriage for Lavinia, so again the technical religious meaning), 7.328 (Allecto, in the passage under discussion), 7.348 (referring to the snake with which Allecto attacks Amata, discussed below), 7.376 (*tum vero infelix ingentibus excita monstis*; still of Amata's arousal/infection, though a more precise referent is not entirely clear), 7.780 (in the inset myth about Hippolytus, referring to sea creatures again, who frightened the horses that are thus banned, as a species, from Trivia's sacred spaces, and the role of fear is worth further consideration here); 8.81 (*mirabile monstrum*, referring to the auspicious omen of the sow), 8.198 (referring to Cacus, *huic monstro Volcanus erat pater*), 8.289 (*prima novercae / monstra* killed by Hercules), 8.698 (this reference to the Egyptian gods on the Shield of Aeneas, *omnigenumque deum monstra*, seems to encompass elements of both meanings); 9.120 (*mirabile monstrum*, of the ships resurfacing as nymphs), 9.128 (Turnus referring to the transformation, but misunderstanding the intent of the *monstra*); 10.637 (another *mirabile monstrum*, here referring to the facsimile of Aeneas that Juno created to lure Turnus to safety); 12.246 (*turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit*, of Juturna's false omen, discussed briefly below), 12.874 (*talin possum me opponere monstro?*, referring to the Dira, discussed in the next section).

339 I will discuss the larger category of monster elsewhere, and how the Furies do and, more importantly, do not fit within it, but Gilmore, for example, points out that monsters are distinguished by strange mixtures, their tendency to eat humans, and "bigness, physical grotesqueness, and malice" (2003, 7).

response to Sleep, who is disguised as Phorbas (5.848-51):³⁴⁰

‘mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos
ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?
Aenean credam (quid enim?) fallacibus auris
et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?’

Do you bid me to ignore the placid face of the sea and the quiet waves?
To trust this monster? Should I entrust Aeneas to the lying winds (for
what?) – I who have so often been deceived by the tricks of a calm sky?

The word *monstrum* is clearly referring to the sea itself here, but that raises interesting questions about the range and significance of *monstrum* in the *Aeneid*. Williams says that “the word in this usage conveys the idea of a vast and supernatural agent of evil,” but it is not clear how he sees that applying to the sea, nor does it fit equally all the examples he gives (the Trojan Horse, Harpies, Polyphemus, Fama, and Cacus).³⁴¹ Conington reasonably comments that “*monstrum* is apparently used of the sea to express its strange and noxious qualities, much as we should use ‘monster,’ but Nettleship’s comment seems more on point: “Or does ‘*monstro*’ mean ‘sign,’ the sign (a fallacious one) being the present calm of the sea?”³⁴² I would add that the sea is notoriously changeable, which

340 Somnus is an exception to the pattern of female agents of disguise and disruption in the *Aeneid*. Cupid is, I think, the only other, but he does not (attempt to) persuade with speech. In both cases, they are also distinguished by being the embodiment of their effect; there is no question of Cupid causing sleep or vice versa, and this is a striking contrast to the versatility of Allecto and the other female demonic figures. Both Cupid and Somnus do, however, fit with the developing sense of an intermediary class of gods that work on or among humans at the behest of more powerful and remote gods. This is certainly not to suggest that the Olympians do not involve themselves in the *Aeneid*, as Juno, Venus, and Jupiter himself all do, but there is a new emphasis on a different sort or level of divinity whose task is to work on humans directly, whether by punishment, persuasion, terror, or advice. This is quite evident in Statius, and the distance of the Olympian gods is central question in scholarship on the *Thebaid*.

341 Williams, 1981 (1960), 205.

342 Conington-Nettleship v. 2, 419.

allows the use of *monstrum* in this passage to bridge both senses of the word, as indeed it does with *Allecto*.

The use of *monstrum* in this introduction to *Allecto* could serve another purpose by reinforcing a connection between Juno and monsters. Just over 20 lines earlier, Juno had listed her failed attempts to avenge herself on the Trojans, in aggrieved contrast to the successful attempts by Mars and Diana, and specified: *quid Syrtes aut Scylla mihi, quid vasta Charybdis / profuit? optato conduntur Thybridis alveo / securi pelagi atque mei* (“What good was Syrtes or Scylla to me, what use was overwhelming Charybdis? They are settled in the longed for bed of the Tiber, safe from both the sea and from me,” 7.302-304). Juno’s association with the sea, a notable source of mutability and the monstrous, is set up by the pairing *pelagi atque mei* in line 304 and recalls her initial action in the *Aeneid*: commanding a storm from Aeolus.³⁴³ Two of these three failed attempts are monsters, and Juno’s phrasing allows Syrtes to be read as another monstrous agent, akin to the Clashing Rocks.³⁴⁴

The last two uses of the word *monstrum* in the *Aeneid* involve Juturna: the first refers to the deceptive omen she sends (*turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit*, 12.246), and the second, which appears in her speech of retreat, refers to the Dira, against

343 *Aen.* 1.50-80. Juno’s role in summoning the storm has received significant scholarly attention (e.g. Feeney 1991, Johnson 1976, Otis 1964, Pöschl 1962; I have some discussion of this in Chapter 1 in discussing the role of *furor*), and the opening of the poem is clearly recalled by this second, and more direct, summoning that opens the second half. Horsfall 2000 rightly points to a surprising lack of attention to Juno’s speech (207, with echoes of the initial storm *ad loc.* in the following pages), but space unfortunately precludes devoting sufficient attention here to Juno’s role.

344 On Hera’s association with monsters, see Clay 1993, 330-331. The reference to Circe at the beginning of Book 7, as discussed briefly above, is also an interesting parallel to this aspect of Juno – not only are they both *saeva*, their power is connected with the monstrous.

whom she is no match (*talim possum me opponere monstro?*, 12.874). I will return to the second passage when I discuss the Dirae, but the first merits some discussion here, as the context of the passage reveals significant commonality between Juturna and the demonic figures under examination.³⁴⁵ When Juno sees Turnus setting out for single combat with Aeneas, outmatched, she orders his sister Juturna to help him, if she dares (*tu pro germano si quid praesentius audes, / perge*, 12.152-3). This is, to be sure, much more restrained than her approach to Allecto, but she does go on, when Juturna's response is wordless lament, to suggest possible means of help and to explicitly authorize her actions (12.156-160):

‘non lacrimis hoc tempus’ ait Saturnia Iuno:
 ‘accelera et fratrem, si quis modus, eripe morti;
 aut tu bella cie conceptumque excute foedus.
 auctor ego audendi.’ sic exhortata reliquit
 incertam et tristi turbatam vulnere mentis.

“This is not the time for tears,” said Saturnian Juno. Hurry and, if there is any way, snatch your brother from death: or yourself stir up battle and shake off the declared peace. I will be the authority for your daring.” Having urged her thus, she left Juturna uncertain and disturbed by the grievous wound to her mind.

The imagery of the phrase *conceptumque excute foedus* does not translate well, but it is a strong verbal echo of Juno's speech to Allecto: *fecundum concute pectus, / dissice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli* (“Shatter the overflowing heart, break up the

³⁴⁵ Tarrant (2012, 145-6) and Nicoll (2001, 191-6) point out the strong similarities to the role Iris in Book 5, but not to Allecto, although Tarrant (2012, 149) does point out the parallel of *serit*, discussed briefly below. I approached the connection between these scenes from a different direction than Nicoll, who sees them as part of the narrative build up to the sacrificial death of Turnus, nor do I see the same connections as he does, though possibly because he links both to Turnus rather than to each other, but the significance of these episodes to the *Aeneid* is worth further consideration.

settled peace, sow the accusations of war, 7.338-9). The primary meaning of *excutere* is to shake out or off, but it can also be used more neutrally, like *spargere* or *effundere*, which offers a subsidiary connection with Juno's command, but the image of sowing is taken up explicitly when Juturna acts on Juno's exhortation and sows varied rumors (*rumoresque serit varios*, 12.228).³⁴⁶

Juturna spreads this inflammatory talk while mingling in disguise among the disgruntled Rutulian men (12.222-37), and both aspects of her deception echo Allecto's attack on Turnus. That episode is discussed later in this chapter, but I will note now that Juturna's disguise as Camers, an old and virtuous man, recalls Allecto's disguise as Calybe, the aged priestess of Juno.³⁴⁷ Juturna's persuasive speech is more effective than Allecto's, but she nonetheless goes on, after spreading her rumors (*rumoresque serit varios*, 12.228), to disturb the men (as she was disturbed: *turbata, turbavit*) with a deceptive omen (12.244-6).³⁴⁸

his aliud maius Iuturna adiungit et alto

346 *TLL* s.v. I.B.1.a. Tarrant does point out the latter similarity, saying (2012, 149): "the metaphor from sowing seed is old and widespread in both Greek and Latin, but a specific echo of 7.339 (Juno to Allecto) *sere crimina belli* is very likely, given the similarity of context. Macrobius (*Sat.* 6.1.33) alleged that V. had borrowed the phrase from 'Furius' (identified as Furius Antias by C-N, as Furius Bibaculus by Courtney (1993) 196) *rumoresque serunt varios et multa requirunt*."

347 Juturna's disguise is not given the same attention as Allecto's: *formam adsimulata Camerti*, 12.224, as opposed to the six lines describing Allecto taking the form of Calybe (7.415-420). Nicoll (2001, 192) points out verbal similarities not only between Camers and Beroe, but between Juturna and Iris: "So too Virgil remarks in similar phraseology on the aptitude for the task of each of Juno's agents. Iris is *haud ignara nocendi* (5.618) and Juturna is *haud nescia rerum* (12.227)." I have pointed out the similarity between Iris and Allecto in the previous chapter, but this further echo suggests that Allecto is in fact a model for any feminine agent of discord and deception. I find it surprising that this goes unremarked even by those pointing out the similarities between Iris and Juturna.

348 The subject of *turbavit* is technically *ullum* ('any [sign]'), but the point stands.

dat signum caelo, quo non praesentius ullum
turbavit mentes Italas monstroque fefellit.

To these things Juturna added something greater and gave a sign in the high heavens, more effective than any that had disturbed the minds of the Italians and deceived with an omen.

The parallel action in the Allecto episode is the sounding of the trumpet as a battle signal (7.511-15, discussed below), but the nature of Juturna's *monstrum* as both misleading and sent by a lesser deity (with greater authority implied, as here, or explicitly stated) recalls Celaeno's prophecy to the Trojans, and, more generally, the deceptive potential of divine communication.³⁴⁹ I have discussed the Juturna episode at some length because the condensed reprise of several key elements in the Allecto episode serves to emphasize the collocation of deception, femininity, and divine communication that is a notable feature of Vergil's female demonic figures; I will now return to the consideration of Allecto herself.

As already mentioned, it is in keeping with both the traditional associations of the Furies and their developments in the *Aeneid* that they are not a united assault on crimes against the family, but themselves part of a family divided by hate. Nonetheless, one might find it surprising that Allecto is hated specifically as a *monstrum* since the

³⁴⁹ Venus's interpretation of the swans might be worth consideration as well (1.393-400), although one should note that Venus is not depicted as sending an omen, simply reporting and interpreting one, and the crucial element, Jupiter's eagle, seems to be no longer visible. Tarrant also points out this parallel ("the most significant intertext," 2012, 152), but seems to take it as a more straightforward report of a complete omen. In any case, Venus is disguised and deceptive in that episode, and the omens provide another point of similarity between the deceptive agent(s) of love and discord. The mention of rumors suggests another *monstrum*, Fama; her appearance as a monster in Book 4 is discussed in the previous chapter, and in the conclusion I will address her significance in relationship with the persuasive and deceptive speech used by Allecto, Iris, Celaeno, and others.

Underworld is full of monsters.³⁵⁰ The specification not only adds emphasis to their hatred, as discussed above, but also seems to highlight the double meaning of *monstrum* that is at work throughout the *Aeneid*: Allecto is sent to enact divine anger, and her physical strangeness and horror are emphasized. Unlike more straightforward signs, however, there is no possibility of human response or correction; by narrative placement and initial description, Allecto is a portent of war in her own right, which will become even more clear over the course of her work.

Allecto is summoned as an embodiment of the Underworld (*Acheronta movebo*, 7.312), but she is also distinguished by, and hated for, her particular delights: grim wars, wrath, treachery, and harmful misdeeds (or accusations), and it seems that it is precisely her delight that sets her apart.³⁵¹ In this striking juxtaposition of individual traits and a purely destructive power of the Underworld, Allecto embodies a paradox of Vergil's

350 Horsfall (2000, 229) cites Cicero's list of *monstra* (ND 3.44) and says: "the term has spread far beyond its origin in the language of portents." Indeed it has, but Allecto is in fact a portent of war, as discussed. The list itself, which contains the Parcae but not the Furies, is interesting in its own right: *Amor, Dolus, Morbus, Labor, Invidentia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebrae, Miseria, Querella, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcae, Hesperides, Somnia, quos omnis Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt*. Somehow this image of an extended family of monsters in the Underworld, along with the branch residing on Olympus, reinforces the image of the human world of the *Aeneid* as completely surrounded by dangerous and oftentimes terrifying *monstra*. No wonder Aeneas is so often stupefied.

351 On the precise meaning of *crimina noxia*, Horsfall (2000, 228) is noncommittal. He agrees with Thome that *crimen* can mean 'crime' in Vergil and says: "After *irae* and *insidiae* mere 'accusations' would come as an unwelcome diminutio, while 'criminal acts' are actually intensification." If we take *crimen* as 'accusation' or 'charge', however, the evils dear to Allecto have a decidedly personal aspect, and 'pernicious,' a definition of *noxia* suggested by Horsfall, is perhaps even more applicable to accusations than to crimes. Furthermore, it suits the idea of secrecy activated by treachery, as well as the suggestion of disguise in Allecto's changing forms, and is particularly suited to the sneakiness of her activities in Latium. Both stealth and a domestic sphere of influence are made more explicit in Juno's speech, as discussed below.

portrayal of the Furies throughout the *Aeneid*: they are at once far more individual and far more generalized than in earlier sources. This paradox is connected, I suggest, to the mutability of the monstrous that she emphasizes, and the connected, and equally mutable, power of of the desire that she provokes.

Juno's speech to Allecto reiterates both the multiplicity of the Fury's power and the domestic context of its deployment, and the phrase *virgo sata Nocte* (7.331) draws attention to Allecto's female nature in a way that is appropriate to both (7.330-340).³⁵²

quam Iuno his acuit verbis ac talia fatur:
'hunc mihi da proprium, virgo sata Nocte, laborem,
hanc operam, ne noster honos infractave cedat
fama loco, neu conubiis ambire Latinum
Aeneadae possint Italosve obsidere finis.
tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres
atque odiis versare domos, tu verbera tectis
funereasque inferre faces, tibi nomina mille,
mille nocendi artes. fecundum concute pectus,
dissice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli;
arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus.'

Juno spurred her on with these words and spoke thus: "Grant me, o virgin daughter of Night, this work that is proper to you, this service, that neither my honor nor unbroken fame disappear from this place, and that the Aeneadae are not able to cajole Latinus with weddings nor to take possession of Italian territory. You can provoke brothers united in affection into battles and overturn households with hatreds, you can bring whips and funeral torches into homes, you have a thousand names and a thousand tricks for harming. Shatter the overflowing heart, break up the settled peace, sow the accusations of war; let youth all at once desire and

352 This is also true of the Harpies, whose appearance combines that of human maiden and bird (*virginei volucrum vultus*, 3.216), and the Sibyl (addressed as *virgo* by Aeneas as he catches sight of Tartarus, 6.560), which suggests an association of virgin goddesses with dire things. This might be related to the fact that these divine virgins are outside the normal family and social structure in which women are safely contained and controlled, rather like the Vestals, whose role in Rome was both central and potentially troublesome. One might also consider the more emphatically chthonic role of Diana vis-à-vis Artemis, including her identification with Hecate, as another aspect of the cultural context that supports Vergil's Furies.

summon and snatch up arms.”

The first description of Allecto presents a goddess whose destruction and disruption are not bound to a particular crime, but Juno’s speech to Allecto does begin with a reference to an area of particular responsibility, the maintenance and defence of honor: “Grant me, o virgin daughter of Night, this work that is proper to you, this service, that neither my honor nor unbroken fame disappear from this place...” (*hunc mihi da proprium, virgo sata Nocte, laborem, / hanc operam, ne noster honos infractave cedat / fama loco*, 7.331-3). Juno’s statement evokes the Furies of Homer, who are usually concerned with maintaining proper familial relationships and respect for oaths and honor, but it does so in a way that emphasizes Allecto’s individual role, which is borne out as she goes on to specify the powers of the Fury.³⁵³ Just as in the preceding description, and in the same order, these are war, domestic strife, and monstrous mutability. Her war is specifically fraternal civil war, and she overturns homes with hatred, which is precisely what the

353 Perhaps particularly relevant in that it concerns divine honor, Iris reminds Poseidon, when he objects to Zeus’ command that he leave the field of battle, that the Erinyes always attend to the elder (οἴσθ’ ὡς πρεσβυτέροισιν Ἐρινύες αἰὲν ἔπονται, *Il.* 15.204). One example of the Furies as enforcers of oaths comes in Agamemnon’s oath that Briseis is unsullied, as he swears by Earth, Helios, and the Furies (Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, αἴ θ’ ὑπὸ γαῖαν / ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, *Il.* 19.259). One might also consider the possible relevance of *Il.* 21.412, where Athena lays out Ares and laughingly tells him that he thus satisfies (or pays) his mother’s Erinyes (οὕτω κεν τῆς μητρὸς ἐρινύας ἐξαποτίνοις, / ἦ τοι χωομένη κακὰ μῆδετα); like the Furies invoked against Phoenix by his father, whose wife Phoenix had slept with (*Il.* 9.454), or those Telemachus imagines Penelope sending if he expelled her from her home (*Od.* 2.135, ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς κακὰ πείσομαι, ἄλλα δὲ δαίμων / δώσει, ἐπεὶ μήτηρ στυγεράς ἀρήσειτ’ ἐρινῦς / οἴκου ἀπερχομένη: νέμεσις δέ μοι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων / ἔσσειται, and note the intriguing use of δαίμων), Hera’s Furies in this passage are not tied to shed blood, but to dishonor and broken agreements. (Compare the Furies of Oedipus’ mother (μητρὸς Ἐρινύες, *Od.* 11.280) and Meleager’s (*Il.* 9.572, τῆς δ’ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινῦς / ἔκλυεν ἐξ Ἐρέβεσφιν ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα, though note that the Erinys answers Althaea’s prayer to Hades and Persephone) – in both cases, death is involved.

Furies avenge in Greek tragedy and epic. She can bring whips and funeral torches into homes, and these torches strongly suggest an inversion of marriage imagery, especially when her task is to obstruct marriage – Juno wants the wedding torches turned into funeral torches, just as she promised that Lavinia would have Bellona as a wedding attendant. Finally, she has a thousand tricks for harm and a thousand names, which recalls the many horrible forms hated by her family and alludes, I suggest, to the element of disguise and deception that is characteristic of her work.³⁵⁴

The domestic context of Allecto's war is also set up by the pairing of weddings and possession of territory in the statement of her task: "that the Aeneadae are not able to cajole Latinus with weddings nor to take possession of Italian territory," (*neu conubiis ambire Latinum / Aeneadae possint Italosve obsidere finis*, 7.333-4). Juno's final command, then, seems to reprise the juxtaposition of marriage and war with which she threatened Lavinia, as well as the multivalent imagery of the torches, as Allecto is one who brings both war and the desire for it.³⁵⁵ First, the *fecundum pectus* that I have translated as 'overflowing heart' is literally fertile and thus reinforces the imagery of marriage, and, second, the closing image of youth desiring and snatching up arms suggests that they are doing so instead of desiring and snatching up wives and thus

354 The many names can also, as Fordyce (1977, 126) points out, be taken as a mark of divine power, as a reference to many specific titles and attributes: "the special title by which a deity is addressed represents a particular attribute of power: hence the common use of πολώνυμος as an honorific epithet of a god."

355 The association of Allecto and Bellona is reinforced by the use of *virgo*, which appears in line 318, referring to Lavinia and followed closely by Bellona's name, and again in 331, of Allecto. The use of *coniunx* (at 308, referring to Juno, and 314, to Lavinia) is thematically related and reminds us that Juno is particularly appropriate for a plot involving marriage.

suggests a literal substitution that would fulfil Juno's promise.³⁵⁶

Amata

Throughout this first introduction, Allecto is presented as one who provokes violence rather than punishing it, and that trait will be developed as she goes to work. As soon as Juno has finished her speech, and with the suddenness that marks much of the action in the whole episode, Allecto rushes off to her first victim, Amata. This is not an obvious initial move for instigating war, but it does take up the image of an overflowing heart, for Amata is (over)full of love for Turnus. It is fitting, then, that the focus is on desire rather than war in this first stage of Allecto's plan, but that choice also seems to demonstrate that desire is the medium with which she will create war. (7.341-58).³⁵⁷

Exim Gorgoneis Allecto infecta venenis
principio Latium et Laurentis tecta tyranni
celsa petit, tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae,
quam super adventu Teucrum Turnique hymenaeis
femineae ardentem curaeque iraeque coquebant.
huic dea caeruleis unum de crinibus anguem
conicit, inque sinum praecordia ad intima subdit,
quo furibunda domum monstro permisceat omnem.
ille inter vestis et levia pectora lapsus
volvitur attactu nullo, fallitque furem
vipeream inspirans animam; fit tortile collo

356 It is also reminiscent of commands in epithalamia, such as Catul. 61.114 (*tollite, <o> pueri, faces*). The phrase *fecundum pectus* might also evoke the punishment in a marital context seen in Book 6, since the only other appearance of *fecundus* in the *Aeneid* is used to describe Tityos' viscera at 6.598.

357 This scene is echoed in Book 8 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* when Famine breathes herself into Erysichthon (*geminis amplectitur ulnis / seque viro inspirat facesque et pectus et ora / adflat et in vacuis spargit ieiunia venis*, 8.818-20). There is also some similarity in context, as Famine is obeying an order from Ceres, sent *via* an oread, but Ceres' purpose is precisely to punish Erysichthon for his offense; Juno's purpose is likewise punishment, but Amata is a tool that Allecto will use to effect her larger scale destruction.

aurum ingens coluber, fit longae taenia vittae
innectitque comas et membris lubricus errat.
ac dum prima lues udo sublapsa veneno
pertemptat sensus atque ossibus implicat ignem
necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam,
mollius et solito matrum de more locuta est,
multa super natae lacrimans Phrygiisque hymenaeis:

From there Allecto, infused with Gorgonean venom, first sought Latium and the high halls of the Laurentian king, and beset the quiet door of Amata, whom feminine cares and angers made simmer, aflame, over the Trojan approach and Turnus's wedding. Into her the dark goddess thrust one of the serpents from her hair; she implanted it in her breast, towards the deepest regions of her heart, so that she, maddened by the monster, would throw the whole house into disorder. The snake slips between her clothing and soft breast and slithers without touching them; it deceives the raging woman as it breathes its snaky breath into her. The immense snake becomes twined gold around her neck, it becomes the long ribbons of her headband and weaves through her hair; slippery, it glides over her limbs. Even as the first contagion, slipped in with the moist poison, attacked her senses and struck fire in her bones, her mind did not yet perceive the flame that filled her breast; she spoke softly and as mothers are wont to do, crying many tears over her daughter's Trojan wedding.

In a development of the snake motif, Allecto is described as infused with Gorgonean venom. The emphasis given to venom and its power highlights a new element with significant consequences – specifically, the idea of a type of contagion that requires contact but that then spreads unstoppably, hidden within the victim. In this respect, there is substantial overlap with the fire imagery that is so often used in erotic contexts and which recurs, as we shall see, in Allecto's work.³⁵⁸ Gorgons will be discussed in their

³⁵⁸ It may be significant that *lues* (7.354) also appears at 3.139, where it refers to the plague that attacked the Trojans on Crete, immediately prior to the scene with the Penates, which I discussed in the Harpies chapter. This also recalls the fiery imagery of the plague in the *Georgics*, which, as Nappa 2005 has shown, is connected to the power of *amor* and its potential for destruction, if unchecked, and both creation and victory, if managed well (115-159 for full treatment; 158-9, concise summation and relation to possible message for Octavian).

own right in the chapter on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, but here their juxtaposition of monstrous and sexual sets the tone of the whole scene. A similar ambiguity occurs in *venenis*, which can be poison, but also a magical potion, with potential erotic applications.³⁵⁹

In this first scene, though, Amata herself is already simmering and aflame with feminine cares and anger. The specific mention of Turnus' marriage highlights both her inappropriate love and makes clear what part of Allecto's work is being dealt with first; the setting of the scene in her own marriage bed further emphasizes this, while adding, perhaps, a bit of wry humor. In a very real sense, Amata is already poisoned by love when Allecto arrives, and the parallels with Dido, poisoned by a disguised Cupid, underscore this element.³⁶⁰ Most directly relevant here are passages at 1.688, where Venus tells Cupid to breathe a hidden fire into Dido and deceive her with venom (*occultum inspire ignem fallasque veneno*) and 4.1-2 (*At regina gravi iam dudum saucia cura / vulnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni*).³⁶¹ The association of the Furies with the domain of marriage has already been discussed, as have the clear similarities in mode of action between female demonic figures and divinities of love, but this passage brings those two elements together quite forcefully and then lingers on the resulting image,

359 This is discussed in the chapter on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which Tisiphone is portrayed as concocting her own poison, with echoes of witches and love potions.

360 See the previous chapter for discussion of the effects of Love on Dido and general similarities in action displayed by Venus and, especially, Cupid.

361 The parallels of the Venus and Cupid passage extend further, as he is to insinuate himself into Dido's lap and affections much like the snake insinuates itself into Amata (1.683-88): *tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam / falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue uultus, / ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido / regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum, / cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet, / occultum inspire ignem fallasque ueneno.'*

which itself might be seen as an instance of monstrous hybridity.

Allecto does not speak to her victim, but immediately, and rather matter-of-factly, plucks one of the snakes from her hair and plants it within Amata's breast. The very compressed action makes it difficult to tell the exact setting of this scene, which reinforces the almost dreamlike quality of the suddenness in the summoning scene. Amata's lack of awareness and the silence of her threshold suggest that she was asleep but fretful; the fact that she speaks, first softly to herself and then to Latinus, suggest that she is lying awake. In either case, Amata and her snake seem to be invisible, and, once set loose upon Amata, the snake disguises itself as part of her clothing and even her body. I have already mentioned that Juno left the choice of victims and means of attack to her agent, and now Allecto makes Amata into her own agent and the means of enacting her own power: in line 336, Juno specified that Allecto was capable of overturning households (*versare domos*); here the Fury thrusts a snake into Amata in order to have her human victim, maddened, throw the whole house into disorder (*quo furibunda domum monstro permisceat omnem*, 7.348).³⁶²

The snake has poison, but it is transmitted by breath rather than a swift and violent strike.³⁶³ In fact, all of its action is characterized by insinuation and deception rather than violence. Not only that, but the snake's action (and Amata's response) are described in strikingly sexual terms. This is set up from the very beginning of the scene

362 As Horsfall (2000, 243) points out, *furibunda* is used only once elsewhere in Vergil, and there to refer to Dido as she ascends her funeral pyre (4.646).

363 Poisonous breath is not itself surprising, but snakes are usually characterized by (and used to characterize) sudden and surprising attacks, and that highlights the strangely slow and lingering attack in this case.

by the imagery of burning, the *curae*, and the very name Amata, which of course means ‘beloved.’ Allecto puts the snake within the folds of Amata’s clothing, her *sinus*; this is a common way of referring to bosom or lap that is not inherently sexual, but the snake goes on to slip between her clothing and soft breast, and here the use of the more directly physical *pectus* and the specification of softness draw attention to the intimate and physical nature of the snake’s attack (7.349-351):

ille inter vestis et levia pectora lapsus
volvitur attactu nullo, fallitque furentem
vipeream inspirans animam; ...

The snake slips between her clothing and soft breast and slithers without touching them; it deceives the raging woman as it breathes its snaky breath into her.

Furthermore, *volvitur* (7.350), which refers to a circling motion and is regularly used for the sinuous movement of snakes, nonetheless reinforces the suggestion of caresses, especially when it is followed by the sinister kiss of shared breath in the following line (7.351).³⁶⁴ In these same lines we also see that Amata is already raging, though still passive and unaware; in contrast to the extreme swiftness of Allecto’s movements before, time seems to have stopped for a moment while her snake does its work.³⁶⁵

364 This is supported by the parallel with Cupid mentioned above, when Venus instructs him to deceive Dido while being caressed on her lap (1.685-88). Note in particular the verb *fallo* used in both passages.

365 The oddity of the phrase *nullo attactu* might be relevant here. Its precise meaning has drawn the attention of commentators, with no definitive answer; as with many of the other questions of precise action in this scene, and others like it, I suggest that the ambiguity or apparent physical impossibility itself contributes to the dreamlike quality. In this particular case, I think one must imagine some physical contact between Amata and the snake, as does Henry. If one takes it as meaning that she was not touched at all, the snake loses any sense of corporeality, which runs against the strong emphasis on body and movement and leads to somewhat strange comments, such as “A snake, therefore of appropriately supernatural

The snake goes on to integrate itself into Amata's adornments, in a further iteration of the disguise that is a hallmark of Allecto. This integration underscores the intimate nature of the snake's attack as it twines around her neck and through her hair, and the sexual undertones in the scene are emphasized by the final act of the snake: it wanders, slippery, over her limbs, and this, especially following its transformation into her necklace and ribbons, gives the impression that it has now fully encompassed her.³⁶⁶ The adjective *lubricus* in the next line is a perfectly normal one to apply to a snake, but here it adds a level of detail and sensuality to the image of the snake gliding over her limbs that accentuates the tone of the passage.

The sexual imagery of this scene is striking, but has escaped critical attention. From the initial thrust into an already simmering woman, the snake moves between breast and clothes and with shared breath; it reaches her heart and slides over her whole body before becoming the very ornaments that adorn and declare her femininity. Finally, to cap off the imagery the effect of the snake is described in a phrase that calls upon the fluid motion of both liquid and fire: "the first contagion, slipped in with the moist poison, attacked her senses and struck fire in her bones" (*ac dum prima lues udo sublapsa veneno / pertemptat sensus atque ossibus implicat ignem*, 7.354-5).

powers, but physically present in Am.'s chamber, beyond doubt" (Horsfall 2000, 244). Obviously the snake is supernatural; why one would imagine it across the room from her is unclear.

366 The mention of *vitta*, a trademark headdress of a Roman matron, is a reminder of Amata's status as wife. It also recalls the passage that describes the entrance to the Hades' palace, in which one finds both the iron chambers of the Eumenides and Discordia, her snaky hair bound with gory ribbons (6.278-281): *tum consanguineus Leti Sopor et mala mentis / Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum, / ferreique Eumenidum thalami et Discordia demens / vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis*.

Furthermore, the last phrase is an almost exact repetition of a line from Venus' plan for Dido (*atque ossibus implicet ignem*, 1.660), and *veneno* here is echoed in the final line of her instructions to Cupid (*occultum inspire ignem fallasque veneno*, 1.688).

The physical details of the scene are not entirely clear, but I would suggest that this is part of the dreamlike effect and the holistic attack of the snake. Furthermore, it seems that the confusion about the transmission and nature of the poison has sometimes been exacerbated by a shying away from the idea of a serpentine kiss, but that certainly seems to be an image that Ovid has in mind when he describes the transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia (*Met.* 4.581-603), as discussed in the next chapter.³⁶⁷

The passage goes on to specify that "her mind did not yet perceive the flame that filled her breast" (*necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam*, 7.356), and Amata's lack of awareness is, for me, perhaps the most disturbing element of this scene. In its lingering description of an overpowering and transformative seduction, the scene is reminiscent of some of the metamorphoses in Ovid, though a clear contrast to his particular horror of victims being all too aware of their plight; this suggests the possibility that some might shy away from the sexual imagery of this scene precisely because it is *Allecto* rather than a figure like Jupiter, behind the snake.³⁶⁸ More particularly, the sexual

367 Fordyce says of *udo sublapsa veneno*: "to modern ears the 'clammy poison', mysteriously conveyed without contact, enhances the incongruity of the physical description" (Fordyce, 1977, 128). Horsfall likes the choice of 'clammy' and also finds the means of transmission obscure: "it is the poisoned (*vipeream*) breath of 351 that has somehow entered (we might ask by what route, if that sort of tedious practicality was appropriate) and already infected Amata" (Horsfall 2000, 246).

368 Horsfall's strange comment on *collo* at 7.351 (2000, 245) seems to allude to this element: "The energetic reptile continues its exploration of Amata's person, **attactu nullo**, yet if the attention paid to its movements is not merely descriptive (!), Amata cannot but perceive some form of alien presence unpleasantly near at hand."

nature of this first attack reiterates the domestic element of Juno's plan and the versatility of Allecto's inflammatory power. Furthermore, it makes clear that desire is the medium with which the Fury works, and her snake's monstrous seduction suggests the horrifying ways in which desire can be twisted and become monstrous itself, a point that is implicit in Juno's juxtaposition of war and marriage and particularly poignant in the contexts of civil war and Augustan domestication.

Even as the flame is taking hold, Amata is passive and unaware, maternal and mournful, but when her soft words fail to persuade Latinus, the power of the Fury's snake immediately takes full effect, and the frenetic activity that follows is accentuated by the quietness of the initial infection.

His ubi nequiquam dictis experta Latinum
contra stare videt, penitusque in viscera lapsum
serpentis furiale malum totamque pererrat,
tum vero infelix ingentibus excita monstris
immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem.
ceu quondam torto volitans sub verberibus turbo,
quem pueri magno in gyro vacua atria circum
intenti ludo exercent—ille actus habena
curvatis fertur spatiis; stupet inscia supra
impubesque manus mirata volubile buxum;
dant animos plagae: non cursu segnior illo
per medias urbes agitur populosque ferocis.
quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi
maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem
evolat et natam frondosis montibus abdit,
quo thalamum eripiat Teucris taedasque moretur,
euhoe Bacche fremens, solum te virgine dignum
vociferans: etenim mollis tibi sumere thyrsos,
te lustrare choro, sacrum tibi pascere crinem.

When she had argued with these words in vain and saw that Latinus stood firm against them, and the snake's Fury-evil sank deep into her guts and spread throughout her, then she, truly unfortunate, was roused by immense

monsters and straightaway raged, maddened, through the great city. Just as sometimes a top, flying round under the twisting whip, which boys drive round empty courtyards in a great circle, intent on their game – the top rushes in curving tracks, driven by the whip; the ignorant and youthful hand is stupefied above it, wondering at the whirling boxwood; the blows give spirit. No more slowly than that course is she driven through the middle of the city and fierce inhabitants. Yes, and even into the woods she flies, with the feigned inspiration of Bacchus; having embarked on a greater atrocity and begun a greater fury, she abandons her daughter for the leafy mountains in order to snatch the wedding chamber from the Trojans and delay the wedding torches. She calls out, crying “Euhoe Bacchus, only you are worthy of the maiden, and indeed she will take up the pliant thyrsus for you, she will circle you with the dance, she will grow her hair, devoted to you.”

(*Aen.* 7.373-391)

The failure of Amata’s attempt at persuasion is paired with the Fury’s evil taking hold, the wandering over her limbs now mirrored by wandering through her deepest parts, and the unfortunate woman runs mad. Amata recalls Dido twice over in this passage, both as *infelix* and as one who rages through the city.³⁶⁹ The wedding chamber (*thalamus*, 7.388) that she wishes to snatch from the Trojans is a more subtle echo: there is a suggestion here that she wants it for herself, and her love for Turnus will lead to her suicide in Book 12 when she thinks him killed.

The tragic context of Dido’s grief and rage, including both the references to Furies and the maenadic imagery, is discussed in the previous chapter, but it is worth noting again that there is a crucial difference between the humans who are driven by passion and the divine figures who provoke or punish human action. Furthermore, while there is significant overlap in the imagery connected with the Furies and that of maenads

³⁶⁹ At 4.68-9, introducing the famous deer simile, unfortunate Dido burns and rages (*uritur infelix Dido totaque uagatur / urbe furens*); then, when Aeneas is unmoved by her plea for more time, she is truly unfortunate and seeks death (*tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido / mortem orat*, 4.450-51).

(madness and contagion/fire being the basic commonality), there is, in fact, a strong contrast between the inchoate madness and wildness associated with Bacchic rites and the purposeful and focused work of the Furies (and their agents). The former are thus perfectly situated to stand in for concerns about the unknown wildness that women can bring to society when uncontrolled, to oversimplify greatly, but the Furies are, first of all, more about the dangers of the divine than of humans, and secondly, always connected either to the Underworld itself as a sort of emblem, or to some prompt or action, from an oath to a divine punishment.³⁷⁰

As I mentioned earlier, Allecto plays on emotions that already exist within her victims, and that element is certainly present in the rest of Amata's episode, which emphasizes both the supernatural goading and her own human motivation and cunning.³⁷¹ I agree with Horsfall that the emphasis is clearly on the external emphasis, but the resonance with the internal monsters of her desire enriches the meaning.³⁷² This double meaning does not rely on the etymological explanation to which Horsfall objects, but is in fact developed throughout the passage, and persists in Allecto's actions.³⁷³ Here, as is

370 Both do seem to be consistently central to their identity, and the latter is particularly important in the *Aeneid*. The ties to oaths, vengeance, and general enforcement are, as already discussed, their basic role in the earlier Greek tradition, but it is striking that the connection to a particular task seems to remain even as their range of behaviour and associations changes so remarkably in the Latin context.

371 This is explicit in the parallel with Apollo and the Sibyl at 7.405 below (*reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi*).

372 Horsfall (2000, 260) says: "There seems to be no compelling reason why we should accept the 'etymological' interpretation proposed and we note some hint in the text that it is actually rather unwelcome." I also agree with Horsfall that this is not a poetic plural, but refers to Allecto and the snake. (One might even imagine that the snake has spawned others, which would fit with the earlier image of Allecto sprouting with snakes.)

373 As Feeney puts it (1991, 167): "*Monstra* are portents which signal a supernatural involvement of some sort, but the epithet *ingens*, 'huge', points to Amata's own nature, by way of an

the case with all of Allecto's attacks, we see the Fury's skill in working with natural tendencies and desires, but Vergil highlights her action and force throughout, and to miss that, or subsume it entirely into human psychology, is to weaken the power of his creation. That said, it seems likely that the sexual nature of the attack on Amata has already reminded the audience of her excessive love, and that awareness of her very human motivation is then reactivated by the mention of the snake; the attention paid to Allecto and her power in no way eliminates the psychological acuity that is so notable in the *Aeneid*.

The fact that she is driven is made quite clear by the vivid and violent simile of a top, but this top takes on a life of its own and astounds the boys whipping it on (*stupet inscia supra / impubesque manus*, 7.381-2).³⁷⁴ Amata is driven just as quickly, the simile tells us (*non cursu segnior illo / per medias urbes agitur populosque ferocis*, 7.383-4), but then becomes the subject herself and flies into the woods, having embarked on a greater atrocity and begun a greater fury (*quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi / maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem / evolat*, 7.386-7). The hinge point is the phrase *dant animos plagae* ("the blows give spirit," 7.383). There has been scholarly debate about this phrase, but the crucial element, it seems to me, is that the violence of the blows feeds the spirit, whether it applies to the boys, whose excitement and courage to strike more and more fiercely is whipped up not only by the success, but also by the

etymological play on *ingenium* ('natural character'). Amata is presented in these three words as stirred up by something at once supernatural and innate."
374 See Horsfall (2000, 263) for echoes of language explicitly or thematically connected to the Furies, including that the circle is described using the same word as of a snake at 5.85; *fertur* is used of a Dira at 12.855, and of a falling rock at 12.687.

violence itself, or, more simply, perhaps, to the top, which has been given the impetus to exceed its expected course or speed by the blows.³⁷⁵ In either case, the blows recall the punishing role of the Furies in the Underworld.³⁷⁶

It is interesting that Amata seems to retain some control, even though that control may ultimately be Allecto's – like the top, her madness has a purpose. This is perhaps a sign that her own desires are in play, another variation on the theme of the dangers of desire, and there is at least a suggestion that even Allecto cannot control the woman she has set in motion. The top simile seems to have a double relevance: the image of boys being whipped up fits with how Allecto's power seems to work, but Amata, like the top, illustrates how Allecto's victims are set loose once her work (the whipping) is done.³⁷⁷

The power of Allecto, it now becomes clear, is not limited by the physical reach of the snake, as its ripples reach the other matrons with rumor and driving fire (7.392-405):

fama volat, furiisque accensas pectore matres
idem omnis simul ardor agit nova quaerere tecta.
deseruere domos, ventis dant colla comasque;
ast aliae tremulis ululatibus aethera complent
pampineasque gerunt incinctae pellibus hastas.

375 After Trapp's correction of Dryden (*per* Conington), who took the boys as subject, debate has centered on whether the spirit is given to the boys or the top. See Horsfall (2000, 265) for very brief summary and followup on Henry's tracking down of parallel expressions supporting the idea that "skilled blows with the **habena** (keep the top spinning) and give the boys confidence." The main problem with this interpretation, it seems to me, is that there is no point to mentioning the boys gaining confidence; all the focus of the simile is on the top (and, correspondingly, on Amata in the enclosing scene). Furthermore, confidence growing from skill does not seem to fit the violence and frenzy that are the point.

376 There is also a faint echo of the attacks of the Harpies, which drove Aeneas not to frenzy but to repeated attempts at war.

377 This is a striking contrast to the benevolent work of divine figures, which seems to require a great deal of micromanagement.

ipsa inter medias flagrantem fervida pinum
sustinet ac natae Turnique canit hymenaeos
sanguineam torquens aciem, torvumque repente
clamat: ‘io matres, audite, ubi quaeque, Latinae:
si qua piis animis manet infelicis Amatae
gratia, si iuris materni cura remordet,
solvite crinalis vittas, capite orgia mecum.’
talem inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum
reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi.

Rumor flies, and the same fire drives all the mothers, inflamed by the same madness in their hearts, to seek new homes simultaneously. They desert their homes, offer their necks and hair to the winds; the others fill the heavens with trilling howls³⁷⁸ and, wrapped in pelts, carry staffs wound with vines. Amata herself, aflame in their midst, holds up a blazing torch and sings wedding hymns for her daughter and Turnus as she darts her bloody gaze³⁷⁹ – suddenly she cries out fiercely: ‘Io Latin matrons, listen, wherever you are: if any regard for unfortunate Amata remains in your loyal hearts, if concern for a mother’s right gnaws at you, loosen your hair bands, begin the Bacchic rites with me.’ Such is the queen that Allecto drives with the spurs of Bacchus everywhere among the woods, among the hiding places of wild animals.

It is not just these inanimate echoes of the Fury that rouse the women; Amata adds her own appeal, and one that emphasizes her own stake, as it were, by its basis in rights proper to mothers.³⁸⁰ It also, therefore, echoes Juno’s appeal to Allecto and evokes, as I mentioned earlier, the Homeric Furies and their concern with familial or social rights and respect rather than a narrow focus on vengeance for blood guilt.

It is not clear how much of the deception that Amata now undertakes is of her

378 With thanks to Nita Krevans for the suggestion, ‘trilling’ seems to come closest to the sense here; most translations have an unnecessary connotation of fear. Horsfall points out the phrase *tremulo lumine* at 7.9, which he translates ‘quivering’.

379 Horsfall points out that the Furies have bloody eyes at Eur. *Or.* 256 (αἵματωπούς, which could also refer to the whole face, as Kovacs takes it); Aesch. *Cho.* 1058, where Kovacs takes νᾶμα rather than αἷμα; Aesch. *Eum.* 54, where there is no explicit blood (ἐκ δ’ ὀμμάτων λείβουσι δυσφιλῆ λίβα).

380 In this passage, *fama* is used in its mundane sense, but it nonetheless recalls the image of the monstrous Fama in Book 4, just as the *ardor* recalls the maddened Dido.

own design and how much the work of Allecto. In either case, it seems that the effect of Allecto is not possession or madness, in the sense of being driven completely out of one's wits; rather she arouses desires or tendencies already extant within her victim to the point of danger and destruction. The fire imagery so often applied to the work of the Fury is doubly apt, then, given that its greatest danger is the tendency to spread uncontrollably and to gain strength as it does so, while the flame itself is necessary to civilization.

It is also fitting that Allecto's influence is described in such a way that the 'facts' of the situation continually shift and reform, rather like Allecto's forms itself in the opening description. This is a trait that often marks the work of Vergil's demonic figures, and even in this first and relatively innocuous attack, he displays the nightmarish quality of Allecto's power in the ambiguities of the scenes.³⁸¹ In addition to the sense of shifting reality, the scene contains explicit deception and disguise in the feigned inspiration of Bacchus (*simulato numine Bacchi*, 7.385) and in the image of Allecto using the tools of another god as she drives Amata with the spurs of Bacchus (*reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi*, 7.405). The image of Latin matrons as *maenads* has attracted most notice as a tragic reference and, in terms of the effects of the Fury, madness, but it is worth bearing in mind that disguise is also associated with Dionysiac ritual and myth, which amplifies the striking new element of Allecto's shape-shifting and deceptive powers.³⁸² The specificity of the deceptions, the use of persuasive speech, and

381 The nightmarish effect is most pronounced in the Dira's attack on Turnus, though the chilled inversion of Allecto's inflammatory power suggests an alignment with the more subtle effect of the repetitions in the Polydorus and Harpies scenes.

382 Of course, the dangers of Bacchic rites are not simply a matter of literary allusions or mythic resonance: the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BCE reveals an early and official concern; tapping into some of the same issues, the Bona Dea scandal would have been a more

the fact that the end result seems to rely on human action and motivation rather than hallucination all give this episode a different flavor than the relatively simple madness caused by Furies or related figures in Greek tragedy.

From the initial sexualized infection of Amata to the false maenads, this episode focuses on the troubling power of women to disrupt societal order and oppose legitimate (and male) authority; as Allecto moves on to her next victim, Turnus, the focus shifts to Allecto's own violence and the dangers of uncontrolled lust for arms and glory, a danger that is perhaps even harder to guard against because the object of desire is not only necessary but a central virtue for men in Roman society.

Turnus

Leaving Amata and her band raging through the woods, Allecto turns immediately to Turnus. In a strangely endearing detail that contributes to the sense of an individualized character, the fearsome goddess Allecto is here portrayed as a conscientious agent who takes care that her first step is successfully in hand before moving on to the next item on the agenda.³⁸³ 7.406-434:

Postquam visa satis primos acuisse furores

recent and very powerful evocation of this scene, and one that combines the elements of disguise, the dangers posed both by and to women as sexual creatures, and the possible political connection.

383 This suggestion of independence is offered some support by the simple fact that she flies off (on suitably chthonic dark wings). Wings are common in many artistic representations of divinities that bridge worlds, and the Furies, like the Harpies, seem to be winged as part of their characteristic pursuit. It is striking, however, that Allecto seems to use her flight so freely. It is a natural enough expansion of the Furies' characteristic pursuit, a motif taken up especially in both wings and hunting elements in their iconography, but Allecto was only given a general goal by Juno, not specific directions or victims, nor is there the implicit tie of spilt blood to connect her as hound to quarry. This freedom of motion and choice, though not complete, is an important development in the depictions of the Furies.

consiliumque omnemque domum vertisse Latini,
 protinus hinc fuscis tristis dea tollitur alis
 audacis Rutuli ad muros, quam dicitur urbem
 Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis
 praecipiti delata Noto. locus Ardea quondam
 dictus avis, et nunc magnum manet Ardea nomen,
 sed fortuna fuit. tectis hic Turnus in altis
 iam mediam nigra carpebat nocte quietem.
 Allecto torvam faciem et furialia membra
 exuit, in vultus sese transformat anilis
 et frontem obscenam rugis arat, induit albos
 cum vitta crinis, tum ramum innectit olivae;
 fit Calybe Iunonis anus templique sacerdos,
 et iuveni ante oculos his se cum vocibus offert:
 ‘Turne, tot incassum fusos patiere labores,
 et tua Dardaniis transcribi sceptrum colonis?
 rex tibi coniugium et quaesitas sanguine dotes
 abnegat, externusque in regnum quaeritur heres.
 i nunc, ingratis offer te, inrise, periclis;
 Tyrrhenas, i, sterne acies, tege pace Latinos.
 haec adeo tibi me, placida cum nocte iaceres,
 ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit.
 quare age et armari pubem portisque moveri
 laetus in arva para, et Phrygios qui flumine pulchro
 consedere duces pictasque exure carinas.
 caelestum vis magna iubet. rex ipse Latinus,
 ni dare coniugium et dicto parere fatetur,
 sentiat et tandem Turnum experiatur in armis.’

After she saw that she had sufficiently stirred up the first rages and overturned both the plans and the entire house of Latinus, the fearful goddess immediately went, borne on dark wings, from this place to the walls of the bold Rutulian. (They say Danae founded this city for the Argive settlers when she was carried there by the swift North Wind.) The place was named Ardea by our ancestors and Ardea now remains a great name, but that has been its fortune. Here within his high walls, Turnus was now enjoying his deepest sleep in the dark night. Allecto cast off her fierce appearance and her Fury's limbs, transformed herself into the appearance of an old woman and plowed her abominable face with wrinkles, adorned her white hair with a band and even bound it with an olive branch; she became Juno's old woman Calybe, a priestess of her temple, and presented herself before the eyes of the youth with these words: "Turnus, how many efforts expended in vain will you endure, and

your sceptre handed over to the Trojan settlers? The king denies your marriage and the dowry demanded by blood, a foreign heir seeks to enter royalty. Go now, offer yourself, unthanked and laughed at, to dangers; lay low the Tyrrhenian battle lines, preserve the Latins with peace. The all-powerful daughter of Saturn herself bids me speak these very words to you clearly, as you lie there in the peaceful night. Therefore come on and gladly ready the youth to be armed and moved out from the gates into the fields; burn up the Phrygian leaders who have settled in the beautiful river and their painted ships. The great power of the gods orders it. If he does not agree to give you marriage and obey his word, let king Latinus himself perceive and, at last, experience Turnus in arms.”

As Allecto moves on to the martial aspect of her work, the previous episode is marked as an instance of her power to overturn homes – Juno addressed Allecto as one who can overturn households and that is precisely what she has done to the entire house of Latinus. Although the emphasis will be different, the initial setting of this episode is similarly intimate, though Turnus, unlike Amata, is peacefully asleep, and Allecto does not break into the quiet with violence. Instead, we see here the transformative abilities hinted at earlier as she casts off the fierce appearance of a Fury and takes on the appearance of an old woman, priestess of Juno. Appearing to Turnus in a dream, she uses speech rather than any more immediate (and terrifying) means, and she quite clearly attempts to play on Turnus’ feelings.³⁸⁴ In addition to the appeal to divine authority (*ipsa palam fari omnipotens Saturnia iussit*, 7.428), which is feigned but contains a twisted truth, there is another appeal to the desire to get one’s due, which echoes not only Amata,

384 Note that dream visitations are standard practice for gods, especially when they wish to advise those they favor (consider the Penates’ appearance to Aeneas in Book 3, where they are also acting as messengers for Apollo). This might be considered another part of Allecto’s disguise, in that she also adopts the means and purpose of a different sort of divinity. In Euripides, the Furies seem to disturb Orestes’ sleep, but do so by hallucinations, which is a striking contrast to Allecto’s work here.

but Juno's initial motivation.³⁸⁵ Allecto goes even further, though, and her allusion to mockery (*i nunc, ingratis offer te, inrise, periclis*, 7.425) is an addition that is particularly appropriate for Turnus given both his arrogance and the tendency to mock others.

The multivalent imagery of both blood and burning also resounds with earlier imagery: the command to burn up (*exure*, 7.431) the Trojans and their ships fits thematically within the fiery imagery already discussed, while the dowry demanded by blood (*quaesitas sanguine dotes* 7.423) is an intriguingly loaded phrase, given Juno's preface, and the suggestion of blood flowing onto the battlefield as well as within the veins of kin adds a grim vividness. It also recalls the ambivalence of blood in Faunus' prophecy: "foreign sons-in-law will come to bear our name to the stars with their blood" (*externi venient generi, qui sanguine nostrum / nomen in astra ferant*, 7.98-9), but, in a sense, Turnus' blood is not what demands but what is demanded as dowry.³⁸⁶

The structure of this scene, and the previous attack on Amata, suggest that Allecto's use of deceptive speech might be an attempt to have Turnus infect himself, so to speak. Recall that Amata was already simmering with feminine *curae*, which perhaps provided fertile ground for the prompt of the snake's poison. Turnus, on the other hand, seems to be in command of himself, at least at this point, and the Fury's speech can be read as an attempt to have him bring himself to the same level of seething emotion that Amata had achieved herself. The failure of Allecto's words (and disguise) raises the possibility that she herself cannot work effectively *via* speech, as other gods can, but

385 Note in particular the loaded reference to 'dowries demanded by blood' mentioned above.

386 Reckford 1961, 260. O'Hara 1990, 63 points out the relative obscurity of the prophecy to Latinus, which "makes no mention of the gods, as Allecto does, but instead speaks of the political advantages of choosing Aeneas over Turnus."

must use human agents such as Amata. This would, in fact, befit her as a goddess who works upon human desires that are hidden, twisted, or unspeakable.³⁸⁷ In any case, Allecto's words fail, as her snake did not, and dream-Turnus is not swayed by fear or hurt pride. Sadly, his rationality is just as fruitless as Allecto's pretense and his subsequent resistance spurs Allecto to anger.³⁸⁸

Turnus' response reveals not just his relative level-headedness about the political situation, but also his personal arrogance and tendency towards mockery, as he begins, unwisely, by laughing at the prophet (7.435-455)³⁸⁹:

Hic iuvenis vatem inridens sic orsa vicissim
ore refert: 'classis invectas Thybridis undam
non, ut rere, meas effugit nuntius auris;
ne tantos mihi finge metus. nec regia Iuno

387 As I have already noted, these desires are valuable at root, but situationally problematic.

Allecto's torch brings its own dark flame, but in her work in Book 7 one can see how she seems to find the buried embers of desire in her victims, even when, as in the case of the hunt, which I will discuss shortly, it is something as straightforward as a hound's desire for the hunt. Perhaps this affinity to such flames is tied to the Furies' role in punishing the results, as displayed in Book 6 and discussed in the last chapter.

388 Smith 2005, 39 points out the role of speech as evasion and entreaty, specifically as a characteristic of Turnus: "His reaction is characterized by entreaty, an attempt to talk his way out of trouble." In speech and action, there is even more emphasis on Allecto's active role than in the Amata episode, and Turnus' rational response makes purely psychological readings even more unpersuasive. For a summary of the scholarship on either side, see O'Hara (1990, 67), who is "unimpressed with the arguments of those who say that Allecto is only a symbol of Turnus' own innate *violentia*...."

389 As Horsfall (2000, 295-7) points out, *inridens* is first of a series of echoes of Allecto's speech, which vividly portrays his insolence. See Horsfall (2000, 297) for possible literary models and other discussions thereof, including Hector's ghost visiting Aeneas (2.268 ff.); Demeter's response to Erisycthon, which has Nemesis taking note in addition to the angry goddess revealing herself (Call., *H.* 6.42 ff., with the response at 56-8); the dream visions of Agamemnon (*Il.* 2.16 ff.) and Penelope (*Od.* 4.795 ff.); and the exchange between Aphrodite and Helen (*Il.* 3.398 ff.). Horsfall calls the last of these "less clearly comparable" (297), but the element of compulsion is shared, as is the fact that both play upon the very natures of their human favorites, though that is in the background of Aphrodite's interaction with Helen, in which it is a clear threat that convinces Helen.

immemor est nostri.
sed te victa situ verique effeta senectus,
o mater, curis nequiquam exercet, et arma
regum inter falsa vatem formidine ludit.
cura tibi divum effigies et templa tueri;
bella viri pacemque gerent quis bella gerenda.’

Talibus Allecto dictis exarsit in iras.
at iuveni oranti subitus tremor occupat artus,
deriguere oculi: tot Erinys sibilat hydris
tantaque se facies aperit; tum flammea torquens
lumina cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura
reppulit, et geminos erexit crinibus anguis,
verberaque insonuit rabidoque haec addidit ore:
‘en ego victa situ, quam veri effeta senectus
arma inter regum falsa formidine ludit.
respice ad haec: adsum dirarum ab sede sororum,
bella manu letumque gero.’

The young man laughed at the prophet and gave this speech aloud in return: “The news that the Trojan fleet has been borne on the waves of the Tiber did not, as you think, escape my ears. Do not contrive great fears for me. Nor is royal Juno forgetful of us. But old age, defeated by stagnation and past bearing truth, wears you out, mother, with cares in vain, and amidst the arms of kings makes sport of a prophet with false fear. Your concern is the statues of the gods and to watch over their temples. Men, by whom wars ought to be waged, will wage war and peace.” Allecto blazed up into anger at these words. And then a trembling stole in and seized the limbs of the youth as he spoke; his eyes froze: the Fury hissed with so many snakes and revealed herself in so great a form. As she twisted her flaming eyes toward him, she drove him back as he hesitated and tried to say more and roused two snakes from her locks; she produced whips with a great noise and answered these words with her enraged mouth: “Behold how I am destroyed by decay, whom old age, exhausted of truth, makes sport of with false fear amidst the arms of kings. Behold this: I come here from the seat of my dread sisters and I bring war and death in my hand.”

The phrase *ne tantos mihi finge metus* (437) highlights the psychological element of Allecto’s first attempt, and its failure. As it turns out, of course, the display of Allecto’s terrifying form is all that is necessary to overwhelm Turnus with horror, and fears about

the Trojans or his own status are irrelevant. Given the emphasis throughout this episode on Allecto's ability to change her shape, one might wonder whether Allecto's revelation of herself picks up on the use of *finco*. Her response follows the pattern of a god's revealed nature (and her nature is clearly to horrify rather than awe), but there seems to be a possible suggestion in *tantaque se facies aperit* that this is the particular form she chose right now, rather than her one true form. This use of *tanta* could indicate an increase in size, which would be appropriate for divine visitation, or it could mean something like 'in the full magnitude of her form,' referring to its power to horrify. It may also, however, especially following *tot ... hydris*, echo her introduction and the reasons she is hated by her own family (*tot sese vertit in ora, / tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris*, 7.328-9), which would fit with the increased focus in this scene on Allecto's form and on her ability to use it as a weapon. In addition, *torquens*, which I have translated as 'twisting,' suggests that her eyes could be another of her weapons. The verb is regularly used to describe eyes that are rolling in agitation or darting towards something, but also for the winding of snakes, and the surrounding snakes in this passage, as well as the adjective *flammea* and, overall, the shifting and monstrous description, suggest something more aggressive than agitation.³⁹⁰ I do not suggest that Allecto only now looks at Turnus, but it is only now that she looks at him as herself rather than as Calybe, and, in the flow of the narrative, it is her eyes that drive him back.

The language of the revealed Allecto is vivid and powerful, although not always entirely clear, and it repeats key features from her introduction. The first image is of fire

390 See Horsfall (2000, 303) for a brief discussion; he takes it as a sign of agitation.

(*exarsit*), and such imagery characterizes her effects throughout the episode, to the extent that one can imagine her embodying the funeral torches that she can bring into homes (*tu verbera tectis / funereasque inferre faces*, 7.336-7) and thrusting herself into her victims, just as she plucks snakes from her head.³⁹¹ Similarly, the whips and snakes that were mentioned in her introduction are now shown in action. Finally, note how the phrase *dirarum ab sede sororum* combines the *dirarum dearum* and *sorores* from the very beginning of her introduction (7.324, 327). This attention emphasizes not only the power of her form, but the key elements that come to be defining. It is interesting, however, that there is no mention of venom in this less seductive attack: torch, snakes, whips all become almost one image, in a marked contrast to the more leisurely effect of her weapons on Amata. Similarly, the sequence of action is reversed: with Amata, the action of the seductive snakes leads her to attempt persuasive words; with Turnus, the (ineffective) seductive words are followed by the violent and angry attack that actually sets him in motion. Despite these differences, both scenes are marked by a nightmarish confusion, which evokes both the hallucinations caused by the Furies in Greek tragedy and the potentially disruptive power of strong emotion.

The immediate prompt for her anger (Turnus's condescending reminder that war is the concern of men) highlights Allecto's association with war and is taken up again by her closing statement. Her anger is perhaps especially appropriate to, and indicative of, her role as a war goddess, though it is also a hallmark of divinities in general. Both words and action make clear that she is far indeed from useless old age as she says

391 As already mentioned, the torches also evoke weddings, and the whips recall the role of punisher in the Underworld.

“Behold this: I come here from the seat of my dread sisters and I bring war and death in my hand,” and then proves her point by hurling a torch into the sleeping Turnus. So violent is her action and so swift its effect that one wonders whether Turnus even had time to behold anything (7.456-474):

sic effata facem iuveni coniecit et atro
lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas.
olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor, ossaque et artus
perfundit toto proruptus corpore sudor.
arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit;
saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli,
ira super: magno veluti cum flamma sonore
virgea suggeritur costis undantis aëni
exsultantque aestu latices, furit intus aquai
fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis,
nec iam se capit unda, volat vapor ater ad auras.
ergo iter ad regem polluta pace Latinum
indicit primis iuvenum et iubet arma parari,
tutari Italiam, detrudere finibus hostem;
se satis ambobus Teucrisque venire Latinisque.
haec ubi dicta dedit divosque in vota vocavit,
certatim sese Rutuli exhortantur in arma.
hunc decus egregium formae movet atque iuventae,
hunc atavi reges, hunc claris dextera factis.

When she had thus spoken, she hurled her torch at the youth and planted it, smoking with a black light, deep within his breast. An immense terror tore apart his sleep, and sweat broke out on his whole body and poured over his bones and limbs.³⁹² Out of his mind, he roared for arms, he sought the weapons under his pillow and within his walls; lust for iron raged, as did the insane wickedness of war and wrath above all. Just as when twigs, flaming with a great roar, are placed beneath the ribs of the swelling bronze and the water rejoices in the heat, the flow of water wreathed with steam rages within and abounds with deep foam, the wave no longer contains itself, dark steam flies into the air. And so, because the peace had been violated, he announced a journey to Latinus and ordered

392 See Onians (1951, 193) on the source of sweat, which provides useful context: “Sweat was believed to come from the cerebro-spinal fluid and marrow.” Citations include Aristotle (*Problemata* 867 a, 23 ff., 867 b, 23 f. and 34 ff., 868 a, 1ff., 965 b, 3 ff.; Theophr. Fr. IX, *de Sudore*, 33, Pliny, *NH* 7,18,78.

the leaders of his young men to prepare weapons, to protect Italy, and to drive the enemy out from its borders; he would present himself as a match for both Trojans and Latins. When he had given these commands and called upon the gods to witness his vow, the Rutulians eagerly encouraged each other into arms. The outstanding splendor of his form and youth stirred this one, his ancestral kings another, his sword arm adorned with glorious deeds yet another.

The torch Allecto now uses was not mentioned when she roused her snakes and took up whips, but it is another characteristic implement of the Furies, and this scene suggests that torches, like snakes, can simply be assumed to be at hand. In any case, the effect on Turnus is immediate and total: his entire body is seized by terror and his mind maddened with lust for arms. As Horsfall points out, the associations of torches include not only punishing or chthonic goddesses such as the Furies and Hecate, but also war; particularly relevant here is the association with an individual human: “the man who himself kindled discord or war was called directly *fax*.”³⁹³ Within this arrogant youth, who erred perhaps more toward complacency rather than battle-lust, the immense terror that Allecto’s torch first brings is replaced by the uncontrolled *amor*, *insania*, and *ira* that will indeed bring war and death. Her attempt to play on Turnus’ emotions failed, but now she violently inspires the necessary emotions directly within him. Vergil’s dramatic presentation of the irrelevance of his reason is sobering.

There are echoes here of Aeneas in Book 2, who, in 2.313-314, hears the clamor of battle and, witless, *amens*, takes up arms, and then, in 336-338, is drawn wherever the roar of battle or the grievous Erinys call him.³⁹⁴ The *ira* that is associated with this lust

393 Horsfall 2000, 306, citing for the last Cic. *Dom.* 1, 102, *Har. Resp.* 4, 45, *Mil.* 33, 98, *Phil.* 7.3, Luc. 1.262.

394 *exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum. / arma amens capio ..., 2.313-4; talibus Othryadae dictis et numine diuum / in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys, / quo fremitus vocat et*

for battle in Troy and Latium is, like *amor*, a force that cuts both ways and it can be the righteous wrath behind punishment and justice as well as the source of heedless violence.³⁹⁵ As part of battle-lust, hence the *amens*, it is more appropriate to Aeneas as a Homeric hero at Troy than as founder of a new people in Italy, but it is important to note that it is not an intrinsically bad emotion.

The torch is also, as Juno's speech made clear, an inversion of the wedding torch, and another parallel with this scene highlights this recurrence of the motif of deadly marriage: maddened Turnus reaches for the sword under his pillow, which echoes the actions of doomed Deiphobus recounted to Aeneas in the Underworld. That passage, considered earlier in reference to the motif of marriage in the Underworld, bears further consideration in relation to this scene of Turnus roused by Allecto (6.523-529):

egregia interea coniunx arma omnia tectis
emovet, et fidum capiti subduxerat ensem:
intra tecta vocat Menelaum et limina pandit,
scilicet id magnum sperans fore munus amanti,
et famam exstingui veterum sic posse malorum.

sublatus ad aethera clamor, 3.336-8. See Chapter 1 for further discussion.

395 Conington and Fordyce take *ira*, 'personal resentment,' as distinguished from the implanted war lust. I read it as the culminating point, but still part of Allecto's effect, especially given Turnus' earlier response. As Horsfall points out, "anger ... was not necessarily to be evaluated negatively in all the ethical codes which an Augustan or imperial reader might bring to bear" (2000, 310). Galinsky 1988 considers Aeneas specifically and points out the importance of anger in the Roman context and looking beyond Stoic philosophy. While I do not agree that Aeneas is presented as punishing and righteously angry in the final scene, despite having justification, the range and value of anger is crucial to understanding the poem in general. This is the approach taken by Wright 1997, in his "application of the Aristotelian mean of 'righteous anger' to both sides of the conflict in the second half of the *Aeneid* – to Aeneas' allies the Etruscans as 'righteous anger' (*iusta ira*) and to the Italians' leader Turnus as 'fierce virtue' (*ferox uirtus*)" (170). As he points out, "[a]nger is a practical passion," and "*ira* and *furor* can be seen to act as survival mechanisms, providing the stimulus to aggressive and defensive action when a perceived wrong threatens status or security" (179).

quid moror? inrumpunt thalamo, comes additus una
hortator scelerum Aeolides.

Meanwhile this extraordinary wife removed all arms from the building, and had also slipped the trusty sword from under his head: she summoned Menelaus within and opened the door, clearly hoping that this would be a great service for her lover and would thus be able to destroy her fame for long-standing evils. Why do I delay? They burst into the bedchamber, together with Ulysses as an inciter to evils.

We see here an intriguing combination of elements that are echoed in Allecto's attack on Turnus: Helen hunts for arms in the same places as Turnus, but to remove them; it is the Greeks who disrupt, here the chamber rather than the sleep itself; and the Greeks bring one who incites evils as they enact one of the atrocities of war that is perhaps alluded to by the raging *scelerata insania belli* that Allecto has implanted in Turnus.

As the episode with Turnus draws to a close with a description of the actions that result from Allecto's nightmarish visitation, there are two final reminders of Allecto's connection to war and desire, and of Juno's powerful pairing of marriage and bloodshed that drives so much of the second half of the *Aeneid*. First, the reference to violated peace (*polluta pace*, 7.467), which has posed logistical questions and been interpreted accordingly in various ways, fits perfectly if Allecto is recognized as the one who broke the peace.³⁹⁶ Not only does this pick up her statement that she brings war and death in her

396 Horsfall takes the phrase to refer to personal peace between Turnus and Latinus (and uses as part of his argument the questionable assertion that Vergil "writes here entirely from Turnus' viewpoint," (2000, 316)); Conington unenthusiastically takes it as referring to the violation of the peace between Turnus and Latinus; Fordyce also takes it as referring to Turnus' current actions, but I read it as a stricter ablative absolute. In fact, Allecto has violated the peace, and will continue to do so. Servius' second option (*vel Troianorum*) could perhaps refer to that; certainly their peace has already been violated by Juno and Allecto, even if they do not yet realize it. Obviously, this reading takes peace in its more general sense, rather than as referring to a specific treaty. While the use of language relevant to (civil) war would certainly support the more technical meaning, the looser meaning fits the overall dynamic of rest

hand (*bella manu letumque gero*, 7.455) and thus frame her attack on Turnus, but it completes the fulfilment of Juno's edict in its particulars (7.338-340):

“... fecundum concute pectus,
dissice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli;
arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus.’

“Shatter the overflowing heart, break up the settled peace, sow the accusations of war; let youth all at once desire and summon and snatch up arms.”

Not only did Allecto bring whips and torches into a home (which Juno had listed among her powers at 7.336-7), but she plants a torch within the breast of Turnus so that terror shatters his sleep (*fixit sub pectore taedas. / olli somnum ingens rumpit pavor*, 7.457-8), the insane wickedness of war rages (*scelerata insania belli*, 7.461), peace is violated (*polluta pace*, 7.467). The final clause is answered both by Turnus and his *amor ferri* (7.461) and by the Rutulian youth who encourage each other into arms (*exhortantur in arma*, 7.472), moved by the splendor of physical forms and heroic deeds. This final reference in particular recalls the end of Juno's speech to Allecto and reactivates the image of youth preoccupied with war rather than weddings.³⁹⁷

These closing lines also underscore how Turnus was swayed by the lust for war that is presented as inherent in all warriors rather than by Allecto's personal appeal to his

disturbed by a Fury. It is also worth noting that this use of *polluta pace* (467) echoes the language of the Harpies episode.

³⁹⁷ There is perhaps a nod here to the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*. As Edwards (1991, 208) puts it: “Now the poet portrays, on the shield which the hero will bear into the battle, the everyday human life which he has given up. All the scenes are full of ordinary people taking part in the activities of ordinary life. Ackhilleus does not shoulder the burden of responsibility for these people, as Virgil's Aeneias does from Rome's future.” At the prompting of Allecto (and Juno) the youths, both Trojan and Italian, will turn to war from marriage preparations, but the story of the *Aeneid*, unlike that of the *Iliad*, does allow a return from war to peace, though not, of course, for Turnus.

feelings. Furthermore, the way the desire for battle spreads among the Rutulians emphasizes camaraderie and mutuality in addition to the seductive clamour of battle that we saw in Book 2, and the appeal of physical splendour of men and arms, ancestral kings, and glorious deeds that rouses these youths provides a glimpse of the brightness of war that will soon be dimmed by blood and dust.

Juno is also recalled in the emphasis on honour and receiving one's just due. This was an element in the Amata episode, but the male and martial context here suggests a closer thematic association with civil war. Alongside the promised marriage that frames the looming war in a familial context, the power of affronted honor to spark conflict might also evoke the recent history of civil war for the *Aeneid's* original audience, and, in this context, Allecto's attempts to play upon honor are a natural and powerful addition to her traditional sphere. The civil war imagery is picked up quite explicitly in the hunt scene, which pits Trojans against Italians, but first Vergil returns our attention to Allecto. Her final move is introduced as a new trick, but one that also reprises earlier elements of her work and might in fact reflect an integration of the hidden Fury that is as frightening as her horrific visitations just discussed.

Hunt

Just as when she went from Amata to Turnus, Allecto seems to make sure her deputy is continuing to stir things up before moving on, which she does here with characteristic speed and on suitably Stygian wings (7.475-502):

Dum Turnus Rutulos animis audacibus implet,

Allecto in Teucros Stygiis se concitat alis,
 arte nova, speculata locum, quo litore pulcher
 insidiis cursuque feras agitabat Iulus.
 hic subitam canibus rabiem Cocytia virgo
 obicit et noto naris contingit odore,
 ut cervum ardentem agerent; quae prima laborum
 causa fuit belloque animos accendit agrestis.
 cervus erat forma praestanti et cornibus ingens,
 Tyrrhidae pueri quem matris ab ubere raptum
 nutribant Tyrrhusque pater, cui regia parent
 armenta et late custodia credita campi.
 adsuetum imperiis soror omni Silvia cura
 mollibus intexens ornabat cornua sertis,
 pectebatque ferum puroque in fonte lavabat.
 ille manum patiens mensaeque adsuetus erili
 errabat silvis rursusque ad limina nota
 ipse domum sera quamvis se nocte ferebat.
 hunc procul errantem rabidae venantis Iuli
 commovere canes, fluvio cum forte secundo
 deflueret ripaque aestus viridante levaret.
 ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus amore
 Ascanius curvo derexit spicula cornu;
 nec dextrae erranti deus a fuit, actaque multo
 perque uterum sonitu perque ilia venit harundo.
 saucius at quadripes nota intra tecta refugit
 successitque gemens stabulis, questuque cruentus
 atque imploranti similis tectum omne replebat.

While Turnus was filling the Rutulians with bold spirit, Allecto hurled herself towards the Trojans on Stygian wings with a new trick, after catching sight of the place where handsome Iulus was pursuing wild animals with traps and coursing on the shore. Here the maiden of the Cocytus cast a sudden madness into the dogs and seized their noses with a familiar scent, so that they would chase the deer ardently. This was the first cause of the suffering and kindled the wild spirits to war. There was a deer, outstanding in form and with immense antlers, that the sons of Tyrrhus had, as boys, taken from the teat of its mother and nursed, along with their father Tyrrhus, to whom the royal herds were obedient and the custody of the fields was entrusted freely. Their sister Silvia used to adorn it with all care, accustomed as it had become to their control, and entwined its antlers with pliant garlands; she would groom the wild creature and bathe it in a pure spring. And the deer, because it submitted to her hand and was accustomed to the table of its masters, would wander in the

woods and then return home again to the familiar door of its own accord, no matter how late the night. The maddened hounds of the hunting Iulus startled him as he wandered far from home, floating down a river and seeking relief from the heat along the verdant bank. Ascanius himself, inflamed by desire for outstanding glory, shot an arrow with his curved bow. Nor was the god of no assistance to his erring right hand; the arrow was shot with a great twang and pierced the belly and the flank with its shaft. Then the wounded animal took refuge within familiar walls and entered the stable moaning; stained with blood, it filled the whole building with lament and apparent entreaty.

Allecto's new trick (*arte nova*) explicitly recalls the *artes nocendi* mentioned by Juno, but it is one in which her own art seems superfluous, since she instils madness in the dogs when the familiar scent would presumably be enough to have them pursue the deer.³⁹⁸ It is also slightly surprising that this final trick, the one that actually starts the bloodshed, is not planned, but simply occurs to Allecto when she sees an opportunity provided by Ascanius' hunting party. Both the lack of art and the opportunistic nature of this last episode contrast with Allecto's attacks on Amata and Turnus, but this very contrast highlights several significant points. First, it harks back to a different, and crucial, part of Allecto's initial description: harm, in its variety, and the causing of it are dear to her (*cui tristia bella / iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi*, 7.325-6), and this episode seems to demonstrate her inability to resist causing trouble.³⁹⁹ Furthermore, the fact that

398 Horsfall inexplicably says (2000, 331): "Neither rabid, nor maddened, as we have seen (479; taken up here); highly and naturally excited, though, and not necessarily under the close control of the inexperienced Ascanius." Obviously, hunting dogs will be excited by their quarry (and Fordyce points out references for it as the "regular term for hounds in cry" (1977, 150)), so I do not suggest that this is entirely unnatural; it seems odd, however, to suggest that this use of *rabidus* is entirely unrelated to the *rabies* that Allecto used on them not even 20 lines earlier.

399 This would be further emphasized if it is Allecto who guides Iulus' fateful shot, given that it would presumably be sufficient to have the deer harmed by the hounds or anyone else's arrow. One can also read *deus* as referring to Apollo, whose interest here would accord nicely with his approval of Ascanius' deadly shot in Book 9 (9.638-58, including the call for restraint

this impromptu act sets in motion the first cause of war and suffering ends up demonstrating both her power and her affinity for war. It also highlights her ability to inflame latent desires and, ultimately, demonstrates that the work of a Fury is sometimes barely necessary.

In reference to the hunt and, in particular, the hounds, Horsfall makes two observations that are particularly interesting in the context of this study. First, that the hunt and hounds are not only epic, “but belong also to the menagerie or symbolism of Erinyes, Lyssa, Keres, and Hecate (and hence Allecto).”⁴⁰⁰ Second, on *rabies*, he says: “In V. the word carries a frequent association (but clearly not so here) with hunger.”⁴⁰¹ Given the association of the Harpies with hunger, as already discussed, and the less overt, or at least less traditional, association of the Furies with maddening lust, it is not at all clear that hunger is not in play in this passage. The key image, however, continues to be that of fire roused and spread by the Fury: Allecto’s act leaves the hounds *ardentes* (7.481), it kindles the war (*accendit*, 7.482), and Iulus is inflamed by desire for outstanding glory when he shoots the deer (*succensus*, 7.496).⁴⁰² This fiery imagery also

while in disguise as Butes).

400 Horsfall 2000, 320. It is also fitting for the Furies specifically, who can drive their victims like hounds (as when Orestes refers to them his mother’s hounds, αἶδε μητρὸς ἔγκοτοι κύνες, *Cho.* 1054), and, as Aguirre (2010, 135) points out, have iconography that includes the javelins of hunters. See for example two 4th c. BCE craters, one depicting a seated Fury with hunting costume and two javelins at rest on her knee (*LIMC* Erinyes 21), the other (11) a standing Fury facing Cerberus with lances, torch and whip. Both have a short chiton and hunting boots, the latter also wears an animal skin.

401 Horsfall 2000, 324.

402 Petrini (1997, 100) points out an echo of the marriage of Dido and Aeneas, which could add a subtle resonance: “The ‘marriage’ of Aeneas and Dido is the main event of the hunt in Book 4, *primaque malorum / causa fuit* [this was the beginning of many evils] (A. 4.169-70), while Iulus’ role is minor, as it is throughout the first quarter of the poem. Vergil’s near repetition of the phrase in Book 7 connects the passages, but here Iulus is in the foreground, responsible, if not

marked the Amata and Turnus episodes, but Ascanius' desire in particular, especially as the prompt for war, is presented as a subset of the same lust for battle that is, as we have seen, within Allecto's power to instil, and this scene emphasizes that it is a natural desire.⁴⁰³

Horsfall makes a point of absolving Ascanius from any fault.⁴⁰⁴ Indeed, that is precisely the point: apparently innocent actions have unforeseen, and oftentimes dire, consequences, especially when one is in wild places frequented by gods (or rustics).⁴⁰⁵ On the 'inflammation' of Ascanius, Horsfall suggests that this occurrence of *succensus* might be the first to mean 'fired by a passion' and points out parallels with erotic contexts in Propertius. Also, as he points out, "Trojans are 'fired', like Rutuli, though the fire-image is of itself morally neutral."⁴⁰⁶ Indeed it is, but complicated here by its close association with Allecto. I will argue that her actions and influences are more like the fire imagery in general than is generally recognized – inherently destructive but without moral value (in either direction), necessary, and very dangerous. Among other things, this means that we ought to worry less about distinguishing Allecto's malevolent influence from perfectly natural, and desirable, passion and more about the role(s) of the

culpable, for the beginning of *labor* in Italy: *prima laborum / causa fuit* (A. 7.481-82)." I would point out, however, that it was Allecto's action and the burning desire of the hounds that were the this first cause.

403 In the twining of the deer's antlers with pliant garlands there also seems to be a slight echo of the snake twining itself around Amata's neck and hair, and, possibly even of the pliant thyrsus that would be taken up for Bacchus.

404 Horsfall 2000, 332.

405 In this it is reminiscent of the encounter with the Harpies, although that episode has an emphasis on war rather than hunt that removes any suggestion of the wholesome and innocent.

406 Horsfall 2000, 333.

passion itself.

Civil war, with its inherent conflict between family members, calls upon the aspect of the Furies that deals with family (dis)order, and this domestic context is also evoked by the emphasis on the familial connections in this episode. This intimacy applies even to Silvia's deer, and thus provides both a reminder of Allecto's role as *luctifica*, creator of a most intimate emotion, and a striking example of the wildness that characterizes Italy in the *Aeneid*.⁴⁰⁷ As I discussed briefly at the end of the previous chapter, the Trojans' new homeland is characterized from the beginning as strange and enticing place that offers untamed fertility and dangerous peace. The opposition of wild (Italian) and civilized (Trojan) is one of the things that must be resolved by the formation of a new Roman people, and both will need to become more separate from the divine. This is particularly marked in Italy, where it seems that humans live in the too permeable edges of divine territory, a more insidious danger than the visiting gods known to Troy. The uncanny and dreamlike depiction of the hunt highlights this closeness to gods and the otherworldly nature of the land; both the Edenic Italy and remembered glories of Troy are out of place (and time) in the *Aeneid*, and this scene shows both the strangeness of the peace and the requisite violence that brings the two peoples together.⁴⁰⁸

407 Vance 1981 also considers the wildness of Silvia's stag, with particular attention to the confusion of boundaries that is played out in the proper and improper killing of animals, including a look back at the Harpies episode (130-32). As he puts it (1981, 128): "Sylvia's beloved stag is neither entirely domesticated nor entirely wild, but dangerously in between." I, however, see it not as a "basic erosion of the boundaries between domesticity and wildness" (128), but as a reflection of a liminal place in which the boundaries are not firmly established, which is no less dangerous for the lack of violation.

408 Recall as well the strangeness of Andromache and *Troia nova*, as was discussed earlier. Vergil's Italy seems to overlap with the world of folktale, and that is especially notable in Silvia and her deer, which is quite reminiscent of the Brother and Sister fairytale, in which a

Just as the desire for pursuit and glory is portrayed as natural, so, too, is the way the men respond to Silvia's call for help once the wounded stag returns home (7.503-510):

Silvia prima soror palmis percussa lacertos
auxilium vocat et duos conclamat agrestis.
olli (pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis)
improvisi adsunt, hic torrens armatus obusto,
stipitis hic gravidi nodis; quod cuique repertum
rimanti telum ira facit. vocat agmina Tyrrhus,
quadridam quercum cuneis ut forte coactis
scindebat rapta spirans immane securi.

Silvia, the sister, when she had beaten her arms with her hands, was first to call for help, and she called together the tough countrymen. And they (for the violent curse lay hidden in the silent woods) were at hand unexpectedly, one armed with fire-darkened torch, others loaded with knotty clubs. Anger makes a weapon from anything at hand for the one who reaches. Tyrrhus summoned the band of men just as he was splitting an oak that was quartered by driven in wedges, breathing fiercely with his snatched up axe.

The band of men evokes the maenadic women we left with Amata, and, even more, the torches and *agmina* and threatened violence portray the men as a bit like the Furies themselves.⁴⁰⁹ Silvia's emphatic description as sister might also evoke the Furies, and

girl's brother is transformed into a deer. The combination of animal transformation and lovely and dangerous seclusion also recalls the myth of Callisto and perhaps even the realm of Diana in general.

409 The *agmina* I refer to is the savage band of Tisiphone's sisters mentioned on the tour of the Underworld (6. 570-2): *continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello / Tisiphone quatit insultans, toruosque sinistra / intentans anguis vocat agmina saeva sororum*. There is also a possible reference to the simile of a mob used when Neptune calms the storm in Book 1: like the Italian woodsmen, the crowd is armed with torches (though also with rocks rather than the clubs) and *furor* provides arms much as *ira* does here (*ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est / seditio saevitque animis ignobile vulgus / iamque faces et saxa volant, furor arma ministrat*, 1.148-150). This would also be structurally significant, as Neptune's action suppressed Juno's action, which then remains ineffective for the first half of the poem, while the presence of these armed men will be the final part of the successful provocation of war that initiates the action of the second half.

both her relationship to the deer and her ability to summon violence recall Circe. Ironically, perhaps, the dangers of the divine sorceress were successfully avoided on the approach to Italy, while the gentle intimacy of maiden and stag will be the source of great bloodshed.⁴¹⁰

The reference to Allecto hiding in the woods (*pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis*, 7.505) highlights her lack of direct involvement, as discussed above, but also suggests the image of violence hidden within the laudable bonds of family and mutual self-defence.⁴¹¹ The Fury springs into action again when she spots another opportunity for harm, and this one requires direct involvement and the element of disguise and deception that had been lacking so far in this final episode (7.511-539):

At saeva e speculis tempus dea nacta nocendi
ardua tecta petit stabuli et de culmine summo
pastorale canit signum cornuque recurvo
Tartaream intendit vocem, qua protinus omne
contremuit nemus et silvae insonuere profundae;
audiit et Triviae longe lacus, audiit amnis
sulpurea Nar albus aqua fontesque Velini,
et trepidae matres pressere ad pectora natos.
tum vero ad vocem celeres, qua bucina signum
dira dedit, raptis concurrunt undique telis
indomiti agricolae, nec non et Troia pubes
Ascanio auxilium castris effundit apertis.
derexere acies. non iam certamine agresti
stipitibus duris agitur sudibusve praeustis,
sed ferro ancipiti decernunt atraque late
horrescit strictis seges ensibus, aeraque fulgent
sole lacessita et lucem sub nubila iactant:

410 Their closeness, and the danger of its disruption, is also reminiscent of Diana, and that doubled evocation is itself indicative of the dangers of the divine world as a whole.

411 With thanks to Christopher Nappa for the suggestion, her influence might be visible nonetheless in the unexpected presence of the band of men. This would help make sense of the somewhat perplexing *improvisi* in 506, if it refers to Allecto prompting the readiness of both men and anger.

fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere vento,
paulatim sese tollit mare et altius undas
erigit, inde imo consurgit ad aethera fundo.
hic iuvenis primam ante aciem stridente sagitta,
natorum Tyrrhi fuerat qui maximus, Almo,
sternitur; haesit enim sub gutture vulnus et udae
vocis iter tenuemque inclusit sanguine vitam.
corpora multa virum circa seniorque Galaesus,
dum paci medium se offert, iustissimus unus
qui fuit Ausoniisque olim ditissimus arvis:
quinque greges illi balantum, quina redibant
armenta, et terram centum vertebat aratris.

But from her lookout, the savage goddess spotted an opportunity for harm and sought the high roof of the dwelling; from the highest point she sang the herdsman's signal and extended her Tartarean voice with a curved horn, at which the whole grove immediately trembled and the deepest woods resounded. Trivia's lake also heard it from afar; the river Nar heard it, white with sulphuric water, and the springs of Velinus, and fearful mothers clasped children to their breasts. Then indeed with snatched up weapons the fearless farmers swiftly ran from all directions to the call, with which the dread horn gave the signal, and the Trojans youths also poured forth from the opened camp aid for Ascanius. They arrayed battle lines. It is no longer a rustic contest that is waged with rough clubs and hardened stakes; they fight instead with double-edged iron and a black crop bristles extensively with drawn swords, bronze gleams with reflected sun and casts its light up to the clouds, just as the tide begins to whiten with the first wind, little by little carries itself toward the sea and rises higher with waves, and then surges toward the heavens from its deepest foundation. Here in the front of the first line a youth, Almo, who had been the eldest of Tyrrhus' children, was laid low by a hissing arrow. The wound stuck fast within his throat and closed the moist path of the voice and tender life with blood. The elder Galaesus was surrounded by many men's bodies when he presented himself in the middle seeking peace, who alone was once most just and most wealthy in Ausonian fields: he had five flocks of bleating sheep, another five of cattle returned at night, and he turned his land with a hundred plows.

This final act combines disguise, as Allecto deceives with the form of the signal, and revelation, as it is her Tartarean voice that resounds and her basic function that is made

clear as she directly provokes war.⁴¹² This is reinforced by the fact that the horn that gives the signal is *dira*, just as Allecto rose from the seat of the *dirae deae*.⁴¹³ The merging of her voice and the horn allows the image of Allecto transforming herself into the signal, playing on her propensity toward shape-shifting, just as her voice imbues the war with added weight and grimness. The Turnus episode showed the truth of her claim to bear war and death in her hand; here we almost see her *as* war, and her voice has the power to transform death and violence into something darker. It is not just the signal that marks the shift to war; Vergil makes it quite explicit by pointing out that battle lines are drawn up (*acies*, 523) and swords used instead of wood. Two Iliadic notes further demonstrate the transition: the simile for the gleam of the weapons (though note that it is not a desirable glitter but a dark crop), and the pathetic catalogue of the first deaths, in which both youth and fertile peace appear again.

These two final actions that actually precipitate the war display much less of Allecto than did the Amata and Turnus episodes – in both cases she gives the signal, but has no need to persuade, attack, or possess. In part, this reflects the fact that war is now in the hands of men, and Allecto is thus less necessary, as we saw on a smaller scale at

412 Horsfall points out that literary antecedents include Eris (*Il.* 11.10-11) and the Colchian dragon (*AR* 4, 129). I agree that the Roman and practical context is more relevant here, but Eris and a dragon are intriguing literary neighbours for Allecto. In a sense, the two Greek models are combined in Allecto, who is both terrifying, like the dragon, and inspiring, like Eris, but the element of disguise is a striking departure.

413 As a final note, surely *dira* applied to *bucina* broadens our application of it and blurs any line between Dira(e) Dea(e) as a proper name and *dira dea* as a description. I am not concerned with the (possibly artificial) distinction itself so much, but rather with how much of the associations with divine *dirae* (of any sort) can be carried to the trumpet announcing a war, which happens to have been prompted by Allecto. The parallel with Eris (who shouts terribly, ἔνθα στᾶσ' ἦῦσε θεὰ μέγα τε δεινόν τε, *Il.* 11.10) offers support for my argument that *dirus* in the *Aeneid* is closest in meaning to δεινός.

the ends of the previous episodes, but it also suggests that she is more fully present in the hunt and war and thus disappears into them as her voice did into the horn. This tight association of Allecto and war is brought out further in her report and dismissal, as is her association with deceit and inflaming desire, but her sojourn, taken as a whole, also displays both the full range of her work and her delight in it. The very redundancy of her missions (though one can imagine that any one prompt would not work alone) recalls the multiplicity of her forms (“Even her own father, Pluto, hates her; her Tartarean sisters hate the monster: she changes into so many faces (such ferocious forms!), she sprouts, black, with so many snakes,” *odit et ipse pater Pluton, odere sorores / Tartareae monstrum: tot sese vertit in ora, / tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris*, 7.327-9), and of the evils that are dear to her (“to whom grievous battles and anger and plots and harmful crimes are dear,” *cui tristia bella / iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi*, 7.325-6). This is not reckless exuberance, but a systematic display of power that reiterates the mission as laid out by Juno. Having demonstrated her effectiveness in Amata’s bedroom and Turnus’ lust for battle, Allecto now brings together the domestic (in Silvia and her deer, and the relationships that spur defence) and the martial in her final move, thus playing out the introductory imagery of marriage and war conjoined. In fact, one can see how her work follows Juno’s closing instruction quite closely, though, as we have seen, the various elements are also present in each episode (7.338-40):

‘
 ... fecundum concute pectus,
dissice compositam pacem, sere crimina belli;
arma velit poscatque simul rapiatque iuventus.’

“Shatter the overflowing heart, break up the settled peace, sow the

accusations of war; let youth all at once desire and summon and snatch up arms.”

Amata’s heart was simmering with feminine cares and anger when Allecto planted a snake in her breast, and she then disturbed first the peace of Turnus’ sleep and then of his reasoned response to the situation; in the final episode Ascanius’ desire for arms and Silvia’s summoning lead to the arming of the assembled youth.

Allecto’s report and dismissal

Once battle has started and the first human has died, a pleased Allecto returns to Juno (7.540-551):

Atque ea per campos aequo dum Marte geruntur,
promissi dea facta potens, ubi sanguine bellum
imbuat et primae commisit funera pugnae,
deserit Hesperiam et caeli conversa per auras
Iunonem victrix adfatur voce superba:
‘en, perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi;
dic in amicitiam coeant et foedera iungant.
quandoquidem Ausonio respersi sanguine Teucros,
hoc etiam his addam, tua si mihi certa voluntas:
finitimas in bella feram rumoribus urbes,
accendamque animos insani Martis amore
undique ut auxilio veniant; spargam arma per agros.’

And then, while these things were happening throughout the fields with Mars even-handed, the goddess, who had accomplished what she had promised when she stained battle with blood and initiated the deaths of the first fight, abandoned Italy, betook herself through the breezes of heaven, and, victorious, addressed Juno with a proud voice: “Behold, discord has been accomplished for you with grievous war; now say that they might come together in friendship and establish treaties! Since I have spattered Trojans with Ausonian blood, I could even add to that, if your goodwill for me is certain: I could bring the furthest cities into war with rumors, and inflame their minds with the love of insane Mars so that they would come as reinforcements from everywhere; I could sow arms throughout

the fields.”

The common idiom *aequus Mars*, which is used in straightforward war narrative to indicate evenly matched fighting, sets up an opening image of Allecto commanding the god of war: it is Mars on the field and Allecto surveying the accomplishment of her plans. The use of *potens* seems to emphasise this, and the image is capped by Allecto’s description as *victrix* when she addresses Juno.⁴¹⁴ The *tristia bella* (7.325) that were introduced as dear to her now manifest most clearly and extensively as she displays the accomplishment of one of her concerns and, if we use duty in a relatively loose sense, the performance of her natural duty. The association of Allecto and war that was so striking in her introduction is now seen in its literal fulfilment, and it is worth repeating the passage from Book 2 that similarly ties the Furies to war (2.336-8):

talibus Othryadae dictis et numine divum
in flammis et in arma feror, quo tristis Erinys,
quo fremitus vocat et sublatus ad aethera clamor.

By such words of the son of Othryus and a divine power I am borne into
the flames and into arms, whither the grievous Erinys, whither the
battleroar summons, and a cry lifted to the heavens.

As I argued earlier, this close association of the Furies with war, and the concomitant shifts in their modes of working, are central to Vergil’s innovations, and that brief pairing

414 See Skinner 2013 on the echoes, particularly in Book 12, of Venus Victrix as used by commanders in the civil wars. The use of *victrix* thus reinforces the association with war, but also suggests another point of contact with Venus – Allecto can be imagined as the inversion of beneficent Venus who brings victory, just as she serves as a sort of maleficent Hymen. The Furies as markers of a doomed wedding will be discussed in Chapter 6, but this particular development is a necessary (and underexamined) foundation for the changed role of the Furies and other divinities in later literature, and the ghost of a goddess *victrix* evoked by a fortunate general seems to be part of the striking relationship between Oedipus and Tisiphone that is the focus of the opening of the *Thebaid*.

in the flashback of Book 2 has now been expanded upon to great effect. Allecto's statement that discord has been accomplished with war (*perfecta tibi bello discordia tristi*, 7.545) makes clear her role both as agent and as bringer of war, and the latter is emphasized further by the repetition of the sowing imagery: Juno had enjoined her to sow the accusations of war (*sere crimine belli*, 7.339), and now Allecto offers to sow arms throughout the fields (*spargam arma per agros*, 7.551).⁴¹⁵

It is not only to the straightforward violence and bloodlust of war that the Furies are bound, but to trickery and plots, the disruption of households, and the transformation of affection into war. As she states explicitly in her report to Juno, Allecto has brought about *discordia* and offers to bring more by means of rumors; Discordia, who dwells, with snaky hair, near War and the iron chamber of the Eumenides in the Underworld (6.279-81), and Fama, who regularly causes trouble and is explicitly a monster in Book 4, are strong reminders of Allecto's methods and her chthonic and monstrous nature.

The use of *potens* subtly reinforces the image of Allecto in charge of the battle, but the pairing with the promise serves more directly as a reminder of her role as Juno's agent. The fulfilment of a specific promise is also implicit in the fact that Allecto's accomplishment is marked by staining with blood and deaths, which recalls the battles and funeral torches that were among Allecto's concerns as listed by Juno. It is worth noting that Allecto never actually responded to Juno before this final report, and this

415 The sown arms also seem to allude to the buried arms that will be discovered by some future farmer in the *Georgics* (1.493-7), adding to what is already a "complex temporal presentation" (Thomas 1988, 150). The arms that are being sown in the *Aeneid* are precursors to those referred to in the *Georgics*, in that the story is set in the distant past, but they also follow, based on composition date; the epic plot of the *Aeneid* requires battle, of course, but it is possible that being written within a more settled peace allowed for less distancing.

seems to emphasize both her efficacy and autonomy. The phrase *tua si mihi certa voluntas* in line 548 is interesting in this context, and various shades of meaning seem to be present. The exact parallel in Juno's statement to Venus at 4.125 supports reading this as a query about support and goodwill, but it could also be read as asking whether Juno remains firm in her intention, which might be a reasonable question from such an expert in evils as Allecto. Horsfall says: "While Juno invites Venus' specialised aid in cementing the union between Aeneas and Dido at 4.125, Allecto's humbler status justifies this implicit request for full support, in an apparently unparalleled attempt to undertake independently conceived action."⁴¹⁶ While it is clear that Allecto is subordinate in this situation and acting at Juno's behest, it is not at all clear that she does not speak from her own position of power, with her own agenda, and this would, in fact, follow the Venus and Juno parallel more closely as a request for mutually beneficial cooperation.⁴¹⁷

Allecto's comment and offer, regardless of its grounds or possibility of fulfilment, does highlight the possibility of independent action that is one of the most striking innovations of Vergil's female demonic figures, and one that merits further attention. I would argue, however, that the independent action is not necessarily unparalleled, but more clear and emphatic because of Vergil's development of an individual character who

416 Horsfall 2000, 361.

417 As is brought out in the next section, the subordination seems to be based on location, to some extent, so that Juno and Jupiter can dismiss her because they rule the airs, not because she is inherently dismissable. It is also worth noting that there is a similar lack of clarity in Celaeno's relationship with Apollo and Jupiter, as discussed in the previous chapter, and this seems to be part of the shifting divine landscape, so to speak; as more divine figures are available to act upon humans, the boundaries are necessarily more fluid, and the characters, because they are allowed to become characters, complicate the relationships.

is given more scope for agency and motivation. The Furies of the Greek tradition, especially those that appear outside of tragedy, are quite clearly not subservient to the Olympian gods; on the contrary, their rules can apply to the Olympians, as demonstrated by Iris' reminder to Poseidon in the *Iliad*, when he argues that he should not need to obey Zeus and withdraw, that the Furies always favor the elder (οἷσθ' ὡς πρεσβυτέρουσι τῆρινύες αἰὲν ἔπονται, 15.204). Nevertheless, they are presented as so tightly bound to enforcement that they become synonymous with it conceptually, and this does not leave much room for independent motivation. Vergil's Allecto, then, differs both in serving as agent for another deity and in having her own personal proclivities and talents, from which independent motivation is a small step. These two changes might seem contradictory, but they are both grounded, I would argue, in her newly individualized character. Even if one takes her as completely subordinate to Juno, she was chosen precisely because of her individual nature, which is set apart even from her own family, and the same skills that Juno wanted to use are ones that Allecto quite clearly delights in using; the sense of her pleasure in doing so that grows throughout her sojourn, culminating in this report, raises the possibility of growing independence.⁴¹⁸

This passage also highlights Allecto's role as one who initiates, with at least a suggestion of ritual significance in the phrase *sanguine bellum imbuit* (7.541-2). As Servius points out, the specification of blood is important, since war can also have its source in discord and disagreement.⁴¹⁹ Horsfall argues that Servius was anachronistic and

418 Horsfall seems to consider a similar dynamic, although he takes the success, rather than Allecto's character, as the cause (2000, 359): "triumphant success ... lends her pride..., a voice, and a desire for independent initiative."

419 *IMBUIIT* *initiavit. et bene 'sanguine': nam potest bellum et a discordia vel a dissensione inchoare.*

the verb here is extended only as far as ‘permeated,’ apparently taking the connection to *initiare* in a strictly religious sense, which does apparently first appear in Apuleius referring to initiation in or by the rites of Isis (*deae quidem me tantum sacris imbutum*, *Met.* 11.27), but the verb is also used by Catullus of the Argo’s inaugural voyage (*illa rudem cursu prima imbuat Amphitriten*, 64.11) and Propertius of Romulus providing the first example of the *spolia opima* (*imbuis exemplum primae tu, Romule, palmae*, 4.10.5), and both contexts seem more applicable to the lines under consideration here.⁴²⁰ Horsfall goes on to say: “If *Serv.* is linguistically anachronistic, we have no business to attribute to Virgil’s *Allecto* an act of perverted religious initiation, nor does such a ‘reading’ derive any reinforcement from other elements in the present context.”⁴²¹ Perhaps not, if one imagines a specific initiatory rite, but *Allecto* is a strong force of initiation (as is *Juno* who commanded her). Furthermore, the repeated imagery of spattering (*respersi sanguine Teucros*, 547; *spargam arma per agros*, 551) does suggest a sacrificial context, and one might see a hint of Italy itself as an initiatory sacrifice.

Whether or not the bloodshed of this war is a ritual requirement, it is necessary to the plot both as the first instance of the subject matter of the entire second half of the poem and, somewhat less obviously, as the initial step in the appeasement of *Juno*.

Related to the latter, it is also necessary at a more symbolic level in that both Trojans and

Fordyce agrees (1977, 159).

420 *TLL* I.B.1.a.β for the ritual initiation sense, and I.B.1.b for its application to non-living things.

421 Horsfall 2000, 357. Horsfall and Fordyce also differ on the significance of *funera*. Fordyce’s suggestion (1977, 159) that it is an extension of the expected *pugnam* is attractive, but “the deadly opening of the fight” seems to weaken the phrase in removing the specificity of *funera*. On the other hand, Horsfall’s reading of it as referring strictly to the funerals of the two dead men recently mentioned may be taking it too far in the other direction (2000, 357-8).

Italians must be destroyed, to some extent, in order to allow the new union that results in the Roman people. The image of violence as a necessary precursor to foundation is hardly unique to Roman myth, but it is remarkably pervasive in the legendary history of both the *Aeneid* and Livy, and the theme is particularly appropriate for the period, which was naturally framed as a fruitful peace built from war.⁴²²

Allecto's speech also makes clear how pleased she is with her work. Proud and victorious, she is not only capable of performing far more than what she promised, but eager to do so. Just as the narration of her actions clearly echoed her initial introduction and Juno's proposal, Allecto's own report returns to that initial scene in a way that emphasizes both her character and ability to fulfil her task. In particular, and in addition to the images of funerals discussed above, the *tristia bella* of 7.325 are answered by *bello discordia tristi* in 545, and her power to provoke brothers united in affection into battle (*unanimos armare in proelia fratres*, 7.335) is visible in the prevention of a union in friendship specified in line 546. Her proposed additional work, moreover, which would not only start war but thoroughly sow the fields with arms,⁴²³ features her characteristic deception (here in the form of rumours) and inflammatory desire (*accendamque animos insani Martis amore*, 7.550) that clearly echoes what she has already accomplished

422 I am thinking particularly of the series of stories in Livy that frame political action in violence against and control of women (the Sabine women, Lucretia, Verginia); in Livy, too, the violence is productive.

423 Note how this takes up the image of the black crop of weapons (*atraque late / horrescit strictis seges ensibus*, 7.525-6) and suggests that Allecto might turn her hand to agriculture and spread crops rather than fire. In this, she perhaps recalls her sister Tisiphone in the *Georgics* (*saevit et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris / pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque, / inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert*, 3.551-3). See Nappa 2005, 157 for the image of a "grim shepherdess" and the parallel with raging Mars at the end of *Georgics* 1; Clare 1995 on the passage in general.

among the men.

Juno makes the element of deception explicit in her response when she says that there is an abundance of terror and deceit (552), and Allecto's *amor* is also taken up by the return to the image of Lavinia's marriage. Now that war is well established, Juno's ominous promise to Lavinia is fulfilled, and "Bellona awaits as your wedding attendant" is answered by the bloody wedding feasts that Latinus and Aeneas will celebrate (*talia coniugia ...*, 555-6). Not without reason, then, does Juno seem pleased, but she will rule now, and Allecto is dismissed (7.552-571):

tum contra Iuno: 'terrorum et fraudis abunde est:
stant belli causae, pugnatur comminus armis,
quae fors prima dedit sanguis novus imbuat arma.
talia coniugia et talis celebrent hymenaeos
egregium Veneris genus et rex ipse Latinus.
te super aetherias errare licentius auras
haud pater ille velit, summi regnator Olympi.
cede locis. ego, si qua super fortuna laborum est,
ipsa regam.' talis dederat Saturnia voces;
illa autem attollit stridentis anguibus alas
Cocytique petit sedem supera ardua linquens.
est locus Italiae medio sub montibus altis,
nobilis et fama multis memoratus in oris,
Amsancti valles; densis hunc frondibus atrum
urget utrimque latus nemoris, medioque fragosus
dat sonitum saxi et torto vertice torrens.
hic specus horrendum et saevi spiracula Ditis
monstrantur, ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys,
invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat.

Then Juno said in response: "There is an abundance of terror and deceit: the causes of war are present, there is fighting with weapons at close quarters, new blood stains the weapons that chance first provided. Such a union and wedding feast the excellent son of Venus and king Latinus himself shall celebrate. The father himself, ruler of high Olympus, would scarcely want *you* to wander freely through the heavenly airs above.

Leave this place. I, if any chance remains for these toils, shall take charge.' When the daughter of Saturn had uttered such words, the other lifted her wings with hissing snakes and sought her home, Cocytus, leaving behind the heights above. There is a place in the middle of Italy, under lofty mountains, renowned by repute and remembered in many regions, the valley of the Amsanctus. It presses upon this dark place with dense foliage and, on either side, the edge of groves; in the middle, the crashing river thunders with stones, roaring in its twisting whirlpool. Here a horrible cave and vents of fierce Dis appear, and an immense chasm where Acheron breaks forth opens its noxious jaws in which the Erinys settled, a hateful deity, and lightened heaven and earth.

Juno mentions terror and deceit first, and they have indeed been trademarks of Allecto's work throughout this episode, and the reference to the wedding emphasizes the fulfilment of her promise to Lavinia (*Bellona manet te pronuba*, 7.319). Horsfall quite correctly points out that Juno is not being critical here in her opening comment, but I find unconvincing the suggestion that "Allecto has been so successful that Juno wants for herself alone the glory of final victory against the Trojans."⁴²⁴ Nor is it clear that Allecto is any threat to Juno; she seems rather to be carried away, as is entirely appropriate to her characterization. I can imagine, however, that Juno might want some of the satisfaction herself; the Olympians are not immune to the joys of destruction, and Book 2 provided a glimpse of Juno (*saevissima*, 2.612) taking an active part in the destruction of Troy along with Neptune, Minerva (*Gorgone saeva*, 2.616), and Jupiter himself.

Juno's dismissal is not framed in terms of evil accomplished or to be done, but rather as a response to Jupiter's objection to Allecto wandering freely in the realms that he and Juno rule. This initially seems a straightforward reminder that Allecto is a god of the Underworld and must now return, with the suggestion that Juno, knowingly working

424 Horsfall 2000, 363.

against the will of Jupiter, wants Allecto to go before he notices.⁴²⁵ In fact, however, it highlights how unusual Allecto's sojourn has been and signals a more fluid boundary between the worlds above and below. Allecto was not only able to leave the Underworld and spend time on earth, but to move freely (*licentius*, 7.557), and one might recall that a variety of monsters were present in Vergil's Underworld, including those such as the Harpies and centaurs who are creatures of the air and earth above. Furthermore, as is revealed in the concluding scenes of Book 12, Jupiter himself is attended on Olympus by the Dirae, siblings of the Furies and likewise wrapped in snakes by their mother, Night.⁴²⁶

Juno's comment also brings us back to earth, so to speak, and ends the nightmarish effect that Allecto brought. A significant part of that effect was precisely the lack of clear boundaries that now seems to be alluded to in Jupiter's objection, and Juno would restore order not only by dismissing Allecto but by ruling herself (*ipsa regam*,

425 This would make Allecto's speed and stealth additional boons for Juno.

426 Horsfall (2000, 266, citing König) points to a parallel passage, which Horsfall also considers a likely model, in Euripides' *Heracles*, in which Lyssa tells Iris to return to Olympus while she goes to the home of Heracles (στειχ' ἐς Οὐλυμπὸν πεδαιόρουσ', Ἴρι, γενναῖον πόδα / ἐς δόμους δ' ἡμεῖς ἄφαντοι δυσόμεσθ' Ἡρακλέους, 872-3); I discuss Lyssa herself in the introduction, and I do not find this particular passage among the most significant of her influences, but there are several interesting points in it that might shed light on the relationship between Juno and Allecto. First, it is Lyssa, the daughter of Night and Ouranos (843-4, and the Gorgon daughter of Night at 883) and the monster in this scenario, who has been urging moderation on Iris, who is there as Juno's representative. This is a clear example of a lack of strict division between good (Olympian) gods and evil (non-Olympian and, especially, chthonic) that is sometimes nonetheless imagined. Allecto is unlikely to urge restraint on anyone, but the flexibility of roles is visible and Juno's role is more clearly a model. Second, a passage from slightly earlier, when Lyssa yields, might shed some light on the relationship of Juno and Allecto, as Lyssa maintains her own will while acknowledging that she must be obedient to her master(s) (858-61): Ἥλιον μαρτυρόμεσθα δρῶσ' ἄ δρᾶν οὐ βούλομαι. / εἰ δὲ δὴ μ' Ἥρα θ' ὑπουργεῖν σοί τ' ἀναγκαίως ἔχει / τάχος ἐπιρροῖβδην θ' ὀμαρτεῖν ὡς κνηγέτη κύνας, / εἰμί γ'. One might also see a parallel in the way that Iris presents herself as a partner of Juno rather than her agent (μὴ σὺ νουθέτει τά θ' Ἥρας κἀμὰ μηχανήματα, 855).

7.560), as both queen of the gods and goddess of the *aer*.⁴²⁷ The image of Allecto as an embodied destroyer of proper boundaries is clearly an inversion of the traditional role of Furies as enforcers of order and boundaries, but it would follow the model of Furies that both punish and provoke crimes, which has been established quite vividly by Vergil, as well as draw upon the idea of gods inflicting that which they heal.⁴²⁸

Both the issue of maintaining boundaries and the two characters in this conversation might also suggest a parallel in the enigmatic scene in *Iliad* 19 in which his horse Xanthus warns Achilles of his coming death, for it is Hera who made him have speech (αὐδήεντα δ' ἔθηκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη, 19.407) and the Erinyes who stop it (Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσαντος Ἐρινύες ἔσχεθον αὐδήν, 19.418). The exact significance is not clear, nor is the role of Hera, but it does seem clear that the Furies are restoring natural order.⁴²⁹ They also, as it happens, end an interjection that disrupts the flow of the narrative, as Achilles' response makes clear (“Ξάνθε, τί μοι θάνατον μαντεύεαι; οὐδέ τί σε χρῆ,” 19.420), and this quality of interruption is more strongly present in two passages from Vergil's *Georgics* that offer interesting points of comparison.⁴³⁰ To take the latter first, in Book 4 of the *Georgics*, Vergil brings the inset tale of the Corycian

427 See Horsfall 2000 for more tracking of the ring composition; he also points to the emphasis on Juno's role as ruler and its importance in setting up her subsequent action in opening the Gates of War, which is beyond the scope of this chapter. Juno's connection with *aer*, and the elemental and meteorological interactions between that and Jupiter's *aether*, merit further consideration in the context of Juno's role in the *Aeneid*, but that is beyond the scope of this project.

428 Apollo, the healing god who brings plague, is the most obvious example, but it is a natural expansion of any power.

429 As mentioned earlier, Xanthus and Balius are the children of the Harpy Podarge, in an additional, and tangential, connection.

430 I thank Christopher Nappa for the *Georgics* references and the stimulating discussion.

gardener to a close with the interjection that he is passing these matters over because of the constraints of space (*verum haec ipse equidem spatiis exclusus iniquis / praetereo*, 4.147-8); the specification of space is itself an interesting coincidence with the spatial context of Juno's statement, but, as Nappa points out, this man whose story has been curtailed is notable for performing superhuman feats. This is the result of a closeness to the natural world that is not possible for ordinary humans, and the abrupt closure of the scene sets it apart as such.⁴³¹ Allecto's work could hardly be more different from the Edenic husbandry of the gardener, unless one counts her crops of iron and madness, but she is quite clearly a supernatural power and has been acting upon humans both on a relatively broad scale (the sounding of the war signal and, to a lesser extent, the hunt) and most intimately (the invasion of the very minds and bodies of Amata and Turnus).⁴³² This and the spatial limits could both be reasons to see her as an intrusion that the poem itself must no longer allow.

The second passage from the *Georgics* comes in Book 3 and is even more interesting given that Allecto has worked by stirring human passions, as the poet recalls himself to move from cattle to other livestock with the famous statement that time flies (*sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus, / singula dum capti circumvectamur amore*, 3.284-5). Allecto seems to have been moving too fast to become bogged down in details, but she has indeed left many captured by passion. Furthermore, and this could well be part of Juno's point, all that was necessary has been accomplished (and potentially more

431 Nappa 2005, 174-7.

432 The strange fertility of the garden in the *Georgics* is more reminiscent of the strange intimacy of humanity and wilderness that characterizes the Italians, and it is conceivable that this closeness is part of why Allecto can range so freely.

than was necessary, as it not entirely clear what purpose was served by the attack on Amata); Allecto's proposal might therefore be viewed as one that would allow her to indulge more fully in the pleasures of destruction and work well done, but would derail or delay the plot. Juno is well aware that the story does not end with this bloody marriage and more suffering for the Trojans; she will add the final touch herself when she opens the Gates of War (*tum regina deum caelo delapsa morantis / impulit ipsa manu portas, et cardine verso / Belli ferratos rumpit Saturnia postis*, 7.620-22), and it is from that second opening that the rest of the poem flows. Allecto's presence and the initial opening of the Underworld were the necessary spark, but cannot continue unchecked.⁴³³ The dangers of maddening passion that Vergil displays so vividly with Allecto are also present in his use of *amor* in the *Georgics*, which makes the passage additionally significant.⁴³⁴ As Nappa says of this whole second proem in the *Georgics* (3.284-94): "The presence of *amor* here reminds us both of its beneficial side and also that all living things are prone to its dangerous promptings. *Amor* is beneficial in this context because it leads to art. ... Yet implicit in these images is the unsettling idea that the poet---our teacher and that of Octavian---may be carried away to the point of madness."⁴³⁵ Perhaps because Allecto deals with less civilized passions, the beneficial side of *amor* is less evident in the *Aeneid*, but it is nonetheless implicit both in the drive of the plot (fundamentally in the longing for a homeland) and in its ultimate conclusion in the foundation of Rome that

433 There might also be suggestion of the threat of supernatural war rather than human.

434 I have already discussed Tisiphone as she appears in the *Georgics* and the ways in which the infection of the plague is paralleled in the infection of the Furies in the *Aeneid*, and I will return to the dangers of *amor* in the conclusion.

435 Nappa 2005, 141.

runs throughout the poem, surfacing regularly.⁴³⁶

Allecto does leave the upper air in response to Juno's command, and she retreats to a place that is appropriately hellish, another river of the underworld, the Cocytus, but also a mediating sort of space: it is nestled beneath mountains; a cave, whirlpool, and vents of the Underworld bridge divisions between elements and regions; and a set of *fauces* that define transitional space in general and, more specifically, recall the home of the Furies at the entrance to the halls of Hades (*in faucibus Orci*, 6.273). The fact that she is not portrayed as returning to the Underworld itself supports reading Jupiter's objection precisely rather than as a complete banishment. This is not a restoration of order by a benign god, nor the isolation of monstrous divinities in a secure and separate world; Allecto may not wander freely through Vergil's world, but she remains perched in its fringes.⁴³⁷ This wooded valley is also reminiscent of the grove in which Latinus sought the oracles of Faunus, as discussed at the end of Chapter 3, and thus makes clear that Italy's strange intimacy with the divine world can be benevolent as well as dangerous.

436 It is also present conceptually in the marriage alliance, as well as in further demonstrations of the love of battle and of comrades. The role of *amor* throughout the *Aeneid* merits further investigation, which space precludes in this study. I will point out, however, that the invocation of Erato early in Book 7 is clearly of great importance and, to return to the Furies, Erato as muse of war is a sort of inversion of, or prelude to, both Bellona as wedding attendant and Allecto as the agent of the dire and bloody wedding (7.37-44): *Nunc age, qui reges, Erato, quae tempora, rerum / quis Latio antiquo fuerit status, advena classem / cum primum Ausoniis exercitus appulit oris, / expediam, et primae revocabo exordia pugnae. / tu vatem, tu, diva, mone. dicam horrida bella, / dicam acies actosque animis in funera reges, / Tyrrhenamque manum totamque sub arma coactam / Hesperiam. maior rerum mihi nascitur ordo, / maius opus moveo. ...*

437 One can imagine that she might remain close enough to enjoy the view of the coming battle, as indeed Juno and Venus seem to do in Book 10, as Tisiphone rages (*hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia. / pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit*, 10.760-761).

When Allecto departs, she does so with a final emphasis on both wings and snakes (*illa autem attollit stridentis anguibus alas*, 7.561); both are recurring features of divine monsters and messengers, but usually appear separately. These iconographic markers are given much more emphasis in the *Aeneid* than in earlier works, as seen extensively, but not exclusively, in the Allecto episode, and they influence both later literary representations and, arguably, the role of the female demonic in the *Aeneid* itself. What precisely the phrase *stridentis anguibus alas* describes is debated. Fordyce accepts the snakes on the wings as an intensifying innovation, but Horsfall, drawing largely on the iconographic tradition in vase painting, takes great exception to this violation of the norms.⁴³⁸ While I do not disregard the literary and artistic antecedents, one must keep in mind not only that Vergil has no obligation to follow them, but that he has in fact already made significant changes *and* set up Allecto herself as a monster of many faces. Furthermore, the literary tradition itself is neither so straightforward nor so consistent as to support such insistence. As for the artistic record, we should recall that the scenes and motifs taken up in the visual arts are often repetitive and do not necessarily correspond to the literary descriptions, as should be expected given the different media. Vergil already ‘violated’ the standard images of pursuit, and with lingering description, when he had Allecto set a seductive and shape-changing snake loose in Amata, and both disguise and the penetration of her torch were new elements that were given much visual weight in the

438 Fordyce (1977, 161): “The snakes in her wings are an addition to the Fury’s horror which does not appear elsewhere.” Horsfall (2000, 36) sets out his dilemma thus: “Either, therefore, the poet here and here alone departs radically and inexplicably from a tradition elsewhere scrupulously respected ..., or we have to suppose another particularly complex (and hitherto unsuspected) case of transferred epithet (cf. 542, 549).”

Turnus scene.⁴³⁹

That said, I am not prepared to argue at this point that there definitely are snakes on her wings, and I have translated the line with hissing snakes in an ablative absolute.⁴⁴⁰ In fact, I am not sure that we are supposed to have any clear and unchanging image of Allecto, who is most clearly associated with snakes and less consistently (or strongly) with wings. We should also recall that she was described as changing her appearance and sprouting snakes; there is no need to assume that her appearance here is either settled or regular, and in fact, given that mutability was listed as part of her horror, “inexplicable” could be a term of honor.⁴⁴¹

Both cave and serpents are common attributes of monsters, and Allecto’s departure is almost an inversion of the first appearance of the Harpies, who do not have

439 A possible model for Allecto’s use of the torch might be the less tangible violence of Lyssa’s imagined rush into the breast of Heracles (... οὔτε πόντος οὔτω κύμασι στένων λάβρος / οὔτε γῆς σεισμὸς κεραυνῶ τ’ οἴστρος ᾠδῖνας πνέων, / οἶ’ ἐγὼ στάια δραμοῦμαι στέρονον εἰς Ἡρακλέους, Eur. *Her.* 861-3)

440 One advantage of this reading, *contra* Horsfall, is that it does not preclude snakes on the wings. In fact, it allows the snakes to be anywhere, part of the Fury but not to be pinned down with fixed precision.

441 Especially because changing form and sprouting snakes were brought together in her introduction as the exposition of her family’s hatred (*tot sese vertit in ora, / tam saevae facies, tot pullulat atra colubris*, 7.328-9), it seems possible that her shapeshifting ability is tied to snakes. Regarding snakes on wings in particular, I would point out that Charun, one of the Etruscan demons featured prominently in funerary art, can be depicted with snakes fringing his wings, as discussed in the introduction, and one might wonder whether the fringed aegis of Athena might be a relevant component in the pool of imagery. It seems strange to limit Vergil iconographically to a set of images taken from Greek tragedy when his Furies and related figures are, in many ways, most distant from the Furies of tragedy. That said, some of the later representations of Furies in Greek tragedy in an Italian context, particularly those depicting Orestes killing Clytemestra, depict the Fury presiding over the death in a way that Allecto might well approve, and that seems to be influenced by the imagery of winged demonic figures attending men as they die on the battlefield (as in *LIMC* Eteokles 32, 34, and more generally on sarcophagi in Etruria).

snakes, but are themselves already hybrid (3.225-6):

at subitae horrifico lapsu de montibus adsunt
Harpyiae et magnis quatiant clangoribus alas,

Horsfall is probably right in suggesting that Vergil “has probably in mind AR 2.298f., the disappearance of the Harpies—kin to Allecto, 323ff.—into a cave,” but this place is also very like that of the entrance to the Underworld in Book 6.⁴⁴² In Apollonius, as in Euripides, we see Iris departing for Olympus whereas in Vergil the emphasis seems to be on who remains in the world of humans, which fits with the more overtly mediating role his monsters have. He also quite rightly points out the echoes of her first appearance and pithily sums up: “Hellish she was from the first and to Hell she returns.”⁴⁴³ As I mentioned above, however, this is not a separable Hell, and there is no indication that Allecto will not return again. Like many traditional monsters, she is now in a cave, but Allecto in the *Aeneid* has been given a range of mobility, activity, and interest that is entirely foreign to creatures such as Charun, Echidna, or even Polyphemus.

In a final echo of her introduction, Allecto is, in her last appearance, a hated god (*invisum numen*, 7.571), and her departure eases heaven and earth. She is also referred to here not by her personal name but as Erinys (7.570), which occurs elsewhere in her episode only when she is transformed by anger at Turnus and reveals herself (*tot Erinys sibilat hydris / tantaque se facies aperit*, 7.447-8). Vergil does not seem to make any categorical distinction with his use of the various possible appellations for the Furies (certainly there is enough flexibility that the Harpy Celaeno can refer to herself as

442 Horsfall 2000, 370.

443 Horsfall 2000, 370.

maxima Furiarum), and I would in any case hesitate to draw conclusions from such a small set of data that needs no explanation other than the requirements of meter, but it is nonetheless interesting that the use of Allecto's title or family name is delayed to that point. Before that she is simply Allecto, who came from the home of the *deae dirae* and is a fearsome power of the chthonic clan, but is not specifically identified as a Fury. This use of the term does seem to underscore that fact that snakes and form are shared marks of the Furies rather than particular to Allecto, who happens to be especially fearsome in her deployment of them, but it also adds to the sense of an expanding array of individuals within a larger category, which might perhaps have a particular connection to anger.

Conclusions

Like all Furies, Allecto is a power of the Underworld, and Juno prefaces her summoning by an explicit statement that she is now calling on the powers below. But Allecto is summoned, and appears, *as* Allecto, and this naming and individual appearance is shocking. Allecto swoops up into the world very much her own creature, not as a shadowy denizen of the Underworld or a member of a pack. In this, she is reminiscent of Hades in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, although even he only stays above ground long enough to snatch Persephone. Like Allecto, the Furies of Greek tragedy can move in the human world, but they are firmly bound to their victims. Allecto's apparent ability to fully bridge the worlds seems to be new and distinctive; this is emphasized by the stronger placement of the Furies in the Underworld, and perhaps by the very existence of a more fully developed Underworld in the *Aeneid*. Unlike Hades or the tragic Furies, Allecto seems quite comfortable above ground, and sets about her work among humans

in a way traditional for human/divine interactions: she disguises herself and prompts the desired behaviour.⁴⁴⁴

Another entirely new development is the fact that the objects of her attack are not targeted because of any wrong-doing on their part, but presumably because they will best spark the war. In any case, the reasons are Allecto's, as the choice of targets is left to her, and her choice nicely demonstrates the range of her influence as expressed in her introduction. The destruction of households and the multivalent imagery of torches are dominant in the Amata episode, while the attack on Turnus emphasizes the power of bonds overturned and civil war; the hunt and call to arms combine elements in a more explicitly social context and reiterate the desire for glory that spread contagiously at the end of the Turnus episode.

The startling autonomy that appears in her introduction is visible throughout, but given special emphasis in her closing offer to continue her work. Even more evident is the emphasis on her physical form, particularly its mutability and potential use as a weapon. Finally, both persuasion and, more fundamentally, the power to spark and inflame desire run through her actions: with Amata, the persuasion is physical and remarkably sensuous; against Turnus, Allecto attempts to use visual and verbal persuasion but resorts to violence, which displays her body as a weapon of force rather than seduction; in her final moves, the provocation of hunt and war repeats the sequence in streamlined form.

Allecto's first act is startlingly sexual, which has gone largely unnoticed by

⁴⁴⁴ She also uses force and 'magic,' which we will discuss shortly, but it is this tendency toward both disguise and instigation that seems to be distinctive.

scholars. She thrusts a snake into Amata's breast with the same verb (*conicio*) used in the terrifying attack on Turnus, but the result is physical seduction rather than disruptive terror. The intimacy of its presence within her clothes intensifies with the image of shared breath, as if in a lover's kiss. Note also that the words suitable to the movement and texture of the snake are also sensual in a way very appropriate to sexual imagery. The metamorphosis into jewelry and hair, in itself very intimate, is followed by an entirely gratuitous movement over her limbs. The question of Amata's unseemly love for Turnus has long attracted attention, and, as discussed above, Allecto's means of attack seem to prey specifically on her victim's amorous nature; I would also point out, however, that in this scene Amata appears as an object of seduction, precisely as befits her name.

As discussed above, desire is also prominent in the conclusion of the Turnus episode and in the hunt scene that follows, as men (and dogs) are stirred to the violence of war and the hunt, but with a range of individual motivations that rounds out the motif of desire and makes it ring true. Vergil's emphasis on Allecto's role in finding the hidden sparks of desire and fanning them into a rampant blaze sets up a point of contact for the Furies' role as punishers, as the crimes that result from such desires are also their concern.

The persuasive element of Allecto's interaction with Amata is entirely foreign to any representation of the Furies in Greek literature, and the physical disguise and persuasive words that she employs in her attack on Turnus enlarge upon this

development.⁴⁴⁵ In both cases, the innovation is particularly striking because it is not clearly necessary. Why would a Fury want to persuade her victims? Both in the *Aeneid* and, later, in Statius' *Thebaid*, there is an interest not only in driving someone mad, or filling them with bloodlust, but in making it arise from within the victim. Both persuasion and the elicitation of internal feelings are more characteristic of Venus, and to return to a passage discussed briefly above, there are striking parallels in what Venus tells Cupid and how he enacts her plan (1.683-688, 715-719).⁴⁴⁶

[Venus to Eros]

tu faciem illius noctem non amplius unam
falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue vultus,
ut, cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido
regalis inter mensas laticemque Lyaeum,
cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet,
occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno.'

You have his form for no more than a single night; trick with guile and, as a boy, take on the known familiar features of that boy, so that, when happiest Dido takes you onto her lap amidst the regal feast and wine of the Loosener, when she embraces you and plants sweet kisses, you may then inspire a hidden flame and deceive with your poison.

[and the plan in action]

ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit
et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem,
reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto
haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido
insidat quantus miserae deus. ...

After clinging to Aeneas' neck within his embrace and filling him with the

445 When considering this shift in method, it is worth noting that it is precisely the *animus* of Amata that remains unaware of the flame that has filled her (*necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam*, 7.356).

446 Disguise is particularly fitting for Venus, and her agent Cupid, in the *Aeneid*. Consider how she disguises herself to trick Aeneas, and Cupid, at her command, disguises himself and lingers rather than simply attacking as Eros does with Medea in the *Argonautica* (3.275 ff.), for example.

great desire from his deceptive mother, Cupid sought the queen. She clung to him with her eyes, with her whole heart, and sometimes caressed him on her lap – poor Dido, unaware of how great a god penetrated her.

The flame and poison referred to here are embodied in Allecto's torch and snakes, but she also works in the same way as Cupid: disguised as someone appropriate to the situation in the case of Turnus, and with infection and contact in the case of Amata. The disguise follows the model of Athena as Mentor in the *Odyssey*, but Athena's disguise is true to her purpose and taken only to shield her divinity.⁴⁴⁷

The introduction of Venus' plan also provides striking verbal parallels with Allecto (1.657-660):

At Cytherea novas artis, nova pectore versat
consilia, ut faciem mutatus et ora Cupido
pro dulci Ascanio veniat, donisque furem
incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem.

But Cytherea turns over new stratagems in her mind, a new plan, that Cupid should arrive with his form and countenance exchanged for that of sweet Ascanius, and then set fire to the raging queen with his gifts and twine fire round her bones.

The *novas artis* of Venus are echoed by Allecto's *mille nocendi artes* at 7. 338, and the power to change her appearance is part of Allecto's introduction that reappears in the Turnus episode. As discussed earlier, the shared imagery of flames runs through the Allecto episode, as well as the later scenes showing the effects of Cupid on Dido, and the final phrase of this passage reappears almost identically applied to Amata (7.355, with the indicative *implicat*). Scholars have generally been most interested in what this parallel says about Amata, whether as tragic figure, parallel to Dido, or maddened with

⁴⁴⁷ Both Iris and Somnus, discussed earlier, are partial parallels within the *Aeneid* that display the same interest in having the victims take action of their own accord.

inappropriate love; a more interesting question for the purposes of this study is what the parallel between Venus and Allecto suggests.⁴⁴⁸

Allecto's innovative role as *provocatrice*, which is reminiscent of gods of love and war, and her association with both domestic and martial realms that is so notable in the *Aeneid* are central to a great shift in the role of the Furies in literature – they remain available to be called on as enforcers, but their actual appearances are consistently concerned with the provocation of horrible crimes and the nurturing of overpowering and transforming desires.

Furthermore, regarding love and war, and persuasive speech as opposed to force, note that we see both in Allecto, though the physical persuasion of her snake is more persuasive than her words.⁴⁴⁹ Aphrodite's effects on humans are unavoidable and violent, but the force is more often portrayed as inhering in the effect itself, rather than in her action. (Even when Cupid disguised wounds Dido, the focus is on both the setting of the attack, which is both intimate and disguised, and the effect of love on Dido, rather than on the thrust of the arrow.) This is particularly notable in the *Aeneid*, in which there is such emphasis on Venus' persuasive words, but even when it is specifically the violence of Eros that is depicted, as in Sappho, the focus is not on the god as agent. In the case of Allecto, however, the emphasis is both extended by the physical detail and shifted to include her role as attacker, which is further emphasized by her own use of agents. The result is a far more individualized and horrible goddess. As I argued in my discussion of

448 On tragic parallels, see Fantham 1998, La Penna 1967; Lyne 1987 highlights the erotic context.

449 Her actions in provoking the hunt are less clear, but certainly not verbal, and her final act of giving the signal for war uses her voice effectively, but again without words.

the Furies in Book 2, Vergil draws upon the literary tradition of personified forces such as Eros and Deimos in his conception of the Furies, and on the conjunction of love and war that is manifest in their shared effect, but Allecto is not a personification but rather a divine power with irresistible force and particular tastes, one that can be sent by another god or angered in her own right, and she embodies a potent nexus of deception and inversion, punishment and provocation. She also embodies a combination of the disguised powers of love and the overtly terrifying powers of war that might well be more fearsome than either alone.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁵⁰ In addition to adding resonance to the themes of destructive desire and love and war intertwined, this might also have particular relevance to the 'iron fist in a velvet glove' of Augustus' self-presentation.

Chapter 5: The Dirae

The final appearance of the female demonic in the *Aeneid* comes when Jupiter deploys one of his Dirae against Turnus as Book 12 draws to a close. The ability to horrify and frighten is a crucial aspect of all such figures, but the Dirae stand out because their role is precisely, and exclusively, to terrify humans, and to do so in the service of Jupiter.⁴⁵¹ The structural and thematic importance of the Dirae is given added weight by the echoes of Juno's use of Allecto in Book 7, not only in bringing to a halt the war that set the second half of the poem in motion, but by highlighting the Olympians' use of chthonic and

451 The only appearance of a Fury or female demonic figure between Allecto and the Dirae is in the brief mention of Tisiphone discussed earlier, and the only completely clear point of that reference is that she is strongly identified with battle (10.755-760): *Iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors / funera; caedebant pariter pariterque ruebant / victores victique, neque his fuga nota neque illis. / di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem / amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores; / hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia Iuno. / pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit.* As Harrison (1991, 255) points out: "she is significantly named after one of the chief functions of the Furies ('avenger of slaughter'; cf. esp. Euripides *Or.* 321-4 *μελαγχρότες Εὐμενίδες ... τινύμεναι φόνον / καθικετεύομαι*). Here her involvement in the battle parallels that of Eris in the Homeric model (*Il.* 11.73-4); in this role of promoter of war she matches the intervention of her sister Allecto in book 7." I would also, however, point out the inverted role that lends the name some irony and throws Vergil's innovation into relief. (Allecto is also mentioned once more, in Venus' speech to Jupiter at the beginning of Book 10, as she recounts the tribulations of the Trojans (*Allecto medias Italum bacchata per urbes*, 10.41).) As discussed earlier, Juturna's role in provoking battle earlier in Book 12 (12.222-246) shows significant overlap with Allecto, but that seems to mark a sort of typification of feminine agents of discord and deception rather than signal that Juturna herself is a demonic figure. Iris, whose role as such an agent (5.604-663) was discussed in Chapter 1, also appears, but in a more traditional role of helpful divine messenger, and her appearance to Turnus is undisguised, informative, and moves Turnus directly to his natural action of fighting. The two also come together in a brief mention in Book 9, when Jupiter sends Iris to stop Juturna, who was in turn sent by Juno to help Turnus (*sed manus e castris propere coit omnis in uum / nec contra viris audet Saturnia Iuno / sufficere; aëriam caelo nam Iuppiter Irim / demisit germanae haud mollia iussa ferentem / ni Turnus cedat Teucrorum moenibus altis*, 9.801-805), but both are present simply as messengers.

monstrous agents to cause harm and the twinned motifs of provocation and punishment.

The Dirae are introduced immediately following the reconciliation scene between Jupiter and Juno, which further emphasizes the way they mirror the powers deployed by Juno. She was unable to move the powers above (*superos*) and so called on those below (7.312); here, nearly at the end of the poem, we discover that Jupiter has no need to call on Hell because he has his own bit of it at his side (12.841-852):

adnuit his Iuno et mentem laetata retorsit;
interea excedit caelo nubemque relinquit.
His actis aliud genitor secum ipse volutat
Iuturnamque parat fratris dimittere ab armis.
dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae,
quas et Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaeram
uno eodemque tulit partu, paribusque revinxit
serpentum spiris ventosasque addidit alas.
hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis
apparent acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris,
si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex
molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes.

Juno assented to this and, pleased, changed her mind; then she withdrew from heaven and left the cloud. When this was done, the father himself pondered something else and determined to send Juturna from her brother's defence. There are said to be twin curses, called the Dirae, whom deepest Night bore with Tartarean Megaera in the same delivery, and bound each with coils of snakes and wings like the wind. These attend at the throne of Jupiter and in the threshold of the fierce king, and they sharpen fear in diseased men whenever the king of the gods wields horrifying death and sickness or terrifies deserving cities with war.

That the Dirae are twins, and not distinguished from each other, places them in the tradition of unnamed deities, usually female, that exist in groups and are tied somewhat vaguely to a specific place or task.⁴⁵² Their name, too, is simply the feminine plural

452 Such groups would include the Erinyes, the Graces, the Moirae, the Harpies, the Graiai, and so on. Even the Muses, who were named in Hesiod, seem to be most often conceived of as a group entity, as is suggested here for the Dirae.

substantive of the adjective *dirus*, which, as discussed earlier, has a basic meaning of ‘dread’ or ‘fearsome,’ and a specific meaning of ‘inauspicious’ in a religious context.⁴⁵³ The Furies can be referred to as *dirae deae*, but they are not alone in that.⁴⁵⁴ These Dirae, however, are explicitly linked to the Furies by the ties of blood; they were born to Night along with Megaera, and Night bound each with coils of snakes and wings like the wind (12.847-8).⁴⁵⁵ Some take these sisters to be the other two Furies named in Vergil, Allecto and Tisiphone, but I think that the emphatic placement of the Furies in the Underworld and the Dirae on Olympus is fairly conclusive evidence against that reading, especially given that the Dirae attend Jupiter, whereas Juno made a point of having to stir up the powers of the Underworld.⁴⁵⁶ There is also, as I will discuss further below, a striking

453 Hübner (1970, 4-6) rightly points out that an inauspicious omen can signal divine anger, but it does not necessarily do so, and his exclusive link leads to an incorrect limitation on the range of inauspiciousness and a not entirely supported link between an ominous response and a curse. This is particularly clear in the *Aeneid*, as Aeneas encounters dire omens because he is not correctly pursuing his divinely favoured path, while Juno, the one god whose wrath is directed at Aeneas and the Trojans, does not send him any omens. The bad omens can have the same effect of chilling with fear, but I think it is important to recognize that while Jupiter’s Dirae are, as becomes clear later in this scene, omens and messengers, their primary role as they attend him on Olympus is to terrorize humans, whether as punishment for a wrong done or, as recognized by Juturna, as a warning against a wrong being, or about to be, done.

454 See Chapter 1 and Appendix A for further discussion and a list of uses of *dirus* in the *Aeneid*. The translation of *pestes* is difficult. I chose ‘curses’ in this passage because it is both flexible enough used loosely and brings in that specific meaning of *dirae* used as a common noun, but its use in 12.865, discussed below, makes it clear that, like *dirus*, it has flexible range of use, but one based in the idea of harm rather than fear.

455 One could take this as evidence for the identification of the Dirae and the Furies, but I take it as Night marking her children, both those identified with Tartarus and those bound to be handmaidens of Jupiter on Olympus. In either case, it is clear that the range of these monstrous creatures is newly expanded in Vergil.

456 Lyne 1989, discussed below, sees the Dirae as Furies, so too Farron (*EV* II, 620) following Waser 1912 [Farron cites 1910] (*RE* 7, 313). Tarrant (2012, 306) also argues against the identification of the Dirae and Furies: “It seems hard to imagine, however, that either of those well-known figures would reappear under a different designation and without being

difference in the effect of Allecto and the Dira that works hand in hand with the opposition of Juno and Jupiter.⁴⁵⁷ Just as Juno is a motivating force in the plot of the *Aeneid* and regularly stirs up trouble, so too does Allecto work by inflaming passions and spurring humans to action; the Dira, on the contrary, freezes her victim with terror and stops action, just as Jupiter presides over the winding down of the action in the *Aeneid* and can instantly silence murmuring gods and the world itself with his voice (*eo dicente deum domus alta silesit / et tremefacta solo tellus, silet arduus aether, tum Zephyri posuere, premit placida aequora pontus*, “at his voice, the lofty home of the gods grows silent and earth trembles her foundation, the high aether is silent while the winds are stilled, the sea smoothes its calm surface,” 10.101-3).⁴⁵⁸ As Feeney points out: “In a way, the Dira stands to Allecto as Jupiter stands to Juno: they are siblings, and share many qualities and effects, but have different functions.”⁴⁵⁹ They also, by the contrast between the individualized Allecto and the anonymous and tamed Dirae, highlight the

explicitly identified.... Furthermore, the abode of the Furies is the Underworld, while the Dirae stand in attendance at Jupiter’s threshold; the notion of some comms. that the Dirae/Furies are summoned from Hades when Jupiter requires their services cannot be seriously considered.” He also quite rightly points to the framing that is emphasized by their close relationship (2012, 307): “by sending a hellish emissary to ensure T.’s defeat, Jupiter closes the circle that opened when Juno dispatched Allecto to inflame him for war.” I would argue, however, that Vergil’s Dirae here are closer to the avenging and traditional representations of the Furies than Allecto, which rather undercuts his statement that “the primary function of the Furies is to avenge crime, whereas here the Dirae are harbingers of disaster” (306), and it is not at all clear that the *Dirae ultrices* in Book 4 (473, 610) are not the Furies themselves rather than Jupiter’s Dirae “more fully assimilated to the Furies” (307).

457 The difference is, at least in part, situational, and I do not suggest that there is any fundamental or necessary difference in action. Certainly the Furies in the Underworld punish, just as the Dirae are said to, but neither the Dira nor Allecto is used for this purpose in the *Aeneid*.

458 Hübner (1970, 74-75) also points out this opposition: the Dirae activate nothing, but frighten, paralyze, and stop, “Sie aktivieren nicht, sondern erschrecken, lähmen, hemmen.”

459 Feeney 1991, 151.

danger and uncontrollable nature of human passions and relationships; the Dirae, controlled by Jupiter and with no personality or passions of their own, not only paralyze Turnus with fear, but were sent for the express purpose of preventing Juturna from helping her brother, whereas Allecto, called upon by a wrathful goddess, specializes in twisting intimate relationships of blood and marriage and plays upon the passions of her victims. I will return to this issue and its possible significance for the *Aeneid* and the role of the female demonic at the end of this chapter.

To my mind, the specification of two Dirae reinforces the imagery of forces attending Jupiter; not only can two entities flank a throne or doorway in a way that neither three nor one can, but the image also evokes the long tradition of guardian monsters in the ancient Near East.⁴⁶⁰ Lyne, on the other hand, argues that *gemmae* (12.45), especially followed by *harum unam* (12.853), sets up a sort of puzzle, as it did at 11.72 ff., the purpose of which is to show that “Jupiter must sometimes employ the same evil monster that Juno employed in Book 7. He may be employing her at this very moment. This is why we are told of two Furies. Vergil cashes in acquired value to dark effect at the conclusion of our Augustan poem.”⁴⁶¹ Both the darkness of the effect and the parallel with Juno, which I agree merit emphasis, work just as well if Jupiter is using one of Allecto’s siblings, while avoiding the rather strained logic of his proposal and the

⁴⁶⁰ Consider the very common imagery of the hybrid monsters that guard thrones and doorways in the ancient Near East, such as the Lammasu. See note in Chapter 1 on the association of Furies with doorways; Tarrant (2012, 308) points out that *in limine* “may have been inspired by *Il.* 24.527 ‘two urns that stand on the door-sill of Zeus’ (ἐν Διὸς οὐδαί).” The effect is accentuated by the reappearance of figures that appeared in Hades’ doorway in Book 6 (*Morbus* at 6.275 and *Letum* at 6.277), here wielded by Jupiter rather than guarding the Underworld.

⁴⁶¹ Lyne 1989, 192-4, quotation from 193-94.

logical difficulties of having Tisiphone presiding over the thresholds of both Olympus and Tartarus.⁴⁶²

The twin Dirae are also reminiscent of the two Strifes in Hesiod's *Works and*

Days (14-19):

ἦ μὲν γὰρ πόλεμόν τε κακὸν καὶ δῆριν ὀφέλλει,
σχετλίη· οὐ τις τὴν γε φιλεῖ βροτός, ἀλλ' ὑπ' ἀνάγκης
ἀθανάτων βουλήσιν ἔριν τιμῶσι βαρεῖαν.
τὴν δ' ἑτέρην προτέρην μὲν ἐγείνατο Νύξ ἐρεβεννή,

462 Lyne 1989, 193: "Two Furies, we are told, customarily serve Jupiter. We are told something else. Neither is Megaera. If we now remember that in the tradition which Vergil uses there are three Furies in all, Megaera, Tisiphone and Allecto, then one is Allecto." His emphasis on the trio works against the emphasis on the pair that the argument requires, and it also seems clear that the three named Furies did not need to appear together. As mentioned earlier, Megaera is named along with Tisiphone on a 4th century BCE lekythos and with Allecto on an amphora, both by Asteas, a vase painter active in Paestum (Allecto alone is named on a hydria by the same painter with two Furies depicted; *LIMC* v. 3, Erinyes (Sarian), 389, cat. 64, 51, 88, respectively). The trio is named at Apollodorus 1.1.4, as an addition to the Hesiodic origin story; Lyne (1989, 193, n. 19) also points out Orphic Hymn 69 (to the Erinyes), which names the three. I discuss this to some extent in the introduction, but it is worth pointing out here that there are at least three references to Megaera and Allecto without Tisiphone: as mother and nurse, respectively, of Gout (Podagra) in Lucian (*Podagra* 4-6), and grouped with Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos, and Persephone in a hymn to Selene found on magical papyrus (Δίκη καὶ νήματα Μοιρῶν, | Κλωθὴ καὶ Λάχεσις ἠδ' Ἄτροπος εἶ, τρικάρανε, || Περσεφόνη τε Μέγαιρα καὶ Ἀλληκτώ, *PGM* 4.2795-7 = *Hymni e papyris magicis collecti* 10.7-9 in Heitsch 1961, *Die griech. Dichterfr. der röm. Kaiserz.*, Göttingen). Finally, and as further demonstration of the versatility of this family, Megaera alone shows up as a figure akin to the child-killing Lamia in the Orphic *lithica*, in a reference to a nurse hanging a stone around a child's neck to ward off the eyes of evil-minded Megaera (Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐχένι παιδὸς ἀεργάζουσα τιθήνη / λᾶαν, ἐρητύσει κακομήτος ὅσσε Μεγαίρης, Orphic *lithica* 224-25). Johnston, who takes this as a reference specifically to child-killing, points out that the envy contained in Megaera's name is regularly referred to in the context of infant deaths (Johnston 1999, 193). Halleux and Schamp (1985, 93) take it more loosely, as a reference to the "evil eye" ("L'expression a probablement le sens symbolique de «mauvais oeil»"). Granted, most of this evidence is post-Augustan (Lucian is 2nd c. CE, the papyrus imperial, and the *lithica* is generally dated to Late Antiquity), but there is no evidence that they were perceived as three, and only three, who must be named together. On a related note, the other two named Furies are also given a chance to act individually in later epics: Tisiphone is summoned by Juno in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (as discussed in Chapter 6) and is the star of Statius' *Thebaid*; Megaera is summoned by Juno in the *Dionysiaca* of Nonnus.

θῆκε δέ μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος, αἰθέρι ναίων,
γαίης [τ'] ἐν ῥίζησι καὶ ἀνδράσι πολλὸν ἀμείνω·

For the one advances terrible war and contests, merciless; no mortal loves her, but out of necessity they honor grievous Eris according to the will of the gods. But as for the other, dark Night bore her first, and the high-throned son of Kronos, who dwells in the heavens, set her in the roots of the earth, greater by far for men.

This parallel, however, highlights how interchangeable Vergil's Dirae are from each other – they have no particular task of their own, but bring whatever evil Jupiter desires. Vergil's fierce Jupiter, moreover, uses his children of Night to help terrify human civilization rather than to be any sort of benefit to mankind.⁴⁶³ This Hesiod passage emphasizes the contrast, but Jupiter here is similar to Zeus as dispenser of justice later in the *Works and Days* (238-47), which seems not to have attracted scholarly notice.⁴⁶⁴ Not

463 As mentioned in the previous chapter, Hesiod's Erinyes are the children of Earth rather than Night, but West's categorization of the children of Night in the *Theogony* is suggestive given some of the traits of Vergil's Furies under discussion. "An analysis of the progeny of Night will exemplify the different kinds of logic which have influenced the composition of the genealogies: 1. She is mother of Day, because Day follows her, comes forth out of her. 2. She is mother of Death, because the two are of like nature. 3. She is mother of Sleep, because Sleep is the brother of Death, and because it is practised at night. 4. She is mother of Dreams, because they come at night. 5. She is mother of Cavil, Pain, Nemesis, Age, Strife, because they are dark and dreadful. 6. She is mother of the Hesperides, because they live in the far west, where she does (cf. 275). 7. She is mother of the Moirai and Keres, because of their affinity with Death. 8. She is mother of Deceit and Sex, because they are practised at night" (1966, 35-6). Vergil's Furies would fit well in Hesiod's family of Night, and items 4, 5, and 8 are worth particular consideration.

464 I have not carried out an extensive search for this in particular, but neither Tarrant nor Conington-Nettleship mention it, although the latter does point out a possible parallel in the *Iliad*'s simile of Zeus' destructive storm prompted by those who pervert justice (ὡς δ' ὑπὸ λαίλαπι πᾶσα κελαινὴ βέβριθε χθῶν / ἤματ' ὀπωρινῶ, ὅτε λαβρότατον χέει ὕδωρ / Ζεὺς, ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἀνδρεσσι κοτεσσάμενος χαλεπήνη, / οἱ βίη εἰν ἀγορῆ σκολιάς κρίνωσι θέμιστας, / ἐκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάσωσι, θεῶν ὅπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες / τῶν δέ τε πάντες μὲν ποταμοὶ πλήθουσι ῥέοντες, / πολλὰς δὲ κλιτῦς τότ' ἀποτμήγουσ χαράδραι, / ἐσ δ' ἄλλα πορφυρέην μεγάλη στενάχουσι ῥέουσαι / ἐξ ὀέων πικάρ, μινύθει δέ τε ἔργ' ἀνθρώπων / ὡς ἵπποι Τρωαὶ μεγάλα στενάχοντο θέουσαι, *Il.* 16.384-93), which is itself reminiscent enough of Hesiod to have attracted suspicion (Janko 1985, 365).

only does Zeus ordain justice for individuals who do wrong (οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε
κακή καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα, / τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς, 238-9),
but he often punishes an entire city for the vice of one man (πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα
πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπαυρεῖ, / ὅς τις ἀλιτραίνῃ καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάται, 240-41),
and this punishment is very similar to that alluded to in the *Aeneid* passage (242-47):⁴⁶⁵

τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων
λιμόν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί.
[οὐδὲ γυναῖκες τίκτουσιν, μινύθουσι δὲ οἴκοι
Ζηνὸς φραδμοσύνησιν Ὀλυμπίου· ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε]
ἢ τῶν γε στρατὸν εὐρὺν ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ὃ γε τεῖχος
ἢ νέας ἐν πόντῳ Κρονίδης ἀποτείνυται αὐτῶν.

To them the son of Kronos sends a great calamity, famine and plague
together, and the people perish. Or he, the son of Kronos, destroys their
great army or their walls, or punishes their ships upon the sea.

Note the similarity in punishments (death, sickness, war), the scale (cities rather than
individuals, which is emphasized in Hesiod), and the frequency suggested by the range of
options and by *si quando* (12.851).⁴⁶⁶ Furthermore, the role of δίκη and, in particular, her
close association with Zeus and his punishment of cities, merits further consideration as a
possible influence on Vergil's *Dirae*.⁴⁶⁷ Although full investigation is beyond the scope

465 Text from Merkelbach and West, 1970.

466 The ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε bracketed by Merkelbach and West would also fit with this, but the series
of alternatives with which the passage ends make the point clearly enough.

467 Within 50 lines, δίκη encompasses the justice administered by Zeus, as in 239 above, the
Justice whom cities must not mistreat (220), and the maiden Dike (παρθένος... Δίκη, 256),
who, when offended, sits beside her father Zeus and reports on the unjust minds of men
(ἀνθρώπων ἄδικον νόον, 260), so that the people pay for their rulers' misdeeds. Verdenius'
comments (1985, 16-17) on the similar issue that arises with strife (ἔρις/Ἔρις, and prompting
his discussion, Ἐρίδων γένος in line 11) are worth repeating in the context of Dike: "...Hes.
did not conceive of Ἔρις as a mere abstraction but as a power which may manifest itself as a
divine person. The same holds good with regard to his other so-called personifications: they
are no literary fictions but real divinities. ... These divine powers have an abstract and a

of this study, I point it out because the authority and correctness that is implicit in justice and its concomitant punishment is not often associated with Vergil's Furies, despite the fact that it is as important as their opposing power to provoke crime and violent lusts.⁴⁶⁸ I suspect that this is partly due to a reluctance to see, on the one hand, any authority in the hands of Juno and her agents, and, on the other, the extent to which Jupiter shares her wrath.

Vergil could have distanced Jupiter from the horrible Dirae, portrayed him as a reluctant god who uses terrible agents for his wrath, as if the desire to horrify were essentially chthonic along with the terrifying and monstrous divinities that spring from Night and the Underworld; far otherwise, however, as Jupiter is fierce (*saevus*, 12.849), and it is he that terrifies the cities (12.852). Furthermore, his commands are *superba*

personal aspect and it depends on the circumstances which of these two aspects becomes predominant. This also explains the fact that we find 'reification' as well as personification: personal names such as Ares, Aphrodite, and Hephastus are also used for 'war' and 'warlike spirit' (LSJ II), 'love' and 'love-making' (LSJ II 1), and 'fire' (LSJ II)."

468 This is the other main problem with keeping the Dirae (not to mention related figures and the word *dirus* itself) too tightly bound to the idea of anger and curses exclusively. A curse in the sense of *diras imprecari* is more normally an expression of anger that *calls for* divine or supernatural action (like the Greek ἄραί, which are prayers or curses), as regularly seen in magic texts or literary representations thereof; an angry god might curse a person or family, but that is a very different use of the word. Furthermore, as mentioned above, the idea of divine punishment does not fit with the application of *dirus* to omens, which are more often warnings. Thus, while it is true that the Greek Furies are associated with ἄραί (although the explicit statement of such at *Eumenides* 417 ("we are called Arai in our home under the earth," Ἄραϊ δ' ἐν οἴκοις γῆς ὑπαὶ κεκλήμεθα) seems to imply that there are many ἄραϊ, or different types, as well as offering another possible influence on Vergil's introduction of Allecto as hated by her family), Conington's comment on this passage of the *Aeneid* is problematic. He says that "'Dirae' answers to the Greek ἄραϊ (Aesch. *Eum.* 417) whether in the sense of curses ('diras imprecari') or of personal Furies" (v.3, 477), but, as presented, these handmaidens of fierce Jupiter are neither. In fact, as I will discuss further below, this particular Dira is sent as an omen to Juturna, and recognized as such; she bears the commands of Jupiter, but *not* to her victim.

(12.877). This is unsurprising in itself, but that pride is often pointed to as central to the offenses of both Juno and Turnus, and, as Turnus recognizes, it is the gods who frighten him, and Jupiter as his enemy (*di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*, 12.895). Feeney's comments on the effect of having Jupiter present in the poem as a character are of particular interest, as they highlight a crucial theme in the poem and seem to gesture to some of what is powerful and disturbing in Vergil's depiction of Allecto :

The fact that Jupiter is in the narrative and reacts for his own reasons (as god of Rome, husband of Juno, father of Venus), means that even his perspective is unavailable as a neutral, dispassionate vantage-point. There is no Archimedean hypothetical point in space from which to regard the action of the poem and evaluate it. Every vantage-point the poem offers is inextricable, part of a competition of views.

Jupiter's perspective is, naturally, a commanding one. It is the perspective of Fate, of Time, of history. It cannot be unsaid, undone. He regards events from a height that shrinks human values. Yet it is not a perspective from which problems disappear. In this dismaying poem, most readers want to find a vantage point of comfort, and it is therefore tempting to construct a 'high' Stoic position in the portrayal of Jupiter, yet his participation in the narrative means that it is never easy, and it becomes finally impossible at the accommodation with Juno and the sending of the Dira.⁴⁶⁹

The role of the Furies in the *Aeneid* adds to this effect, particularly as they appear as authoritative punishing figures in the Underworld, clearly on the side of right.

In both punishment and in the connection to a Fury, Vergil's Jupiter in this episode is reminiscent of the gods in a brief but intriguing passage in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, in which the chorus, in their description of Menelaus and Agamemnon setting off to war, compares the two men to birds (*αἰγυπιοί*) wandering in grief for their children (40-54, 55—67 below):

469 Feeney 1991, 155, and 151-55 for more on the framing role of Jupiter and the wrath that marks the kinship of Juno and Jupiter.

ὔπατος δ' αἴων ἢ τις Ἀπόλλων
ἢ Πάν ἢ Ζεὺς οἰωνόθροον
γόνον ὄξυβόαν τῶνδε μετοίκων
ύστερόποινον
πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἐρινύν.
οὔτω δ' Ἀτρέως παῖδας ὁ κρείσσων
ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος
Ζεὺς πολυάνορος ἀμφὶ γυναικὸς
πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυιοβαρῆ
γόνατος κονίασιν ἐρειδομένου
διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις
κάμακος, θήσων Δαναοῖσιν
Τρωσί θ' ὁμοίως. ...

... then some high-dwelling god, Apollo or Pan or Zeus, hears the sharp cries of lament from the birds who dwell in his realm and sends against the transgressor an Erinys of following vengeance. Just so did mighty Zeus Xenios, for the sake of a woman of many husbands, send the sons of Atreus against Alexander to make many limb-wearying struggles – the knee planted in the dust and the spear shaft destroyed in the prenuptial rites.

A god sending a Fury is certainly a parallel to Jupiter sending a Dira in *Aeneid* 12, and, like Allecto, Zeus uses human agents in the specific example of the Trojan War. The context of a war based on marriage strengthens the parallel with the second half of the *Aeneid*, and the two passages combine the imagery of war and marriage ritual in striking images of a spear shaft destroyed in the prenuptial rites (διακναιομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις / κάμακος, 65-6) and the dowry of blood and Bellona as wedding attendant promised by Juno in Book 7 (*sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo, / et Bellona manet te pronuba*, 7.318-19).⁴⁷⁰ The role of marriage is not explicit in the deployment of

⁴⁷⁰ See Denniston-Page (1957, 74) for a brief discussion of temporal and logical problems of these prenuptial rites. I would suggest that it is not necessary to “suppose that Aeschylus for the moment forgets that the wedding of Paris and Helen *preceded* the fighting at Troy” if we consider that, from a more distant temporal point of view (and recall not just divine

the Dira, but it is very much present in the reconciliation scene that immediately preceded, both in Juno's concession of the coming peace ("when they settle peace with happy marriage (and let it be so)," *cum iam conubiis pacem felicibus (esto) / component*, 12.821-2) and in the emphasis on the mixing of blood with which Jupiter concludes ("the race that will arise from here, mixed with Ausonian blood," *hinc genus Ausonio mixtum quod sanguine surget*, 12.838).

The usual role of the Dirae is presented as impersonal punishment, but while the stakes here in Book 12 are suitably grand, as indeed is emphasized in the divine colloquium just mentioned, Jupiter's act is nonetheless notably personal: he sends a Dira to remove a sister from her brother's defence and, not to punish, but simply to paralyze Turnus in this final duel.⁴⁷¹ I will return shortly to the final scene and some of the questions raised therein, but my point here is that the scale of Jupiter's action is somewhat surprising given the initial description of the Dirae. In fact, Jupiter's normal use of the Dirae would seem to be contraindicated by the situation: far from meriting (further) destruction and terror, the cities in question are on their way to the eternal glory of Rome.⁴⁷²

To return to the action of the Dira, we see in the lines immediately following that she is marked by speed, bears divine messages, and terrifies instantly (12.853-68):

perspective, but the imagery of elevation in the preceding lines) it is in fact precisely at the moment of the prenuptial rites, which might, in this case, be an ironic term for the abduction, that the spears are shattered; war follows by necessity, and the destruction already, in a sense, exists.

471 This is another example of a female demonic figure dividing a family rather than punishing such a division, with thanks to Christopher Nappa for the observation.

472 One might wonder if this difference in scale goes some way toward explaining the use of a single Dira (and see below for Juturna's use of the plural when she recognizes the Dira).

harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo
 Iuppiter inque omen Iuturnae occurrere iussit:
 illa volat celerique ad terram turbine fertur.
 non secus ac nervo per nubem impulsa sagitta,
 armatam saevi Parthus quam felle veneni,
 Parthus sive Cydon, telum immedicabile, torsit,
 stridens et celeris incognita transilit umbras:
 talis se sata Nocte tulit terrasque petivit.
 postquam acies videt Iliacas atque agmina Turni,
 alitis in parvae subitam collecta figuram,
 quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis
 nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras—
 hanc versa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora
 fertque refertque sonans clipeumque everberat alis.
 illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor,
 arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.

Jupiter sent one of these speeding down from the highest aether and commanded that she rush in to be an omen for Juturna: she took flight and was borne toward the earth in a swift whirlwind. No differently does an arrow, launched through the air by its string, which, armed with the bitterness of fierce poison, a Parthian hurls (whether Parthian or Cydonian, the missile is incurable), hiss and leap, unseen, through the swift shadows. Just so the child of Night rushed and sought the earth. After she saw the Trojan battle lines and Turnus' troop, she suddenly drew herself into the figure of a small bird of prey that sometimes sits on deserted rooftops and tombs late at night and sings troublingly – turned into this form, the fearsome thing rushed at Turnus' face and then again, shrieking and beating at his shield with her wings. A new torpor dissolved his limbs with fear, his hair stood on end with horror, and his voice clung to his throat.

There are echoes of both the Harpies and the Furies in *sata nocte* (860, and implied at 846), *stridens* (859), and *pestis* (865),⁴⁷³ as well as the wings and flight that one might not

473 The directly relevant passages are the use of *pestis* in the introduction of the Harpies (*nec saevior ulla / pestis et ira deum Stygiis sese extulit undis*, 3.214-15) and of Allecto hiding in the woods (*pestis enim tacitis latet aspera silvis*, 7.505). It is also used, ominously of impending love when Dido first sees Cupid disguised as Ascanius (*praecipue infelix, pesti devota futurae, / expleri mentem nequit ardescitque tuendo / Phoenissa*, 1.712-14), of Polyphemus (*di talem terris avertite pestem*, 3.620), gain in reference to Dido's love, as noticed by Juno (*Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri / cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori*, 4.90-91), of the fire resulting from Iris' instigation in Book 5 (*lentusque carinas / est vapor et toto descendit corpore pestis*, 5.682-

immediately associate with chthonic monsters, all of which reinforce the image of a larger family, but it is the speed of the Dira that is the focus here:⁴⁷⁴ the wings like the wind (848), the repetition of *celer* (855, 859), *subitam* (862), *turbine* (855)⁴⁷⁵, and, especially, the simile of an arrow (856-59).⁴⁷⁶ This speed, however, is answered by the torpor that her attack causes in Turnus (*illi membra novus solvit formidiine torpor*, 12.867). This torpor, which is such a striking contrast to the fervor inspired by Allecto, is played out in lines 903-918, but first Vergil sets up a contrast between Turnus, with his inability to comprehend or even utter a sound, and his sister Juturna, who comprehends

3; *servatae a peste carinae*, 5.699), in Anchises explanation of the process of rebirth in the Underworld, lingering *pestes* of the body are part of what must be driven out by the punishments of the Underworld (*non tamen omne malum miseris nec funditus omnes / corporae excedunt pestes*, 6.736-7), of the imminent death of Rhamnes (*non augurio potuit depellere pestem*, 9.328), again of fire (*in partem quae peste caret*, 9.540), of war, in Venus' speech to Jupiter (*quid pestem evadere belli / iuvit*, 10.55-6), and referring to Camilla, intriguingly, in Arruns' prayer to Apollo (*haec dira meo dum vulnere pestis / pulsa cadat, patrias remeabo inglorius urbes*, 11.792).

474 This is also a shared trait, of course, marked by the wings, but it is given more weight here than in any other passage.

475 This also recalls the rivers of the Underworld, as well as Amata and the simile of a top. The landscape of the Underworld was also evoked by the terrible death and sickness that Jupiter sends with the Dira (*letum horrificum morbosque*, 12.851), for both are among the figures that surround the gates of Hades, near the iron chambers of the Eumenides and the avenging Ceres (*vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci / Luctus et ultricesposuere 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*, 6.27).

476 The simile itself, however, is anything but swift and direct, and I wonder if Vergil is anticipating the Dira's power to slow and confuse. Tarrant (2012, 310) points out the parallel with *Eclogue* 10.59-60 (*libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu / spicula – tamquam haec sit nostri medicina furoris*); see Boyd (1983, 171-74) for further discussion. It is indeed "tempting to connect this allusion to an erotic text with the Dira's having the *ventosae alae* of Amor (848), and to see the Dira as a perversion of eros/Eros" (Tarrant 2012, 310), and the affinities between Vergil's Furies and gods of love that have been discussed throughout this study add weight to the suggestion. See Tarrant (2012, 307) on a likely model for Vergil in Propertius 2.12.5 (*idem non frustra ventosas addidit alas*). It is also worth mentioning that the simile amplifies the martial context and associates the Dira with the social endeavour of war rather than solitary madness.

all too well (12.869-886):⁴⁷⁷

At procul ut Dirae stridorem agnovit et alas,
infelix crinis scindit Iuturna solutos
unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnis:
'quid nunc te tua, Turne, potest germana iuvare?
aut quid iam durae superat mihi? qua tibi lucem
arte morer? talin possum me opponere monstro?
iam iam linquo acies. ne me terrete timentem,
obscenae volucres: alarum verbera nosco
letalemque sonum, nec fallunt iussa superba
magnanimi Iovis. haec pro virginitate reponit?
quo vitam dedit aeternam? cur mortis adempta est
condicio? possem tantos finire dolores
nunc certe, et misero fratri comes ire per umbras!
immortalis ego? aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum
te sine, frater, erit? o quae satis ima dehiscat
terra mihi, Manisque deam demittat ad imos?'
tantum effata caput glauco contextit amictu
multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto.

But, as she recognized the sound and wings of the Dira from afar, his unhappy sister Iuturna tore her loosened hair and marred her face with her nails, her breast with blows. "What now, Turnus, can your sister do to help you? And what now overcomes me, tough as I am? By what art might I detain the light for you?⁴⁷⁸ Can I set myself against such an omen? Right this instant I am leaving the battle line. Do not terrify me, ominous birds, for I am already fearful: I recognize the lashes of your wings and your deadly sound, and the proud commands of great-hearted Jupiter do not escape me. With these does he repay my virginity? Why did he give

477 In addition, the phrase used to describe Turnus' speechlessness (*vox faucibus haesit*, 12.868) recalls the description of first death in Book 7 (531-34): *hic iuvenis primam ante aciem stridente sagitta, / natorum Tyrrhi fuerat qui maximus, Almo, / sternitur; haesit enim sub gutture vulnus et udae / vocis iter tenuemque inclusit sanguine vitam*. Horsfall (2000, 349) rightly points out the tension of the delay and that "it is an inevitable consequence of Virgil's fundamental principle that everything costs dear and much arguably too dear that a member of the family —and the eldest son at that—is the first casualty;" there is a similar pathos evoked here, I think, that will be drawn out in the depiction of the nightmarish depiction of the Dira's attack on Turnus, discussed below. Furthermore, as Tarrant points out (2012, 312), *membra ... solvit* is "a clear anticipation of T.'s death, cf. 951 *soluuntur frigore membra*."

478 This is a poignant recollection of a lover's desire to delay the sun, with the erotic valence of *ars* providing a bit of emphasis. Her lack of *ars* might also remind us of the *artes* possessed by Allecto, who set all this in motion (and those of Venus, if we go even further back).

me eternal life? Why is the compact bereft of death? Would that I were able to end such griefs now with certainty and to go with my poor brother through the shadows as a companion! Am I immortal? Will anything be sweet to me without you, brother? O, to what depths deep enough could the earth cleave for me and send a goddess to the deepest Underworld?" After saying this much, the goddess covered her head with her grey cloak, lamenting greatly, and concealed herself in her deep river.

Unfortunate Juturna recognizes the Dira immediately, and from afar, and laments as she concedes defeat.⁴⁷⁹ The Dira was sent to be an omen (12.854) for her, and Juturna recognizes her as such; the word *omen* is not used again here, but she refers to the creature as a *monstrum* (12.874), which in this passage combines its meanings of divine message and monster, and the adjective *obscenae* (12.876) is also used in its technical meaning of "ominous."⁴⁸⁰ Juturna's explicit recognition of the futility of resistance, even for a goddess, follows reasonably from her understanding that the Dira is the bearer of Jupiter's proud commands (*iussa superba*, 12.877), but the fact that she recognizes the lashes of her wings and deadly sound (*alarum verbera nosco / letalemque sonum*, 12.876-7) adds a new level of menace to the scene, not least because the phrase strongly recalls the Furies, both in the power to harm contained in their physical characteristics and, more specifically, in the reference to *verbera*, which was used often in connection with Allecto

479 The use of *infelix* evokes Amata, both right before her suicide in Book 12 and, as already discussed, in Book 7, but ultimately goes back to Dido. As Tarrant (2012, 312) concisely puts it, "the adj. introduces a new round of recollections of book 4..." Tarrant also highlights the pathos; for a full treatment of the lament, see Barchiesi 1978.

480 Barchiesi 1978, 108; and see discussion in Chapter 1 of the term used in reference to the Harpies. Like Allecto and Iris, the Dira is disguised, but it does not seem that her disguise is intended to deceive in the same way that theirs were; the impression is rather of donning a form suitable for the human world she enters, just as gods do when they walk among humans.

and also of the punishments in Tartarus, presided over by Tisiphone.⁴⁸¹ The specificity of Juturna's recognition also raises the question of when and why she saw the Dirae before. It is possible that all gods are aware of the Dirae and their nature, which would emphasize even further Jupiter's menace and their close association with him, but her next words highlight her intimate relationship with this fierce king of the gods, and the juxtaposition is a powerful and moving reminder of the violence inherent in his divine power.⁴⁸²

Despite her clear recognition, Juturna addresses the single Dira with plural forms (*ne me terrete timentem, / obscenae volucres*, 12.875-6), and which has perplexed commentators.⁴⁸³ I certainly agree that it is wrong to take it as a simple error, and, in fact, the emphasis on Juturna's recognition is important to an understanding of the problem.⁴⁸⁴

481 In the Underworld, *Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta / vestibulum exsomnia servat noctesque diesque. / hinc exaudiri gemitus et saeva sonare / verbera* (6.555-8), and, albeit with a different word, Tisiphone in action, *continuo sontis ultrix accincta flagello / Tisiphone quatit insultans*, 6.570-71. As a symbol of Allecto's power, *verbera* shows up often, beginning in Juno's description of her capabilities (*tu verbera tectis / funereasque inferre faces*, 7.336-7) and in her attack on Turnus (*verberaque insonuit rabidoque haec addidit ore*, 7.451). It also appears in the simile of the top (*torto volitans sub verbera turbo*, 7.378). The use of *everberat* in 866 strengthens the association. Tarrant (2012, 312) points out that this verb is "first attested here" and suggests another echo of Propertius: "The simple verb *verbero* is used of Amor in Prop. 3.10.28 *quem gravius pennis verberet ille puer*; the beating of the Dira's wings could be another facet of its portrayal as an anti-Amor."

482 Feeney's phrasing, though he is considering the role of Jupiter rather than Juturna's response, captures the violence and intimacy of Jupiter's action (1991, 151, quoting at length for context): "The phrase which describes his sending of the Dira from the highest point of heaven (*ab aethere summo*, 853) takes us back to Jupiter's first appearance, when he was looking down at the Aeneadae *ab aethere summo* (1.223). The very first and the very last words in the first and last Jupiter-scenes are identical, so that we enter and leave Jupiter's realm with the same phrase, moving from a god tossing care in his chest for humans to a god paralysing his lover's brother, laying him open for the kill."

483 As Maguinness (1953, 114, also cited by Tarrant 2012) says: "The plural, addressed to a single bird, has not been satisfactorily explained."

484 As Barchiesi rightly points out (1978, 108), *contra* Nettleship, "la ninfa è perfettamente *compos*

Taking the explicit recognition together with the equally explicit emphasis on the paired nature of Jupiter's Dirae, Juturna's use of the plural suggests that one of the things she knows about the Dirae is that they are an interchangeable pair.⁴⁸⁵ From Juturna's perspective, this single Dira is present as a representative and might as well be the two together, and in this respect the Dirae are very like the traditional Furies or Harpies, who have a group identity even when only one acts. Vergil thus highlights the innovation of Allecto and Celaeno; this singular Dira is no more individuated than a single *erinyes* in the Greek tradition, and the Dirae are further distinguished by being emphatically tamed, a powerful example of Jupiter's command of all the wild and chthonic powers of his realm.

As becomes clear, the Dira still has work to do, but she has achieved the stated task of driving Juturna away from Turnus.⁴⁸⁶ When the nymph departs, she does so by

sui, al contrario del fratello."

485 Both Williams (1973, 502, "The plural is generalising; she addresses the bird as one of a type.") and Wagner, slightly more satisfactorily, (1883, 827, "i.e. una ex earum genere, quae obscenae s. mali ominis sunt;") but the fact that description and recognition are specifically of Jupiter's Dirae argues against something so general. Tarrant (2012, 314) cites Traina, who "more plausibly suggests that Juturna (or V.) is thinking of the *geminae...Dirae* (845a).

486 As Barchiesi (1978, 107-8) also points out, the mission of the Dira was simply to send Juturna away. He seems to take the attack, or rather its effect, on Turnus as a natural consequence of his human nature, as opposed to Juturna's divinity: she, divine, is able to comprehend, whereas the effect on the human is irrational and instinctive ("Giuturna riconosce subito ... la valenza negativa del presagio ... e pur soffrendo e protestando ne prende atto in modo del tutto razionale.... Ma parallelamente --- qui sta l'inatteso --- lo svolazzare della piccola nottola produce un effetto irrazionale, del tutto istintivo, su un altro personaggio"). It adds to the pathos of the scene that Turnus is reduced to a symbolic part of the omen. The Dira seems to attack him not primarily because the attack itself is necessary, though it does make Aeneas' victory easier, but because she thus displays Jupiter's intent to Juturna. Even so, there would be other ways of doing so without terrorizing Turnus. Here it is useful to return to the introduction of the Dirae, for their sole method of assisting Jupiter is presented as sharpening fear with deadly sickness (12.850), and it may well be that they must function by terror, no matter what the actual purpose. As Juturna says, she is already fearful, and the Dira does not, in fact, terrify her directly, but the Dirae are sent *to* terrify, so she finds an outlet in Turnus. For more on the significance of her effect, in my reading and Barchiesi's, see below.

concealing herself in her deep river (*se fluvio dea condidit alto*, 12.886), and the use of the verb *condere* seems to anticipate her brother's death ("inflamed, [Aeneas] buries his sword in the facing breast," *ferrum adverso sub pectore condit / fervidus*, 12.950-51). It also, of course, echoes the many uses of the verb in its more positive sense of foundation; this is particularly relevant to the final scene, which I will discuss later in this chapter, but even the less marked use here in reference to Juturna is yet another reminder of the costs paid in the founding of Rome.⁴⁸⁷ This passage also recalls the description of Allecto's retreat (7.569-71):

... ruptoque ingens Acheronte vorago
pestiferas aperit fauces, quis condita Erinys,
invisum numen, terras caelumque levabat.

... and an immense chasm where Acheron breaks forth opens its noxious jaws, in which the Erinys settled, a hateful deity, and lightened heaven and earth.

Like Juturna and Turnus, Allecto withdraws from the human world, but it seems to me that the parallel with Juturna in particular might also contribute to the recurring image of necessary distancing from a past that is more closely entwined with the divine world.

Juturna's departure is followed abruptly by a return to the field of combat, as savage Aeneas demands action (12.887-895).⁴⁸⁸

487 Aeneas also uses *condere* as he taunts Turnus in the next scene, but its application to escape in that case is bitterly ironic, given that Turnus, unlike his sister, has none. On the use of *condere* in the *Aeneid*, see James 1995 and Reckford 1961. Tarrant (2012, 317) points out that the "combination *se condidit alto* has figured in two previous aquatic exits, 5.243 (Cloanthus' ship) *portu se c. a.* and 8.66 (Tiber) *lacu fluvius se c. a.*" He also points out (316) the link between Juturna's *per umbras* in 12.881 and the flight of Turnus' life *sub umbras* in 12.952, "a link that will become more significant if 882-4 are removed (next n.) and these are Juturna's final words."

488 The sudden re-introduction of Aeneas, with an abrupt shift in tone, is startling, and this itself works well with the dreamlike effects that follow. As Tarrant (2012, 318) points out, "*contra*

Aeneas instat contra telumque coruscat
 ingens arboreum, et saevo sic pectore fatur:
 ‘quae nunc deinde mora est? aut quid iam, Turne, retractas?
 non cursu, saevis certandum est cominus armis.
 verte omnis tete in facies et contrahe quidquid
 sive animis sive arte vales; opta ardua pennis
 astra sequi clausumque cava te condere terra.’
 ille caput quassans: ‘non me tua fervida terrent
 dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis.’

Aeneas stood opposite him brandishing a tree as a weapon and spoke thus from his savage breast: What further delay is there now? Or do you now withdraw somewhat, Turnus? Not by flight but with fierce weapons does one fight hand to hand. Turn yourself back to face me and collect whatever courage or skill you have the strength for; choose to seek the unattainable stars with wings or, trapped, to find your home in the hollow earth.” Shaking his head, Turnus said: “Your fiery words do not frighten me, wild one; the gods frighten me, and Jupiter as my enemy.”

Turnus has felt the terror of the Dira’s attack (*illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor, arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit*, 12.867-8), but did not recognize her, nor does he seem to have noticed the departure of his sister.⁴⁸⁹ The Dira, as it turns out, did not leave with Juturna, but Turnus nonetheless has a brief moment of clarity, though it is the clarity of distance, as if he were already departing life.⁴⁹⁰ His comprehension of

in 887 is a link to 790 *adsistunt contra*.”

489 Barchiesi (1978, 108) also points to the significance of Turnus’ isolation; noting that it follows the Dira’s attack, as well as the similar effect of Allecto’s epiphany to him earlier (7.446 ff.), he takes the psychological effect as being tied to the division between the human and divine worlds. I think there is some truth in this, though I am not sure how it fits the fact that he does not seem to perceive the divine figures themselves, only to feel their effects.

Nonetheless, there is also a more fundamental sort of isolation: Turnus is isolated from himself, from his familiar strengths, even from engagement with a taunting enemy, and the only thing he perceives with any clarity is divine opposition.

490 I take the mention of the Dira in line 914 (*sic Turno, quacumque viam virtute petivit, / successum dea dira negat*, 12.913-14) as a statement of her continued presence. I suppose it is possible that she herself has departed and denies simply by the continued effects of her original attack, but the vividness of the whole passage and the clear image of her repeatedly blocking his path argues against such a reading.

the opposition of Jupiter seems to be accompanied by a similarly clear perspective on Aeneas and his own fate, as he recognizes simultaneously something of himself in Aeneas and that it is not the fierceness of either warrior that matters now.⁴⁹¹

Despite all this, and in a very human moment, Turnus does not yield but immediately picks up an immense stone in a demonstration of heroic strength. The torpor, however, overtakes him again, with amplified effect (12.903-918):⁴⁹²

sed neque currentem se nec cognoscit euntem
tollentemve manu saxumve immane moventem;
genua labant, gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis.
tum lapis ipse viri vacuum per inane volutus
nec spatium evasit totum neque pertulit ictum.
ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus
velle videmur et in mediis conatibus aegri
succidimus; non lingua valet, non corpore notae
sufficiunt vires nec vox aut verba sequuntur:
sic Turno, quacumque viam virtute petivit,
successum dea dira negat. tum pectore sensus
vertuntur varii; Rutulos aspectat et urbem
cunctaturque metu letumque instare tremescit,
nec quo se eripiat, nec qua vi tendat in hostem,
nec currus usquam videt aurigamve sororem.

But he cannot perceive his own running and movement, whether he is carrying the immense stone in his hand or throwing it; his knees collapse, and his icy blood has contracted with a chill. While the stone of the hero itself, after spinning through empty space, neither completed the distance nor brought home the blow. But as if in sleep, when rest presses the eyes

491 As Tarrant (2012, 320) points out in his comment on *ferox*: “at the start of the book Latinus said of T. *feroci / virtute exsuperas* (19-20); now that quality has passed to A. In Latinus’ mouth the adjective is a compliment to T.’s valour in war; T.’s tone is less clear, but it is certainly not laudatory.” I would not call it laudatory, but there does seem to be an element of approval in the recognition. The twist of irony or mockery seems to come from his realization that *ferox*, whether applied to himself or Aeneas, is now of no consequence. (As Tarrant also points out, *ferox* is “on the whole less frequent in *Aen.* than one might have expected (ten instances)” and is applied to both Trojans (10.610) and the Italians (1.263, 7.34, 724).)

492 See Tarrant 2012 for Homeric parallels throughout the passage.

with lazy night, vainly we seem to want to continue a heated race and fall, weak, in the midst of our efforts; the tongue has no strength, the familiar power of the body does not suffice, nor do voice and speech obey: just so the dread goddess denied success to Turnus, no matter what path he sought with bravery. Changing perceptions turned in his breast; he saw the Rutulians and his city, hesitated in fear, and began to tremble at death's approach; he did not see how he could tear himself away, nor with what strength he could grapple with the enemy, and nowhere did he see chariot, driver, or sister.

The great strength Turnus displayed in picking up the stone immediately falters, and the chill regularly associated with horror overcomes him, but, even more than that, he seems to be stuck in a nightmare. A similar nightmarish quality also appears in Vergil's depictions of Allecto, but here it is clear that the effect of the *Dira* is contrary to the frenzied energy and drive of Allecto.⁴⁹³ No matter what one thinks of Turnus, this final scene is truly horrifying in its evocation of a nightmare, and the repeated and inexplicable failure of the known.⁴⁹⁴ Tarrant, on the other hand, takes the phrase *se ... cognoscit* and

493 This contrast is an argument against Tarrant's suggestion that "[w]e may be meant to conclude that the *Dira* works upon fears already present in T. (including the one expressed at 895 *di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis*), as it can be argued that in 7.445-66 Allecto does not create *amor ferri* or *ira* in T., but instead exploits a pre-existing disposition for Juno's ends" (2012, 323). I think Turnus does lose his nerve, but not until the end of the passage, after he has been deserted by strength, wits, and loved ones, with only Jupiter's terror and imminent destruction for company. As for Allecto, her attempt at persuasion failed, and violence was necessary to inflame the latent desire in Turnus. Once again, the analogy with Venus and her effects is apt: she can force sexual desire, and the fact such attraction exists as potential does not negate its force, nor its irresistible nature, even when contrary to all that is right, as we will soon see in considering Ovid's lovers. In both cases, there is obviously a continuum, but it is thus all the more important to register the force of Vergil's depictions, which are violent, nightmarish, and supernatural.

494 Otis (1995, 379) seems to see it as a rather peaceful acceptance of fate: "...once Turnus has accepted fate [by entering the duel with Aeneas], it is fate that he receives. ... We can, if we like, think of the *Dira* as a sort of symbol of Turnus' foreboding conscience, the voice that tells him his end has come, and hence causes his dream-like languor and inability to put forth his strength any more, but it is better on the whole to think of the *Dira* as the sign of ineluctable fate itself." Putnam (1999, 222) points out how Vergil makes the reader identify with Turnus by "a usage of first-person plural verbs unique in the epic." As Charles Segal pointed out in

attendant participles as a more matter-of-fact statement: “The connection between *se* and the participles *currentem*, *euntem*, *tollentem* and *mouentem* shows that it is in those activities that T. does not recognize himself, i.e. that he does not experience his customary speed or strength.”⁴⁹⁵ This is clearly true, but it is not simply a poetic expression of loss of strength – the failure of recognition cracks open the self for a moment, and Turnus is isolated from the self he knows as much as from his companions, as the final lines make clear: *nec quo se eripiat, nec qua vi tendat in hostem, / nec currus usquam videt aurigamve sororem* (“he did not see how he could tear himself away, nor with what strength he could grapple with the enemy, and nowhere did he see chariot, driver, or sister,” 12.917-18).

The nightmarish dissociation of action and effect that was sketched out in the Polydorus and, to a lesser extent, Harpies episodes in Book 3 is here amplified, both by the more significant position and extensive treatment and by the added note of Turnus’ awareness. Williams’ comment on the Dira’s attack extends well to Turnus’ response, for the most part: “This is a daemonic scene, terrifying in its weird and supernatural aspect; the transformation of the Fury into a bird fluttering in front of Turnus’ face conveys with chilling certainty the tragic and total helplessness of the brave Rutulian warrior.”⁴⁹⁶ I would say, though, that the key is not the transformation of the Dira, but

his study of Dido in Book 4 (1990, 12): “In all of Virgil’s treatment of character, from Tityrus and Meliboeus in *Eclogue* 1 to Aeneas and Turnus in the last line of the *Aeneid*, every conquest carries with it a vanquished human being whose suffering we are made to feel as keenly as we do the triumph of the victor.”

⁴⁹⁵ Tarrant 2012, 323.

⁴⁹⁶ Williams 1973, 499. On the difficulties of the term demonic, see my introduction, but “terrifying in its weird and supernatural aspect” does express most of the key points of modern usage, lacking only a statement of the role of agent or messenger of evil that is

the recognition that it is Jupiter's will that Turnus die, both in Juturna's clarity and in Turnus' glimmer of understanding.⁴⁹⁷ The horror seems to stem from the combination of the recognition and isolation, and the realization of a nightmare without any ability to wake from it.⁴⁹⁸

Turnus, now completely alone, has been driven to a horrible stillness as prelude to his death.⁴⁹⁹ His frigid terror is answered by the assault of Aeneas' spear, which flies like a dark whirlwind, bearing dire destruction (*volat atri trubinis instar / exitium dirum hasta*

explicitly part of the Dirae's role.

497 Particularly given the sacrificial valence in Turnus' death, his loss of strength and sense suggests the image of an ox stunned before slaughter. It is also reminiscent of the paralyzing effect of the Gorgon, whom I will discuss further in the following chapter, as one of the serpentine elements that conclude Ovid's Theban episode. Otis, on the other hand, imagines a sort of peace in willingness of the sacrifice: "His voluntary return to battle, to the duel with Aeneas, had thus an aspect of beneficent sacrifice: the sinner atoning with his own life for the sin of the many and for his own sin, the Latin enemy helping to lay the foundation of a new, permanent *foedus* between Trojans and Latins" (1995, 379). See Dyson 2001 for an extended and more nuanced discussion of the imagery of ritual sacrifice throughout the *Aeneid*. As regards the role of Turnus, she points out signs that he is favored by Tiber himself (112-19) and argues that "Turnus, then, plays a dual role in prefiguring Aeneas' death. The Italian hero represents the resentment of the Italian countryside, which will exact vengeance for Aeneas' intrusion; yet Turnus also is to become, like Aeneas, the victim of the gods' irresistible power" (124).

498 See Williams (1973, 505) and, more extensively, Tarrant (2012, 324-25, including discussion of possible Lucretian models) on the Homeric model of pursuit as in a dream (ὡς δ' ἐν ὀνειρώτῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν / οὐτ' ἄρ' ὁ τὸν δύναται ὑποφεύγειν οὐθ' ὁ διώκειν / ὡς ὁ τὸν οὐ δύνατο μάρψαι ποσίν, οὐδ' ὄς ἀλύξαι, *Il.* 22.199-201).

499 Brooks (1953, 279) more explicitly than Otis (see notes 433 and 436 above) connects the Dira and peace, though how she brings it to Aeneas is not clear, unless it is by pinning down his victim: "The end of the poem brings no finality of knowledge. The Fury, for all her terror is the angel of Jupiter, bringing the decision and the peace Aeneas has looked for so long. But he is blind to her, and sees only, in his private rage, the belt of Pallas." The Dira is presumably an angel rather than a demon only because she is sent by Jupiter rather than summoned from the Underworld. The odd and telling phrase exemplifies a strain of scholarship, less common now, that extends Jupiter's definitive virtue to any of his agents and sets up an anachronistic sort of opposition of Heaven and Hell. The point about Aeneas' blindness, however, is worth considering, particularly inasmuch as it arises from his anger, which could itself be read as the effect of a Fury.

ferens, 12.923-4). As Tarrant points out, the comparison of his spear to a thunderbolt in the previous line (*nec fulmine tanti / dissultant crepitus*, 12.922-3) “implicitly links him with Jupiter and implies that he, like the Dira, is Jupiter’s agent.”⁵⁰⁰ The likeness between Aeneas’ spear and Jupiter’s Dira is striking, and the reiteration of the image of authoritative punishment in the hands of Aeneas is especially significant as it is answered in turn by a final appearance of the flaming rage prompted by the Furies when, in the final lines of the poem, Aeneas is wrenched from his consideration of pardon by the sight of the baldric of Pallas, thus framing the final scene with echoes of the female demonic figures already encountered, much as the second half of the poem is framed by the deployment of these demonic figures by Juno and Jupiter. Accordingly, I will discuss these two passages individually before considering the mutual significance of the concluding scene and the representations of female demonic figures throughout the *Aeneid*.

We left Turnus in the stillness of his terrifying isolation, and now return as

Aeneas hurls his spear against his hesitating opponent (12.919-26):

cunctanti telum Aeneas fatale coruscat,
 sortitus fortunam oculis, et corpore toto
 eminus intorquet. murali concita numquam
 tormento sic saxa fremunt nec fulmine tanti
 dissultant crepitus. volat atri turbinis instar
 exitium dirum hasta ferens orasque recludit
 loricae et clipei extremos septemplicis orbis;
 per medium stridens transit femur. ...

500 Tarrant 2012, 329, also pointing out, in addition to the similarities in *turbo*, *dirus*, and *stridens* mentioned above, parallels in Aeneas raging like a dark storm after the death of Pallas (*turbinis atri / more furens*, 10.603-4) and Athena’s punishment of Ajax Oileus by snatching him up in a storm and piercing him on a sharp rock (*turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto*, 1.45).

Aeneas brandished his fateful weapon at him as he hesitated, having chosen the opportunity with his eyes, and hurled it from afar with his whole body. Never do stones hurled from a wall-battering siege engine roar thus, nor do such great clashings leap from a thunderbolt. The spear flies like a dark storm, bearing dire destruction, and lays open the borders of the corselet and the remotest layers⁵⁰¹ of the seven-layered shield; hissing, it passes through the middle of his thigh.

Turnus admits defeat and begs for mercy; Aeneas comes to a stop and checks his hand, but the power of the plea to move him is stopped in turn by the appearance of the *infelix* baldric of Pallas (12.938-952).⁵⁰²

... stetit acer in armis
Aeneas volvens oculos dextramque repressit;
et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
Pallantis pueri, victum quem volnere Turnus
straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
ille, oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris
exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis: 'tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'
hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
fervidus; ast illi solvuntur frigore membra

501 Taking the translation and interpretation suggested by Tarrant (2012, 329-30): "the remotest layers', e.g. the layers of the shield furthest from A. and closest to T.'s body."

502 I am not addressing directly the specific question of the justification, or lack thereof, in Aeneas' refusal of pardon. This is a key question in the optimist/pessimist debate, especially given Anchises' characterization of Roman arts as sparing the subjected and conquering the proud (*parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*, 6.853), but I think the rightness of his act is beside the point. Vergil is a realist, and has clearly framed this final act as justifiable in both contexts that frame it. The passions that fuel this final anger are not intrinsically bad, and in fact, though they can be very destructive and oppose the settled civic authority represented by Jupiter, they are necessary to both the foundation of the state and its movement forward to glory. I will discuss the significance of the final scene as a whole, but for an overview of the issues and scholarship surrounding the death of Turnus, see Tarrant 2012, 16-30, with whom I largely agree, particularly in his "advocating an 'ambivalent' reading of the poem, in which ambivalence is to be understood neither as a gentler name for pessimism nor as a compromise position, but rather as a continuing tension of opposites" (17).

vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.⁵⁰³

Aeneas, fierce in his weaponry and darting his eyes, came to a stand and checked his right hand; and just when the speech had begun to move him as he delayed, the unfortunate baldric came into sight high on the shoulder and the swordbelt gleamed with the familiar bosses, all belonging to the boy Pallas, whom Turnus laid low, struck by his wound, and whose enemy trophy he was now bearing on his shoulders. But Aeneas, after his gaze clung to the spoils and reminder of fierce grief, inflamed by furies and fearsome in his anger said: “Would you who have donned the spoils of my own be snatched from me here? It is Pallas, Pallas who destroys you with this wound and exacts punishment from your accursed blood.” As he said this, blazing, he drove the blade deep into the breast that faced him; the limbs of the other dissolved with a chill and life, aggrieved, fled with a groan under the shadows.

The killing blow is planted with the same verb (*condere*) used of city foundation, the mission and motivating desire of Aeneas that was given much weight in the poem’s beginning. As Sharon James puts it, Vergil “uses the new violent meaning of *condere* to create a reminder for his readers of the cost of the establishment of Rome.”⁵⁰⁴ I would say rather, with Tarrant, that Turnus’ “killing is a necessary precondition of those foundations,” but no matter how one interprets this look back at the opening of the poem, it is but one element in a dense web of recollections and reprises.⁵⁰⁵

In the next lines there is an emphatic contrast of the heat of Aeneas’ rage and

503 This final phrase sounds like something a Fury could be called upon to avenge, particularly with *indignata*, whereas here it has been caused by *furiae*. Vergil thus returns to the *Oresteia*, but with Furies enmeshed in human action, and no prospect of a resolution, simply recognition.

504 James 1995, 635-6; 626 on the novelty of this use. Tarrant 2012, 340 points out that “Ovid embraced it eagerly (eight occurrences in *Met.*), but it is otherwise rare in later epic.”

505 Tarrant 2012, 340. It is perhaps an especially fitting word to mark the extent of the poem’s journey, as the great construction of the *Aeneid* itself is now brought full circle at its conclusion; the point is marked as one might plant a flag (or a suitably epic oar), but looking back at the beginning with this new meaning of *condere* activated brings to mind the image of turning posts, a final and all encompassing image of repetition.

Turnus' chill, as *fervidus* at the beginning of the poem's penultimate line is followed by an emphatic *ast* and the phrase *illi solvuntur frigore membra*.⁵⁰⁶ Here the dative *illi* refers to Turnus, of course, but the same phrase was used in Book 1 to refer to the terror of Aeneas, in his first appearance in the poem, as the storm requested by Juno was unleashed by Aeolus (*Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra*, 1.92); as Tarrant points out, the "repetition is a marker of A.'s transformation, from the terrified victim of Juno's anger to the angered (i.e. Juno-like) avenger who acts with the support of Jupiter. In the earlier scene A. wished that he had met death at the hands of Diomedes (1.96-8); now he kills a would-be Diomedes"⁵⁰⁷ This phrase is not the only parallel between the images of Aeneas in Book 1 and Turnus in Book 12; taken together, they illuminate the central role

506 This is itself a reversal of their characteristics earlier in the book (Turnus was *fervidus* at 12.293). See Putnam 1999 for an analysis of the shifting roles of Turnus and Aeneas in Book 12, especially as played out in similes and allusions. Drawing attention to the complex relationship of the two, he says (1999, 220): "As the final confrontation nears, Vergil unleashes a series of similes that both differentiate and unite the two heroes." I do not, however, entirely agree with his interpretations or conclusions. In particular, I would argue that an opposition such as that between *ira* and *pietas* does not imply any expectation that one element can, or even should, be removed entirely.

507 Tarrant 2012, 341. On the parallel between Aeneas and Juno, see also Dyson 2001, 125-6, though I do not agree that it necessarily supports a 'pessimist' reading, Hardie 1993, 34, Knox 1997, 231-33, and Putnam 1999, 226. James (1995, 625), rightly pointing to the parallels in *saevus* and the idea of memory: "The final act of the *Aeneid* links forever the foundation of Rome and the enraged, murderous passion that has previously characterized not the city's founder and the poem's hero, but his chief opponent, Juno. [n. 11] The *monimenta saevi doloris* of 12.945 recall *saevae memorem Iunonis* (1.4). It is as though, at the end of the poem, the remembering anger that Juno gave up (*mentem laetata retorsit*, 12.841) has infected Aeneas." The idea of infection suggests that the passionate anger is inherently undesirable, which I would argue is not the case in the *Aeneid*, but I agree in general. The role of rage, and of the baldrick of Pallas in prompting it, is clearly of thematic importance to this study, and I will discuss it further in the main text. As Spence (1999, 95) states in the context of Book 4, "[m]emory, of course, and wounds of memory, are the domain of Juno," and the significance of memory as powerful source of both good and ill is worth further consideration in the context of the female demonic figures and the poem as a whole.

of anger in the *Aeneid*.

First I would suggest a verbal parallel that should be added to the phrase pointed out above, as in both cases, the phrase is followed by groaning (1.92-6):

extemplo Aeneae solvuntur frigore membra;
ingemit et duplicis tendens ad sidera palmas
talìa voce refert: ‘o terque quaterque beati,
quis ante ora patrum Troiae sub moenibus altis
contigit oppetere! ...”

Straightaway the limbs of Aeneas dissolved with a chill; he groaned and, stretching forth both palms to the stars, he responded with such speech: “O thrice and four times blessed, those who had the luck to die before the eyes of their fathers beneath the high walls of Troy! ...”

Not only does Aeneas groan, as does Turnus’ life in 12.952 (*vitaque cum gemitu fugit*), but his outstretched hands should be imagined in the same position as those of Turnus in supplication to Aeneas in Book 12: *ille humilis supplex oculos dextramque precantem / protendens* (“He, kneeling as a suppliant, extending his eyes and beseeching right hand,” 12.930). This posture is also referred to in Turnus’ speech when he says: “You have conquered, and the Ausonians see me, defeated, stretching forth my palms,” (*vicisti et victum tendere palmas / Ausonii videre*, 12.936-7).⁵⁰⁸ This reminder of the grieving observers seems to recall Aeneas’ envy of those who died in the sight of their families at Troy (1.94-6 above); although Turnus is not physically isolated from his home as Aeneas was while wandering at sea, the isolation wrought by Jupiter and his Dira has been

508 Putnam 1999, 215 points out that Aeneas was also depicted with outstretched hands earlier in Book 12, appealing for peace, and suggests: “When we reach the epic’s conclusion, with Aeneas acting in anger against a fallen warrior stretching forth his hands in prayer, it is well to remember that the last occasion when he was given his standard epithet [*pius*], which demands of its adherent loyalty and respect toward gods and humans alike, found him in a closely corresponding position to his suppliant antagonist there.”

portrayed far more vividly, and, whether in death or in defeat, Turnus now faces separation from life as he knows it.

If Turnus in Book 12 and Aeneas in Book 1 can be seen as matching figures, the parallels in their surroundings illuminate a complex set of similarities. Aeneas is like Juno in his anger, but also identified with Jupiter, as he wields a spear that is like both the thunderbolt and Dira of the king of the gods, thus underscoring the wrath shared by the divine pair. Furthermore, the descriptions of the Dira and Aeneas's spear in Book 12 evoke the opening storm. In Book 1, winds blow over the land in a whirlwind (*terras turbine perflant*, 1.83); in Book 12 the Dira is carried to the earth in a swift whirlwind (*celerique ad terram turbine fertur*, 12.855) and the spear flies like a black one (*volat atris turbine inстар*, 12.923). Both the arrow to which the Dira is compared and Aeneas' spear are described as *stridens* (12.859 and 926, respectively); the storm brings the clamor of crying men (*stridorque rudentum*, 1.87). Overall, the staging of the final scene of the poem can be seen as an enactment on a human battlefield of the storm presented in Book 1 (1.89-91):

... ponto nox incubat atra;
intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether
praesentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.

Black night lay upon the sea; the poles of the world thundered and the aether flickered with densely packed lightning; everything threatened imminent death for the men.

The image of Aeneas brandishing his spear is expressed with a verb (*coruscare*, 12.919) that shares with *micare* the root meaning of quick, flickering movement, and, as discussed above, the imagery of darkness, storms, and thunderbolts runs through his

attack, which does bring *praesens mors* to Turnus. The familiar ornaments of Pallas' belt gleam as if they were a final bolt of lightning (*fulserunt*, 12.942) and drive Aeneas to kill Turnus, whose death is described with the same phrase applied to Aeneas' response to the storm (*solvuntur frigore membra*, 1.92, 12.951).

In both cases, then, limbs dissolve with cold in response to a storm backed by anger, but there is a crucial difference.⁵⁰⁹ In the case of Aeneas, it referred to his fear in the face of the storm, whereas Turnus is not terrified, either in the moment of his death or as he appeals to Aeneas. The snapshot of a man in powerless supplication opens up in the final scene of Book 12 to allow room for the rage of Aeneas and Turnus' death, but it also extends back to when Turnus is overcome by fear, to the attack of the Dira and an earlier exchange with Aeneas. First, both *solvere* and *membra* appear in a very similar expression when the transformed Dira flies at Turnus (12.865-8):

hanc versa in faciem Turni se pestis ob ora
fertque refertque sonans clipeumque everberat alis.
illi membra novus solvit formidine torpor,
arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.

... turned into this form, the fearsome thing rushed at Turnus' face, and then again, shrieking and beating at his shield with her wings. A strange torpor dissolved his limbs with fear, his hair stood on end with horror, and his voice clung to his throat.

Then, when Aeneas taunts him for his hesitation, Turnus demonstrates an understanding of the situation that Aeneas lacked when he says: "Your fiery words do not frighten me, fierce one; the gods frighten me, and Jupiter as my enemy," (*'non me tua fervida terrent / dicta, ferox; di me terrent et Iuppiter hostis,'* 12.894-5) .

⁵⁰⁹ I will return to the issue of anger, but the parallels with the Dira activate the image of Jupiter's wrath even before Aeneas is actually enraged.

When Turnus makes his plea in the final scene, therefore, he has already recognized the divine opposition and knows that Aeneas is the human power that he must beseech. The ultimate success of Aeneas and Jupiter's support of his mission were never in doubt, but Turnus' understanding draws our attention to the enactment of these plot necessities, especially given the fact that, as mentioned above, the audience was invited to identify with Turnus in the dream simile (12.908-14):

ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit
nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus
velle videmur et in mediis conatibus aegri
succidimus; non lingua valet, non corpore notae
sufficiunt vires nec vox aut verba sequuntur:
sic Turno, quacumque viam virtute petivit,
successum dea dira negat....

But as if in sleep, when rest presses the eyes with lazy night, vainly we seem to want to continue a heated race and fall, weak, in the midst of our efforts; the tongue has no strength, the familiar power of the body does not suffice, nor do voice and speech obey: just so the dread goddess denied success to Turnus, no matter what path he sought with bravery.

It is Turnus, then, whose double recognition puts Aeneas in his position, which Aeneas in turn claims by killing Turnus.

Aeneas, for his part, incorporates both Jupiter and Juno in his final actions. He is like Jupiter in wielding the spear, which is akin to both thunderbolts and the Dira, but he is also, in a sense, wielded by Jupiter as he performs his role in a scene set up by divine manipulation.⁵¹⁰ Aeneas also resembles Jupiter, the savage king attended by the Dirae (*hae Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis / apparent*, 12.849-50) in that he spoke from

510 Tarrant says (2012, 319): "it may be too subtle to see an echo of *saevi...regis* (849), but A.'s first words do resemble Jupiter's in 791: *quae nunc deinde mora est ~ quae iam finis erit; quid iam ... retractas ~ quid denique restat* (with interchange of *iam* and *deinde*). A. also speaks first, like Jupiter, whereas in Homer Hector opens the dialogue."

his savage (*saevus*) breast when he addressed Turnus (*saevo sic pectore fatur*, 12.888), and he displays the relatively impersonal power of Jupiter's wrath in the storm imagery that accompanies the wounding of Turnus. In the moment of stillness after Turnus' plea, however, the flash of the familiar adornments from Pallas' belt strikes Aeneas unexpectedly, and this final burst of the storm brings the personal wrath of Juno, and only then the death.⁵¹¹

We see Aeneas here as punisher, but one motivated by intense personal connection. The image of justified wrath is indeed present, but it is accompanied by the emotional and intensely personal *furiae* that inflame Aeneas.⁵¹² In a sense, the 'rightness' of Aeneas' act is beside the point; it can be justified in both the contexts that frame it, state authority and personal relationships, and in neither case does justification minimize the loss.⁵¹³ I suggest that the collocation of authoritative punishment and personal emotion is not a problem to be resolved, but in fact central to Vergil's vision, as are his Furies, who embody both.⁵¹⁴

511 The continuation of the storm imagery that is suggested by the use of *fulgeo* to describe the gleam of Pallas' belt also has the benefit of making *appareo* a particularly appropriate verb, as the light both appears and strikes like a bolt of lightning.

512 In addition to the use of the word *furiis*, the final phrase of the poem sounds like something a Fury could be called upon to avenge, particularly with *indignata*, whereas here it has been caused by *furiae*. Vergil thus returns to the *Oresteia*, but with Furies enmeshed and no prospect of a resolution, simply.

513 The personal loss that runs throughout the poem would have been a possible point of contact with the traditional Furies of family vengeance; as it stands, loss is implicitly connected with them, but they represent, over the course of the poem, the wrath, grief, rage and love that are so often both cause and result of loss.

514 As already discussed, the combination is also implicit in the concept of civil war, which likewise runs through the *Aeneid* as a problem solved but always threatening, like Furor enchained, and that imagery is thus strongly reactivated here in the conclusion. See Feeney 1984 on Juno's central role this presence.

It all comes back to wrath in discussion of this final scene, and indeed it is structurally and thematically fundamental in the *Aeneid* as a whole. A full discussion is beyond the scope of this study, but it is important to note that its very centrality precludes simple classifications. Of particular relevance here, Juno's wrath provides most of the structure and impetus for the *Aeneid*, but wrath is not hers alone, nor should her oppositional role be taken to mean that wrath itself is intrinsically bad. In fact, the initiating force of Juno's anger (the poem opens with the image of Aeneas much tossed about for the sake of savage Juno's unforgetting wrath, *saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram*, 1.4) is answered in Book 12 by Jupiter's approving recognition of the wrath that marks their kinship ("You really are Jupiter's sister and a second child of Saturn, you revolve such great waves of anger in your breast," *es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles, / irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus*, 12.30-31). His use of the *Dirae* makes clear how central wrath is to his role as king of the gods, but also highlights its relatively impersonal nature. In the *Aeneid*, his wrath is generally associated with detached objectivity and the civic virtue of punishment, whereas Juno is the representative of personal and passionate wrath. In both cases, though, it is a mark of their power and a means of demonstrating authority. This is particularly clear in the case of Juno, and her concern with how a demonstrated inability to punish would detract from her divine honor suggests a possible model for Aeneas to claim his by demonstrating just such a power.

It is not only in fierceness and anger that the divine rulers show their kinship; both Jupiter and Juno use female demonic figures to enact their wrath. If we look back at crucial appearances of female demonic figures throughout the *Aeneid*, it is clear that they

are consistently tied to punishment or provocation, or both. Furor is neither female nor demonic, but, as a personification of what the Furies inspire appearing in such an emphatic position, he can be seen as a sort of prelude.⁵¹⁵ At the end of Jupiter's account of a reassuring future for the descendants of Aeneas we are left with a vivid and disturbing picture of Furor enchained in the heart of Rome. Furor is what drives civil wars and other evils; he is provocation, but provoked by the Furies and here punished. In Book 3, the Harpies punish the inadvertent transgressions of the Romans. In Book 6 and Juno's opening speech in Book 7, punishment appears with a connection to the social institution of marriage (and the various lusts that can disturb it). Allecto then sets the war in motion with a series of provocations, which are given significant narrative weight by position, extent, and repetition of key elements, and the brief appearance of Tisiphone later reinforces the connection between the Furies and the (blood) lust of war. In Book 12, we can see again the provoked (Turnus) punished, but we also see that the punisher (Aeneas) is himself provoked. Vergil thus forbids any simplistic separation of the two by binding them into a cycle, which is reinforced by the adoption of the Dirae by Jupiter. Just as Furor is ensconced within Rome in Book 1, the Dirae guard Jupiter's home in Book 12, and are despatched by him to terrorize humans.

515 His monstrous nature and effects are shared with demonic figures, but to my mind he lacks the element of independence or specificity that seems to characterize the others. He is perhaps most similar to the Dirae, but they are strongly marked as messengers and agents of Jupiter, whereas Furor, much like the storm winds, is an elemental power that is either loose or chained, but cannot be instructed or directed. Fama is also a monstrous personification, but she is both given more personality than Furor, but, more fundamentally, I think, she does not embody an unchangeable power, but takes on disguise herself in addition to manipulating humans. It does occur to me that one could imagine Furor himself as an agent of the Furies, much as the storm winds are used by Juno.

Jupiter and Juno both draw on the same pool of power, but Jupiter's manifests as the Dirae, who freeze with terror and shut down action, while Juno's, in Allecto and Iris, stirs up action. Both the emphasis given to the shared power and Jupiter's reference in the reconciliation scene to the Saturnian wrath that he and Juno share ("*es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles, / irarum tantos voluis sub pectore fluctus,*" 12.830-31) suggest that the two effects are necessary and work together in opposition like a balance. This idea of balanced opposition might also shed light on Vergil's innovative association of Furies with various forms of lust, but especially that for blood and battle.⁵¹⁶ The provocation that becomes central to their portrayal in Latin epic was not part of the Furies in Greek thought, but it is very like the power of both Ares (and his companions) and Aphrodite.⁵¹⁷ This dual role of Vergil's Furies fits well into a system that sees virtue as something that is applied, and in which the central question is whether something was done correctly — both impulse and control are necessary.

That said, the differences between the female demonic figures used by Juno and Jupiter highlight a distinction that reflects Roman concerns about dangers that were

516 The erotic context is not something that seems to have attracted much scholarly notice, but Lyne points out that Allecto's attack on Amata is both martial and erotic. Speaking of 7.343 (*tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae*), he says (1987, 14; discussion 13-15): "With a certain frisson we must realize that there is a touch of erotic military metaphor here." He goes on to say (1987, 15): "If Allecto lays siege to Amata in terms that are erotically coloured; and if the siege is then successful, as it is, and results in Amata's being fired with a violent passion: I think we must deduce that this passion, resulting from an erotic siege, is itself erotic in nature. The passion which is whipped up in Amata and which she proceeds so vividly to display is erotic." Without arguing against this view, I suggest that what Allecto stirs is passion itself. In Amata, it has an erotic tinge, at least; for Turnus (7.461-2): *saevit amor ferri et scelerata insania belli, / ira super:....* Fittingly, Allecto's snake insinuates itself into the breast of a sleeping Amata, whereas resisting Turnus is pierced.

517 Appropriately enough, then, the association of Helen and an Erinys would be a natural point of inspiration, as her destructive nature was bound up in her overwhelming attractiveness.

represented by the feminine.⁵¹⁸ The first difference to note is that the Dirae are fundamentally tamed. Jupiter not only has access to this manifestation of the power of the Underworld, but they attend upon him just like hounds, whose predatory instincts are used to hunt other predators for their master. This control of the Dirae has been taken as Jupiter restoring order, and, while I think that this idea is often taken too far, the fact that Jupiter has such creatures at his command does mark his great power and control.⁵¹⁹

The other, more subtle, difference is thrown into relief by considering the dichotomy of wild and tame, for Allecto is not portrayed as constrained by it. She is not tamed, but nor does she represent unthinking wildness. She is part of a system, both in the Underworld, as demonstrated by her introduction in Book 7 and the role of the Furies as punishers in Book 6, and in the larger sphere of divine order, as demonstrated by the fact that she is summoned by Juno and then departs when dismissed. Furthermore, far from being an unthinking representation of raw power to be tapped, she is clearly presented as an individual with her own talents and tastes who has the ability both to plan and to seize opportunities as they arise. As already discussed, Allecto works for Juno in Book 7, but it is left to the Fury to determine the best means of accomplishing the task, and there is a clear sense that Allecto could work for another god or even herself. Gods that serve as messengers or as representations of a particular natural power or quality,

518 See Richlin 1984 on concerns about drunkenness (68) and independence (71-2) as signs of lack of control in and of women as revealed in satire. See Keith 2000 on the role of Latin epic in the structure and enforcement of gender; I discussed her view of the Harpies as monstrously martial female figures in Chapter 2, but see her Chapter 4 for the issue throughout Latin epic.

519 It is worth noting that the vehemence of scholars can be taken as supporting evidence for the legacy of the feminine demonic, in which category Juno has been occasionally been included, but the assumption of a fundamental divide between good and evil, an evil which must be vanquished by a 'good' god, is not present itself in the *Aeneid*.

such as Somnus or Aeolus, keeper of the winds, can be recruited or commanded by other gods, but Allecto's individuality, planning, and capability of independent action make the crucial difference.⁵²⁰

This conjunction of the abilities to plan and to incite lusts could be taken as reflecting a concern about what actual women might do if they put their minds to plotting rather than remain unthinking conduits for various lusts, and I do think that concern is present.⁵²¹ More than that, though, I think it reflects Vergil's awareness (and possibly a growing cultural awareness) of not only the dangerous but necessary impetus and fuel of desire, but also of its ability to be shaped, manipulated, and directed; women, and the domestic sphere, are the primary locus for that desire.⁵²² Augustus and his domestic framing of power would give this point particular relevance to the original audience of the *Aeneid*, as would the role of women in the Late Republic and the civil war that preceded his reign.

This note sounds again in the final scene. Jupiter, his Dira, and Aeneas are bringing all things to a violent, but controlled and correct conclusion when the sight of

520 As discussed in the previous chapter, Iris in the *Aeneid* has as much in common with Allecto as with more traditional messenger gods. The unprompted and disguised appearance of Iris to inform Helen of the coming duel between Paris and Menelaus and to summon her to view the armies in Book 3 of the *Iliad* merits further consideration as a possible model.

521 The inherently uncontrolled nature of women and the dangers of excess it poses to themselves, men, and society in general are a trope in classical literature, but the stories in Livy that feature women in political contexts are a particularly interesting point of comparison.

522 Compare the relatively straightforward lust for war that can be provoked by Mars and his companions or, as in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, by an Erinys and the more complex set of motivations elicited by Helen and Allecto, in their different ways. This is not to say that the domestic complication is not present in men, or even men at war, as demonstrated most famously by Sarpedon's placement of 'pure' bravery, fighting spirit, and martial prowess within the context of a domestic and social network (*Il.* 12.310-328).

Pallas' baldric inflames Aeneas with rage. As part of a warrior's panoply, taken in spoils and worn again in battle, the baldric is solidly within the masculine world of war, but its representation of emotional and familial connections complicates the situation. The representation is double and thus particularly significant. Aeneas' response makes explicit the connection represented by Pallas (12.945-949):

ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
terribilis: 'tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum
eripare mihi? Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas
immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit.'

But, after his gaze clung to the spoils and reminder of fierce grief, inflamed by furies and fearsome in his anger he said: "Would you who have donned the spoils of my own be snatched from me here? It is Pallas, Pallas who destroys you with this wound and exacts punishment from your accursed blood."

Pallas is bound to Aeneas by personal affection, duty, and the ties of *xenia*; marriage as a tool of alliance is also implicitly present in this scene in the recollection of the baldric's decoration (10.497-8):

... impressumque nefas: una sub nocte iugali
caesa manus iuuenum foede thalamique cruenti, ...

... and the engraved crime: a host of youths cut down on a single wedding night and the bridal chambers foully stained with blood, ...

The gruesome aftermath of the Danaids' wedding night is a mythic anticipation of the bloody prelude to Aeneas' wedding night, Bellona as wedding attendant, that has been the subject of the second half of the poem. Unlike that of the Danaids, however, the coming marriage will bear great fruit.

In the introduction to his commentary on Book 12, Richard Tarrant highlights the

centrality of passion in the *Aeneid*:

Virgil's view of human nature and human existence is fundamentally a tragic one, in its awareness of the fragility of reason in the face of passion, and of the terrible consequences of that weakness. Such a view does not easily coexist with a positive vision of Rome's present and future greatness. How Virgil negotiated that tension is likely to remain a central issue in criticism of the *Aeneid* for some time to come.⁵²³

I hope to have shown that the Furies themselves are one way that Vergil does successfully negotiate this tension. Their fundamental connection to inflaming passion, which is both necessary and dangerous, and to the authoritative punishment that is central to Roman social order is at the heart of their structural and thematic centrality. As they demonstrate, passion does threaten reason, but it is at the same time necessary and desirable for both individual and national glory.

The dangers of affection and the particularly entwined nature of love and war, glory and loss, are particular to the *Aeneid* and perfectly suited to Vergil's Furies, but his innovations will have long afterlives. The associations with wrath and passions are very much a part of the Furies in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, with an appropriate shift from war to the intimate and familial, as I shall discuss in the next chapter. More generally, the dangers of the feminine, especially when it is active, will be central to the development of the imagery of the demonic in the Western tradition in a way that is very dependent on Vergil's innovations.

523 Tarrant 2012, 30.

Chapter 6: The Furies in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

I have argued that Vergil uses the female demonic figures in the *Aeneid* to explore his concern with the necessity and danger of desire itself. Like the Furies, worry about perilous desire is traditional for writers in antiquity, but Vergil brings a new focus on the necessity of desire, along with an awareness of its potential to be shaped and used for political purposes, and his innovative female demonic figures are thematically bound up with this emphasis on the power and malleability of desire. In the *Metamorphoses*, however, the focus is on the controlling power, that which transforms and shapes, rather than the emotional raw material on which it works. Part of Vergil's work in the *Aeneid* was to show the personal connections within the grand scale narrative of war and foundation; in the *Metamorphoses*, the changes that are Ovid's material already take place within and upon individuals. The Furies are not consistently associated with this transformative power, nor as central to the structure and themes of the *Metamorphoses*, but Ovid's focus allows a magnified view of the feelings themselves and how the nature of desire can be transformed and twisted, not just directed. Allecto's work included turning love for family into love of war; Ovid's Furies preside over filial love turned to lust, the conflicting calls of familial love, and lusts that do not spark war, but lead directly to intimate destruction.⁵²⁴

⁵²⁴ Vergil's Amata comes closest, perhaps, in that her love is already disguised. She also highlights the relative prominence of jealousy in the *Metamorphoses*, and that emotion is itself an apt illustration of desire transformed. The twinned association with love and war that was seen in Vergil's female demonic figures might also be taken up by Ovid, with a more personal sort of violence and productivity. As Sharrock (2002, 106) puts it speaking of Ovid's work

Far more often than in the *Aeneid*, the Furies in the *Metamorphoses* are associated with their traditional roles of punishing blood guilt or, more generally, the breaking of natural or social laws, but they also demonstrate many of the characteristics and thematic associations that were introduced or newly emphasized in the *Aeneid*. In fact, their appearances in the *Metamorphoses*, though in nine separate stories with a range of contexts and roles, nonetheless suggest a more stable image of the Furies that incorporates certain standardized elements and can itself be emblematic for the powers of the Underworld, punishment, or perverted desire.⁵²⁵ It is this last role that seems to provide the kernel of the Furies' thematic importance to Ovid, as they are bound up with his focus on the disturbed and disturbing emotional motivations of characters.

In the first and last references to a Fury in the *Metamorphoses*, she reigns (*fera regnat Erinys*, 1.241, and *insanaque regnat Erinys*, 11.13), and I will follow Ovid's lead in beginning and ending this chapter with this striking image. The other appearances, some of which are quite brief, will be considered in thematic groups rather than chronologically. The mention of a Fury in the story of Io in Book 1 shares the association with the wrath of Juno that is central to the Theban stories of Book 4. These provide the only extensive appearance of the Furies and thus form the heart of this

more generally, "[i]f love in Ovid is painful, it is also creative, for *vis* always has two sides."⁵²⁵ In the *Metamorphoses*, moreover, it is an image of the Furies specifically, rather than a larger category of female demonic figures, and I will shift my standard terms of reference accordingly. The possible exceptions, which will be discussed more fully throughout this chapter, suggest that the category as a whole, outside the *Metamorphoses*, is developing into more specialized groups such as witches (Medea and Circe), monsters (Medusa), and demons that punish and provoke (the Furies). Furthermore, the increased focus on the Furies as sisters sets up a parallel with the Fates that suggests that they are both part of a growing realm of subsidiary divinities. It is perhaps as part of this dynamic that Ovid's Furies seem to have more authority but less personality.

chapter, and it is here that I will discuss the brief image in Book 10 of Furies moved to tears by the music of Orpheus, which demonstrates a similar vision of the Furies as emblematic powers of the Underworld.

The stories of Cadmus and Harmonia and of the Gorgon Medusa and her blood that conclude the Theban section show a connection to union and chthonic fertility that is thematically appropriate for the workings of Juno and the Furies; this is a point of contact with the twisted lust that marks the appearances of the Furies in the stories of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela in Book 6 and of Myrrha in Book 10, in which the unions are not somewhat disturbing but ultimately happy, as was the case with Cadmus and Harmonia, but full of destruction and pain. In this group of stories, the Furies are not only present as deities that incite desire, a new association developed from Vergil, but also invoked in their traditional role as enforcers of order. The Furies in Book 8 are also called upon to enforce oaths, but in the context of conflicting loyalties and family vengeance within the tale of Althaea and Meleager, and it is in this story that Ovid activates, both structurally and thematically, the parallel with the Fates set up by the references to the Furies as sisters, which is an important shift in the conceptualization of the Furies.

Finally, I turn to the last mention of a Fury in the *Metamorphoses*, the reigning Erinys who mirrors that of Book 1. In this final appearance, however, there is no connection at all to the structures of orderly divine justice, ambiguous as they are in that opening image. Instead, this Fury presides over the murder of Orpheus by maddened Thracian women, and her power now trumps the power of Orpheus' song, the very power moved the Furies to tears at the beginning of Book 10. Even more than the Erinys who

reigns at the beginning of the poem, this Erinyes is explicitly inflammatory and evokes the martial connections of Vergil's Furies. She also adds to the imagery of the Furies as figures who not only remove the moderation that controls emotions, but twist and invert the emotions and responses themselves.

Jupiter and Lycaon

The first mention of the Furies occurs in the story of Lycaon, early in Book 1, after Ovid has described the creation of the world and the Ages of Men. The most recent generation was born from the Earth and the blood of the fallen Giants, cast down by Jupiter (1.156-160):⁵²⁶

obruta mole sua cum corpora dira iacerent,
perfusam multo natorum sanguine Terram
imaduisse ferunt calidumque animasse cruorem
et, ne nulla suae stirpis monumenta manerent,
in faciem vertisse hominum. sed et illa propago
contemptrix superum saevaeque avidissima caedis
et violenta fuit; scires e sanguine natos.

When their dread bodies lay overthrown by their own mass, Earth was drenched and dripping with the blood of her own children, they say, and brought the warm gore to life; in order that no lack of reminders of their shame should remain, she gave them the form of men. But those children too were scornful of the gods, most greedy for fierce slaughter, and violent; you could tell they were born from blood.

The violence so abundantly signalled does indeed come to pass, and Jupiter, enraged, calls for a council of the gods and the destruction of humanity. He sums up human wickedness with the story of Lycaon, who was transformed into a wolf, and concludes

526 All passages are from Tarrant's 2004 text. The origin of Ovid's men evokes the origin of the Giants in Hesiod's *Theogony*, who were born from the blood that dripped from the severed genitals of Ouranos onto Earth, along with the Furies and the Meliae (182-87).

(1.240-243):

occidit una domus, sed non domus una perire
digna fuit; qua terra patet, fera regnat Erinys.
in facinus iurasse putes; dent ocius omnes
quas meruere pati (sic stat sententia) poenas.⁷

One house perished, but not only one house deserved to die; wherever the earth extends, a fierce Fury reigns. You would think they had conspired in villainy; let them all swiftly pay the penalties they deserve to endure – thus stands my judgment.

This reference, brief though it is, provides several interesting points of comparison to the *Aeneid* and the literary tradition of the Furies, but it is also a new image, and one that opens up the conceptualization of the Furies in important and influential ways.⁵²⁷ Most directly, it is reminiscent of the appearance of Tisiphone amidst war at *Aeneid* 10.761 (*pallida Tisiphone media inter milia saevit*, “pale Tisiphone rages among the thousands”), which, as already discussed, evokes in turn personifications such as Panic and Terror in the *Iliad*. These figures appear on the battlefield itself and on armour, but they are also often associated with Ares in particular, and in a more explicitly embodied role, as when they yoke his horses at 15.119.⁵²⁸ Tisiphone’s brief appearance in Book 10 of the *Aeneid* fits well with the Homeric antecedents, especially since Mars was grouped

527 The Furies in the *Thebaid* are beyond the scope of this study, but it must be mentioned that Statius presents a Thebes, and an epic, in which a Fury truly does rule.

528 Given the proposed association with the Furies, it is worth considering the fact that Panic and Terror are grouped with representations of a Gorgon on both the aegis carried by Athena ([Panic without Terror, but in the company of Strife, Might, and Pursuit]... ἦν περὶ μὲν πάντη Φόβος ἐστεφάνωται, / ἐν δ’ Ἔρις, ἐν δ’ Ἀλκή, ἐν δὲ κρούεσσα Ἰωκή, / ἐν δέ τε Φοργεῖη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου, / δεινὴ τε σμερδνὴ τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο, *Il.* 5.739-742) and Agamemnon’s corselet (τῆ δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῶ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο / δεινὸν δερκομένη, περὶ δὲ Δεῖμος τε Φόβος τε, *Il.* 11.36-7). The Gorgon’s head is, of course, a very popular motif used to frighten off enemies and evils, but in both of these examples she is mentioned as an individual character rather than an anonymous image.

with the Dirae, Discordia, and Bellona a few books earlier on the shield of Aeneas (8.700-703).

The fact that the battles in the *Aeneid* were set in motion by a Fury summoned by an Olympian complicates the Homeric reference by activating the possibility of Tisiphone as an agent of an Olympian god, rather than, or in addition to, her role as an emblem of war, which is itself, as we have seen, also a Vergilian innovation. Whether Tisiphone is present in Book 10 of the *Aeneid* as the agent of a god or has simply emerged along with full blown war, the context in the *Metamorphoses* is quite different.⁵²⁹ Lycaon's crimes were violations of some of the most basic human laws: he served Jupiter, his guest, the flesh of a hostage and planned to murder him as he slept (1.234-230). This combines two of the most ancient taboos, cannibalism and violating the safety of a guest, and one might reasonably expect a Fury, in her role of enforcing social contracts, to punish such wrongs. The adjective *fera*, however, suggests that this Erinys represents the wrongs themselves. In this, she evokes Vergil's Allecto, whom Juno calls upon as having the particular ability to spread strife among families and overturn households (*tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres / atque odiis versare domos, tu verbera tectis / funereasque inferre faces...* 7.335-337); Lycaon's violations of *xenia*, as well as a lack of respect for divinity, similarly lead to the destruction of his house (*everti tecta*, as Jupiter tells the gods at 1.231).⁵³⁰ One could read this either as

529 This god could be Venus, as suggested by her opposition to Juno in the line before (*hinc Venus, hinc contra spectat Saturnia Iuno*, 10.760) With thanks to Christopher Nappa for suggesting this as a possible interpretation.

530 The image of infection was explicitly evoked by Jupiter earlier in his speech, when he used the medical analogy of cutting out flesh that is beyond cure before it infects the part that is still sound (*sed immedicabile corpus / ense recidendum est, ne pars sincera trahatur*, 1.190-191). As

active provocation, in which the Ovid's Fury causes the evils of men, or as the Fury simply accompanying their evils because it is her nature, and theirs. Ovid's phrasing precludes pinning down any single meaning, nor would I wish to do so, but this final option highlights two points. These men are not only bloody and violent, but they spring from the blood of Giants whose bodies were *dira* (1.156), a word that is associated with the Furies, and the Fury herself seems to represent a sort of abstraction that, on the hand, is both more encompassing and more abstract than that of her earlier Greek antecedents and, on the other, is built on the extended role of the Furies as developed by Vergil.⁵³¹

Whether this Fury reigns because humans are constantly committing wrongs or because she herself is provoking the wrongs, her command of the earth is what demonstrates that humans have earned destruction.⁵³² Bömer rightly points to the ability of the Furies to stir both madness and human crimes, but seems to elide any difference between his examples from Homeric and Latin epic, when in fact they highlight an important shift in how the Furies are conceived: the madness they bring becomes associated in Latin epic with the larger scale, state concern of war, rather than the more personal context of family or personal relationships.⁵³³ The passage from the *Iliad* that he

Anderson (1997, 171) points out, the use of *immedicabile* evokes *Aeneid* 12.858, where it is used, perhaps for the first time, of the poisoned arrow to which the *Dira* is compared.

531 If we follow Hesiod's *Theogony* (185), the Erinyes has another connection to these men: if they were formed from the blood of Giants, the Erinyes are their aunts.

532 Regarding the use of the verb *regno*, one might wonder whether Ovid had in mind Juno's words as she dismissed Allecto (*Aen.* 7.557-560): *te super aetherias errare licentius auras / haud pater ille velit, summi regnator Olympi. / cede locis. ego, si qua super fortuna laborum est, / ipsa regam.* The verb Juno uses, *rego*, is far more general, and she does in fact go on simply to take charge of the action, but the idea of having control over a domain is still present, and possibly activated by the reference to Jupiter as *regnator*.

533 Bömer 1969, 98.

cites comes from Agamemnon’s speech in Book 19, in which he explains that it was not he who was to blame for his fateful demand of Briseis, but “Zeus and Fate and mist-walking Erinys, who thrust fierce Ate into my mind during the assembly” (Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς, / οἳ τέ μοι εἰν ἀγορῇ φρεσὶν ἔμβαλον ἄγριον ἄτην, 19.87-88). The passage from the *Odyssey* occurs within the mythic digression about Melampus in Book 15, and the image is again of Erinys placing disastrous ἄτη in the mind of a human (“because of the daughter of Neleus and grievous folly, which the frightful goddess Erinys placed in his breast,” εἵνεκα Νηληϊος κούρης ἄτης τε βαρείης, / τὴν οἱ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ δασπλήτις Ἐρινύς, *Od.* 15.233-34).⁵³⁴ We have very incomplete evidence for this story, and the role of the Fury is unknown,⁵³⁵ my point here is that she is clearly associated with disastrous folly in a personal context.

Agamemnon’s demand, like the wrath of Achilles, certainly caused destruction on a great scale, but the motivation was intensely personal; this model is almost inverted in the context of Lucan’s *civilis Erinys* (4.187). When the recognition of friends and associates causes the opposing forces to break ranks, driven by desire for reunion, Lucan asks why they weep and points out that they themselves are the force that they fear in

534 On δασπλήτις, Hoekstra says (Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989, 247): “only here; its etym. and meaning are unknown. Nor is it clear what part the Erinys played in this myth, but it is likely to have been known to listeners..., and the allusion probably had its origin in a full-sized version. The phrase θεὰ δασπλήτις Ἐρινύς may be an inadequately represented archaic formula, ... (in Mycenaean times the Erinys had a cult in Crete, KN Fp I (Ventris-Chadwick, *Documents*, no. 200, cf. 208, pp. 411, 476).” The inscription from Knossos he refers to provides further interest in the proximity of Erinys (*e-ri-nu*, line 8) and the “priestess of the winds” (*a-ne-mo / i-je-re-ja*, line 10), given the connections between the Harpies and the Furies already discussed.

535 See Hoekstra (Heubeck & Hoekstra 1989, 246-47) for an overview of the evidence. The same story is referred to at 11.281-97, but with no mention of a Fury or madness.

Caesar (4.186-188):

classica det bello, saevos tu neglege canus;
signa ferat, cessa: iam iam civilis Erinys
concidet et Caesar generum privatus amabit.

If he gives the call to war, ignore the fierce song; if he advances the standards, do not go: now at last the civic Fury will fall, and Caesar, belonging solely to his people, will love.

This civic Fury, who seems to encompass civil war and its motivation, could be halted by the recognition of precisely those personal and family relationships that are her traditional concern. This highlights Lucan's transformation of the Fury, which draws, at least in part, on the representation of Allecto in the *Aeneid*, though his opposition of personal ties and civil war is an important departure. There is, however, a link in that the Erinys brings ἄτη in both Homeric passages, and Lucan's contrast highlights precisely the general blindness to bonds with which ἄτη is associated. The Furies' power to create madness might thus serve as a bridge between maddening an individual and a more holistic capacity for inspiring violence and dissension.

The reigning Erinys who attends what is almost the first transformation of the *Metamorphoses* also evokes the Erinys of *Aeneid* 2 in her independent presence and thus combines elements of the Homeric and Vergilian models: she does not represent war, but is present as a sign of general human wickedness, rather than individual error.

Furthermore, the grouping of the Erinys with Zeus and the Moira in the passage from the *Iliad* highlights the separation of Jupiter from both men and the Fury in the *Metamorphoses* episode.⁵³⁶ Jupiter here seems far more emotionally distant from human

⁵³⁶ It also recalls Jupiter's Dirae in the *Aeneid*, though both Moira and Erinys are presented as individuals in a way that is strikingly lacking in the case of the Dirae.

actions than Vergil's gods, who frequently intervene, either in person or, more commonly, through an agent. A key element in the tradition of the Furies is punishment, but punishment belongs to Jupiter alone in this introductory scene. As I discussed in the last chapter, Vergil's Dirae are agents of divine wrath, but Ovid's Jupiter needs no agents.

Juno, on the other hand, twice uses a Fury as an agent of punishment, and both occasions are grounded in the sexual jealousy provoked by Jupiter's affairs. The first, which comes at the end of the Io story, is as minimal as could be, and the Erinys sent by Juno is not even explicitly presented as an agent of further actions. When Juno reacts to the death of Argus and sets an Erinys on Io, the name Erinys could be replaced by any word meaning madness; it is Juno who sends, goads, and drives (1.724-727):

Protinus exarsit nec tempora distulit irae,
horriferaeque oculis animoque obiecit Erinyn
paelicis Argolicae stimulosque in pectore caecos
condidit et profugam per totum exercuit orbem.

Straightaway she was burned with anger, nor did she put off the opportunity for her wrath; she sent a horrifying Erinys against her eyes and mind, and she planted hidden goads in the breast of the Argive mistress and drove her, as a fugitive, through the whole world.

The Erinys here seems to combine two roles from Greek tragedy: her own and that of Io's gadfly. Like the Furies, the gadfly that afflicts Io maddens its victim and drives her into exile, but Ovid focuses attention on Juno's action rather than the suffering of the victim.⁵³⁷ The Furies in tragedy are regularly presented as arising naturally from the

⁵³⁷ See the introduction for an overview of the Furies in Greek tragedy; they drive their victims like hounds (as when Orestes refers to them his mother's hounds, αἶδε μητρὸς ἔγκοι κύνας, *Cho.* 1054), and, as Aguirre (2010, 135) points out, their iconography includes the javelins of hunters, but the image of whips and goads specifically, which becomes so

crimes that require their vengeance, and this is also, somewhat surprisingly, suggested in Io's story in *Prometheus Bound*, the earliest full version extant.⁵³⁸ When Io's father gives in to Zeus' threats and drives her from home, the gadfly is an integral part of her transformation, just as, it seems, suffering accompanies the lust of Zeus and hatred of Hera (673-82):⁵³⁹

εὐθύς δὲ μορφή καὶ φρένες διάστροφοι
 ἦσαν, κεραστὶς δ', ὡς ὄρατ', ὄξυστόμῳ
 μύωπι χρισθεῖσ' ἔμμανεῖ σκιρτήματι
 ἦσσαν πρὸς εὐποτόν τε Κερχνεῖας ῥέος
 Λέρνης τε κρήνην : βουκόλος δὲ γηγενῆς
 ἄκρατος ὀργὴν Ἄργος ὠμάρτει, πυκνοῖς
 ὄσσοις δεδορκῶς τοὺς ἐμοὺς κατὰ στίβους.
 ἀπροσδόκητος δ' αὐτὸν ἀφνίδιος μόρος
 τοῦ ζῆν ἀπεστέρησεν. οἰστροπλήξ δ' ἐγὼ
 μάστιγι θεία γῆν πρὸ γῆς ἐλαύνομαι.

Straightaway my form and wits were transformed, and I was horned, as you see, and stung by the sharp-beaked gadfly; with maddened bounds I darted toward the sweet stream of Cerchne and the spring of Lerna, but the earthborn herdsman Argus, untempered in his anger, accompanied me, watching my steps with close-packed eyes. But unexpected doom robbed him of his life, and I, fly-stung by the divine lash, am driven from land to

consistent in the context of the Roman Furies, seems to be a later development.
 538 Io is mentioned in a fragment of the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women* (M-W 124), and Hesiod and Acusilaus are cited as sources for the basic story told in the *Bibliotheca* 2.1.3; Aeschylus' *Suppliants* also includes mentions of Io and her story, but *Prometheus Bound* and the *Metamorphoses* provide the only extended versions.
 539 Bömer (1969, 214-15) points out that delaying the appearance of the gadfly means that "madness loses its importance as a driving force of the whole episode," ("Der Wahnsinn verliert seine Bedeutung als treibende Kraft des gesamten Geschehens"). This sequence is part of Io's own narrative, and thus somewhat confused and untrustworthy; I am not, however, making an argument about the narrative sequence of her story, but about the ways such divine torments are represented. The emphasis on Zeus as cause of suffering is in keeping with the whole play, of course, but the contrast with Ovid's representation is striking nonetheless. Even when Aeschylus refers to the fly as a 'god-sent plague' (θεόστυόν τε νόσον, 596), the emphasis is not on the act of sending, nor its motivation, but on the resulting suffering.

land.

By causing incessant flight and mental torments, Ovid's Erinys encompasses the gadfly that afflicts Io in Aeschylus, but she is sent by Juno rather than arising from spilt blood or from the transformation itself. This is an important difference, and one that is emphasized by the focus on Juno as subject. Even if one imagines the Fury driving Io through the lands, it would be as an extension of Juno herself, thus further emphasizing the hierarchical separation I suggested above.

Juno's anger at Io and the reference to her as Jupiter's lover place the episode in the familiar mythic context of Juno's sexual jealousy, but the fact that her anger is prompted by the death of Argus evokes tragic Furies more directly, for Mercury not only kills Argus, but stains the cliff with his blood (*maculat praeruptam sanguine rupem*, 1.719).⁵⁴⁰ It is this that prompts Juno's rage in the lines above, and the sequence recalls the image of Furies called by shed blood to avenge it, as expressed concisely in

Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* (400-404):

ἀλλὰ νόμος μὲν φονίας σταγόνας
χυμένας ἐς πέδον ἄλλο προσαιτεῖν
αἷμα· βοᾷ γὰρ λοιγὸς Ἑρινὺν
παρὰ τῶν πρότερον φθιμένων ἄτην
ἑτέραν ἐπάγουσαν ἐπ' ἄτηι.

But it is law that bloody drops spilled on the ground demand other blood;
for destruction summons an Erinys who leads against ruin a second ruin
from those who died first.

⁵⁴⁰ The use of the word *paalex* underscores the marital infidelity, as it could be translated 'concubine,' and is frequently used in contrast to an existing wife (*TLL* 1.a), as indeed Juno uses it again to refer to Semele at 4.422. The death Argus is also tightly bound to Io's tormenting fly in *Prometheus Bound*, in which Io refers to the gadfly as his εἶδωλον (567); here it is perhaps best translated ghost, given that he is dead by this point, but it also suggests hallucination.

While Sarah Iles Johnston is right to point out that the Furies are not envisioned as being formed from the blood, they are summoned by it, or, to put it more broadly, they are activated by the blood.⁵⁴¹ This idea runs through Aeschylus' *Oresteia*, but is especially clear in the exchange between Orestes and the chorus of Furies, in which it is blood that prompts their action, and the eventual absence of blood that will end it (244-302).

Both the Fury and Io's exile are thus in accord with tragic precedents. A key difference, however, is that, in Ovid's tale, Juno does not call for a Fury to arise from the blood of Argus, but casts the Fury upon Io. This is very like the way Allecto hurled her snake against Turnus in the *Aeneid*, but the reference to a Fury here is far more abstract. The language of fire and anger also echoes Vergil, but here the new elements are brought together with the traditional tragic context of sexual jealousy and exile. Even in this brief episode, then, one can see signs of the innovations of the *Aeneid* integrated into a new type of Fury.

Ino and Thebes

When Juno's wrath turns to Thebes in Book 4, within the story of Ino and Athamas, it initiates an episode that includes the sole appearance in the *Metamorphoses* of the Furies as characters, but their continued presence is also felt in the serpentine imagery and strange fertility within the connected stories of Cadmus and Harmonia and then Perseus

541 Johnston 1999, 144: "Violent death sets in motion an *erinyes* ... but it does not *create* an *erinyes* in the sense of the dead spirit taking on this new identity. The Erinyes are simply, like some other gods, including Persephone, Hades, and Zeus, concerned with defending the rights of the dead and avenging their murders." As mentioned above, though, spilled blood seems to have a functional role in the case of the Furies that sets them apart.

killing the Gorgon. As in the story of Io, Juno's anger involves a Fury, but here she does not send one, nor, as in the *Aeneid*, summon one from the Underworld.⁵⁴² Instead, she descends into the Underworld herself and petitions the dread sisters.⁵⁴³ In the more fully developed action and appearance of the Furies and the direct, personal interaction with another god, the actions of Juno and Tisiphone in the *Metamorphoses* follow the model of Juno and Allecto in *Aeneid* 7, but the shift from summoning to descent is an important development. Furthermore, while Ovid's Juno could call on the Furies as enforcers of divine wrath or of family violations, instead her jumbled request calls on everything, and in every way, thus making it seem less like a request that the Furies do her work and more a request that they perform their own. This, I will argue, reflects a further development of the shift toward the Furies as creators of madness and destruction more generally.

The motivations for Juno's interaction with a Fury, however, are much the same in this episode. As in the Io story, Juno is angry about one of Jupiter's mistresses, and even more so, it seems, because Semele became the mother of a divine child, albeit posthumously. In this case, Juno's anger is so virulent that it extends to the entire family, and she cannot bear the happiness of Ino, Semele's sister and nurse to Dionysus. As in the *Aeneid*, she frames this wrath in terms of the potential effect on her divine status; comparing herself to Bacchus and his punishment of the Minyades, Juno says, "will Juno

542 The alignment of anger and Fury was literal in the case of Io, as *ira* and *Erinyes* end their respective lines (*protinus exarsit nec tempora distulit irae, / horriferamque oculis animoque obiecit Erinyn*, 1.724-5). In the case of Allecto, of course, *ira* is one of her particular concerns (*cui tristia bella / iraeque insidiaeque et crimina noxia cordi*, *Aen.* 7.325-6).

543 Tisiphone refers to Juno's action as commanding (*iubes*, 4.477), but the scene belies her words.

be able to do nothing but weep pointless tears? Is that sufficient for me? Is this my sole power? (*nil poterit Iuno nisi inultos flere dolores? / idque mihi satis est? haec una potentia nostra?*, 4.426-7).

As soon as she has decided to take action against Ino, Juno sets out to get the Furies on the case (4.432-42):⁵⁴⁴

Est via declivis, funesta nubila taxo;
ducit ad infernas per muta silentia sedes.
Styx nebulas exhalat iners, umbraeque recentes
descendunt illac simulacraque functa sepulcris;
pallor hiemsque tenent late loca senta, novique,
qua sit iter, manes, Stygiam quod ducat ad urbem
ignorant, ubi sit nigri fera regia Ditis.
mille capax aditus et apertas undique portas
urbs habet, utque fretum de tota flumina terra,
sic omnes animas locus accipit ille nec ulli
exiguus populo est turbamve accedere sentit.

The path slopes downwards, dark with funereal yew; she goes to the infernal headquarters through still silence. The unmoving Styx breathes out mist, and the recently dead and phantoms of those provided with tombs descend there; pallor and winter hold this rugged expanse, and the newly dead, wherever there is a path, avoid the Styx, which leads to the city and the fearsome palace of dark Dis. The spacious city has a thousand entrances and open doors on every side, and, just as the sea receives rivers from the whole world, this place receives all souls; it is not too small for any multitude, nor does it notice if a crowd enters.

The first remarkable thing about this passage is that Juno actually descends to the Underworld. Not only does this violate the division of chthonic and celestial gods, but it

544 In what seems to be a nod to the almost defining nature of Theban myth (simply to be a character in Theban myth requires disaster of some sort), Juno seems to give Ino her own madness (*cur non stimuletur eatque / per cognata suis exempla furoribus Ino?*, 4.430-31). This motif is taken up and elaborated upon by Statius in Oedipus's prayer to Tisiphone (*Theb.* 1.56-87): Ovid positions Ino's personal madness (*furores*) in the family tradition; Statius presents the Fury Tisiphone as a mother figure who cherished not only Oedipus and all his deeds, but the whole region – the paths to Thebes are her favorite (*notum iter ad Thebas; neque enim volocior ullas / itque reditque vias cognatave Tartara mavult*, 1.101-2).

places Juno in the position of supplicant rather than summoner. Ovid's Furies thus seem to be in a position of greater power than in any earlier literature; they are not summoned up from the Underworld to deal with a problem, but sought out in their home for help, just as any god might be.⁵⁴⁵ This seems to be reinforced by the fact that Juno addresses the Furies as a group, so that she is not portrayed as one choosing a specific agent, and Tisiphone's answer, when it comes, carries an authority that was not evident in Vergil's *Allecto*. Furthermore, the use of the phrase *fera regia* here suggests the possibility that at least part of the problem with the Fury reigning in Book 1 was the displacement of infernal authority from its proper place.

As I mentioned earlier, another mention of the Furies similarly portrays them as emblematic powers of the Underworld. In this passage, they are among the denizens of Hades' court who are moved by Orpheus' plea for the return of Eurydice (10.40-48):

Talia dicentem nervosque ad verba moventem
 exsanguis flebant animae; nec Tantalus undam
 captavit refugam, stupuitque Ixionis orbis,
 nec carpsere iecur volucres, urnisque vacarunt
 Belides, inque tuo sedisti, Sisyphus, saxo.
 tum primum lacrimis victarum carmine fama est
 Eumenidum maduisse genas; nec regia coniunx
 sustinet oranti nec qui regit ima negare,
 Eurydicenque vocant. ...

The bloodless souls wept for him as he said such things and plucked his strings to suit the words; Tantalus did not snatch at the retreating water, and he stupefied the wheel of Ixion; the birds did not graze upon their

545 By showing both the Furies at home in the Underworld and Tisiphone at work in the human world, Ovid combines elements seen in Books 6 and 7 of the *Aeneid*. In addition to the crucial change of having Juno descend, however, Ovid's Underworld is not only very urban, but specifically Roman. I will discuss this briefly below, but the urban context might also underscore Juno's subordinated position with the suggestion of a client visiting a patron. My thanks to Christopher Nappa for pointing out the resonance.

liver, the Belides abandoned their jars, and you, Sisyphus, sat upon your rock. The story is that the cheeks of the Eumenides, conquered by his song, were then wet with tears for the first time; neither the royal consort nor he who rules the depths could bear to deny him as he pled, and they summoned Eurydice.

The Furies here seem primarily to signify the Underworld and its implacable nature, though their grouping with Persephone and Hades could suggest that they are attendant on the royal pair.⁵⁴⁶ Reed points out the rarity of divine tears, as well as the authorial distancing of *fama est*, but one might also wonder whether the ban on divine tears recorded by Ovid does not apply to them, given the celestial specification (“nor is it permitted that the heavenly faces be touched with tears,” *neque enim caelestia tingi / ora licet lacrimis, Met. 2.621-2*).⁵⁴⁷ In the presence of the dead and following upon famous torments of the Underworld, the weeping Furies are a clear sign of the power of Orpheus’ song, fierce and implacable as they are; not only do the punishments pause, but those who preside over them are brought to tears.⁵⁴⁸

546 This is an image that appears in the Thebaid (as at 4.525-6: *ipsum pallentem solio circumque ministras / funestorum operum Eumenidas*), and, while it might also recall the Dirae that attend Jupiter in *Aeneid* 12, it evokes for me scenes that reveal some of the larger household of Olympus, such as when Hera returns and accepts the cup offered by Themis (Θέμιστι δὲ καλλιπαρήῳ / δέκτο δέπας, *Il.* 15.87-88), or when the Hours serve as attendants for Hera’s horses, whom they unyoke (from the chariot assembled by Hebe at 5.722) and tie to their ambrosial mangers (Ἵως ἄρα φωνήσασα πάλιν τρέπε μώνυχας ἵππους / τῆσιν δ’ Ὀραι μὲν λῦσαν καλλίτριχας ἵππους, / καὶ τοῦς μὲν κατέδησαν ἐπ’ ἀμβροσίησι κάπησιν, *Il.* 8.432-4), and guard the gates of Olympus (πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἅς ἔχον Ὀραι, *Il.* 5.749).

547 Reed 2013, 176.

548 The stopping power of Orpheus’ song is portrayed similarly in the parallel scene in Vergil’s *Georgics*, in which the very halls of Death and deepest Tartarus come to a standstill along with the Furies, hair entwined with dark serpents, Cerberus holds his breath in his three mouths, and Ixion’s wheel stops spinning in the breeze (*quin ipsae stupuere domus atque intima Leti / Tartara caruleosque implexae crinibus anguis / Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tria Cerberus ora, / atque Ixionii vento rota constitit orbis, Geo.* 4.481-84). Given the shift toward greater emphasis on the physical nature of the female demonic, Putnam’s observation on the *Georgics* passage is particularly interesting: “Unlike the nameless crowd of dead, criminals and their

Returning to the initial view of the Furies and the Underworld in Book 4, further development of the Underworld's geography is also evident, and Ovid's landscape is emphatically urban, complete with a forum (*parsque forum celebrant*, 4.444). There is a significant contrast to the geography of Vergil's Underworld in the *Aeneid*, where the entrance itself is described in domestic terms (*vestibulum ante ipsum primisque in faucibus Orci*, 6.273), but the sense is of an extensive landscape, with various regions and an entire, horrible, lower level. Here, as we shall see in the next passage, Tisiphone sits with her sisters before a prison (*carcer*, 4.453), apparently positioned in the heart of the city, just as in Rome, rather than the otherworldly fortress surrounded by flaming rivers that Tisiphone guards in the *Aeneid* (6.549-556).⁵⁴⁹

Juno's journey continues, as we return from the brief description of the surroundings to the goddess herself (4.447-463):

Sustinet ire illuc caelesti sede relictā
 (tantum odiis iraeque dabat) Saturnia Iuno.
 quo simul intravit sacroque a corpore pressum
 ingemuit limen, tria Cerberus extulit ora
 et tres latratus semel edidit. illa sorores
 Nocte vocat genitas, grave et implacabile numen;
 carceris ante fores clausas adamante sedebant
 deque suis atros pectebant crinibus angues

avengers are named and their physical properties are graphically sketched" (1979, 300).
 549 This urban specificity parallels the description of Olympus that begins the council of the gods in Book 1, as it is presented as a very human Palatine where Jupiter has his regal home (*regalemque domum*, 1.171) and the atria of the noble gods are frequented by, implicitly, clients (*deorum / atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis*, 1.171-2). Ovid's gods even have their own Penates (1.174) and *plebs* (1.173). Ovid concludes the description by making the analogy explicit (*hic locus est quem, si verbis audacia detur, / haud timeam magni dixisse Palatia caeli*, 1.175-6), and, as Anderson (1997, 169) points out, "[he] affects to apologize for his bold analogy, but in fact he calls attention to it." One might wonder, furthermore, whether Ovid's more familiar, and reachable, Underworld is related to a less rigid and fundamental divide between upper and lower worlds.

quam simul agnorunt inter caliginis umbras,
surrexere deae. sedes Scelerata vocatur:
viscera praebebat Tityos lanianda novemque
iugeribus distractus erat; tibi, Tantale, nullae
deprenduntur aquae, quaeque imminet, effugit arbor;
aut petis aut urges rediturum, Sisyphe, saxum;
volvitur Ixion et se sequiturque fugitque;
molirique suis letum patruelibus ausae
adsiduae repetunt, quas perdant, Belides undas.

Juno Saturnia was so devoted to hatred and anger that she undertook to go to this place, leaving behind her celestial throne. As soon as she entered this place, the threshold groaned as it felt the divine step; Cerberus raised his three heads and barked three times in unison. Juno called the sisters born of Night, grave and relentless power; they were sitting before the prison doors that are closed with adamant and combing out the black snakes in their hair. As soon as they recognized her among the shadows of the mist, they rose for the goddess. Their seat is called Profaned: Tityos offers his viscera to be torn and is spread over nine acres; for you, Tantalus, no water is caught, and whatever tree bends toward you flees; whether you pursue or push, Sisyphus, the stone will return; Ixion revolves, chasing and fleeing himself; having dared to fashion death for their own cousins, the Danaids perpetually seek to reclaim the water they have lost.

Like their physical surroundings, the Furies, grave and relentless though they be, are presented with a sort of mundane physicality that is an interesting development of the attention given in the *Aeneid* to the physicality of Allecto. Rather than Vergil's somewhat vague references to Allecto's monstrously changeable form that sprouts so many snakes (7.328-9), Ovid provides a precise and ostensibly innocuous image that nonetheless embodies the Furies' monstrosity, as they comb their snaky hair.⁵⁵⁰

550 Anderson (1997) seems to understand the snakes as separate from the hair and not physically attached to Tisiphone, but it is not entirely clear: here, "the Furies were combing snakes out of their hair, that is, combing their snaky tresses" (465), but of *abrumpit* in the following scene, "[Ovid] presses in a grotesque fashion the image of the snakes, as though they grow on the head of Tisiphone and so have to be yanked out by the 'roots'" (467). The image of snakes twining and dislodged is amusing, but I do not see why it would be more likely here than snakes as hair, nor less disturbing. It does not seem necessary, however, to take the action as

The seat of the Furies is described as *scelerata*, which I have translated as “profaned,” but could also be “wicked.”⁵⁵¹ Given the urban geography of this Underworld, and that this epithet was attached to several sites of foul deeds in Rome, perhaps Ovid reveals a shift toward seeing the Furies as being themselves evil, rather than simply inspiring evil, or frightening to those who commit foul deeds. For all the emphasis on the immensity of this city of the dead, it seems spatially compressed here. Even if we imagine this prison as modelled on that of Rome, and thus centrally located, the near simultaneity of Juno’s entrance, her call to the Furies, and their recognition of her suggests a magical or nightmarish world in which space is not bound by its normal rules.⁵⁵² This compression continues when Juno has reached the Furies: they are sitting before the doors of the prison and the iconic punishments seem to be listed as an

removing snakes; I agree with Rosati (Barchiesi & Rosati 2007, 302), who points out that *pectare de* can mean to ‘put in order’ as well as ‘to eliminate.’ (And see *TLL* X1, I.A.d.2.) This makes particular sense with hair, from which tangles, braids, or other arrangements are far more likely to be combed out than foreign objects. The Tibullan lines alluded to seem to support this interpretation, as Tisiphone’s locks of fierce snakes are uncombed (*Tisiphoneque impexa feros pro crinibus angues*, 1.3.69). As pointed out by Haupt-Ehwald (179), the combination of Furies and snakes appeared in Aeschylus (*Choe.* 1048), but first with frequency in Latin poetry. It is worth remembering, however, that they are wreathed in snakes in Aeschylus; there is no clear reason to imagine the snakes as related specifically to their hair. This combing scene in Ovid seems a likely model for Statius, who makes the snakes the hair without any obvious comic element. Statius also seems to highlight the intimate (and feminine, as Rosati also points out) nature of the act by placing Tisiphone alone by a river, loosening her hair to let the snakes drink (1.89-91).

551 The phrase is from Tibullus 1.3.67-68 (*at scelerata iacet sedes in nocte profunda / abdita, quam circum flumina nigra sonant*); see Bömer *ad loc.* for a discussion of Ovid’s antecedents here.

552 Granted, the speed of gods and the suddenness of their arrivals is a commonplace, but the emphasis throughout this scene on the landscape and Juno’s movement through it is very different from the sudden descent of a god from Olympus in the *Iliad*, for example. Furthermore, while Juno’s initial descent emphasized the distance travelled to reach the Furies’ home, the fact that Rome’s *carcer* lay just downhill of the most likely site of the Temple of Juno Moneta, especially coupled with the topographical parallelism set up in the council of the gods in Book 1, suggests that Juno was, in some ways, a much closer neighbour indeed.

expansion or specification of what their domain includes, within the closed doors. Unlike Aeneas, who must be told of the punishments by the Sibyl, Juno looks directly at those being tormented before presenting her case to the Furies (4.464-480):

Quos omnes acie postquam Saturnia torva
vidit et ante omnes Ixiona, rursus ab illo
Sisyphon aspiciens 'cur hic e fratribus' inquit
'perpetuas patitur poenas, Athamanta superbum
regia dives habet, qui me cum coniuge semper
sprevit?' et exponit causas odiique viaeque
quidque velit; quod vellet erat ne regia Cadmi
staret, et in facinus traherent Athamanta furores.
imperium, promissa, preces confundit in unum
sollicitatque deas. sic haec Iunone locuta,
Tisiphone canos, ut erat, turbata capillos
movit et obstantes reiecit ab ore colubras
atque ita 'non longis opus est ambagibus' inquit;
'facta puta quaecumque iubes. inamabile regnum
desere teque refer caeli melioris ad auras.'
laeta redit Iuno, quam caelum intrare parantem
roratis lustravit aquis Thaumantias Iris.

After Saturnian Juno looked over them all with her fierce glance, and Ixion above all, she turned from him and faced Sisyphus: "Why does this one endure eternal punishment apart from his brothers, while royal wealth embraces proud Athamas, who always spurned me, along with his wife?" And she set forth the reasons for her anger and the course she desired: what she wanted was that the royal house of Cadmus should not survive, and that madness drag Athamas into crime. She poured out command, promises, and prayers all together and stirred the goddesses. When Juno had thus spoken, Tisiphone, disordered as she was, moved her white hair, threw back the obstructing snakes from her face, and said: "There is no need for long meanderings; all that you command, consider it done. Leave our unloveable kingdom and return to the airs of a better heaven." Juno returned happily, and Iris, the daughter of Thaumantas, purified her with sprinkled water as she was about to enter heaven.

As I mentioned above, Juno's appeal is more desperate than commanding, and it is Tisiphone who expresses herself concisely and with authority. Before she speaks,

Tisiphone moves the snakes back from her face in another striking physical detail that expands upon the image of the Furies combing their ophidian tresses. Anderson points out one avenue of possible humour in Tisiphone's gesture: "The gesture of tossing the hair can be quite theatrical, and we may suspect that Ovid has wittily adapted a flamboyant move of contemporary Roman speakers."⁵⁵³ One could also imagine Tisiphone amusingly and ineptly obscured by her headful of snakes, and the comedic value of extricating herself. The movement can also be a proud one, though, or impatient, and in this context, particularly with the involvement of snakes, it strongly evokes the Gorgon's head or snaky aegis, both of which can be brandished as a weapon or instrument of terror.⁵⁵⁴ Combined with the intimate image of a woman at her *toilette* and the potentially suggestive participle *turbata*, it might also give an ironic glimpse of an elegiac lover disheveled by sex or grief. The juxtaposition of these two very different images can be seen as a development of Vergil's innovative combination of domestic and

553 Anderson 1997, v. 1, 466.

554 See *Il.* 5.738-742 for the Gorgon on the aegis, where it is explicitly a sign from Zeus (ἐν δέ τε Γοργεῖη κεφαλῇ δεινοῖο πελώρου, /δεινὴ τε σμερδνὴ τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο). The armor of Agamemnon in the *Iliad* includes both snakes and a Gorgon. On his corselet, dark snakes extend toward the neck, three on each side, and they are, suggestively, like the rainbow Zeus sends as a sign (τέρας) for men (κυάνεοι δὲ δράκοντες ὀρωρέχατο προτὶ δειρῆν /τρεις ἐκάτερθ', ἴρισσιν ἐοικότες, ἅς τε Κρονίων / ἐν νέφει στήριξε, τέρας μερόπων ἀνθρώπων, *Il.* 11.26-28); in the center of his shield, though the practicalities of the shield description and design are problematic (see Hainsworth 1985, 221-22, for discussion), there is the grim-faced Gorgon, gazing terribly (τῆ δ' ἐπὶ μὲν Γοργῶ βλοσυρῶπις ἐστεφάνωτο / δεινὸν δερκομένη, *Il.* 11.36-7). As Hainsworth (1985, 221) reasonably suggests regarding the use of the verb ἐστεφάνωτο, "placed around like a wreath," "the image appears to be that of snakes (the gorgon's hair) encircling the boss." Finally, on the strap of the shield, a dark serpent (or dragon) coiled, with three heads turning in all directions from a single neck (κυάνεος ἐλέλυκτο δράκων, κεφαλαὶ δὲ οἱ ἦσαν / τρεῖς ἀμφιστρεφῆες, ἐνὸς ἀυχένος ἐκπεφυῖαι, *Il.* 11.39-40). The snakes on the Hesiodic shield of Heracles are explicitly, and unspeakably, terrifying to men (ἐν δ' ὀφίων κεφαλαὶ δεινῶν ἔσαν, οὐ τι φατειῶν, / δώδεκα, ταὶ φοβέεσκον ἐπὶ χθονὶ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων, Hes., [Sc.], 161-2

martial domains for his Furies, though with more Ovidian wit than horror, and it fits with the collocation of sex and violence that runs through the *Metamorphoses*.

The added detail of Tisiphone's of white hair is unusual. While I think Rosati is quite right in pointing out that the combination of white hair and black snakes adds a touch of 'infernal grotesque,' it might also reflect, or create a space for, the image of the Furies as a sort of counterpart to the Fates, which I will discuss further in the section on Meleager and Althaea.⁵⁵⁵ The Graeae also traditionally have white or grey hair, which is juxtaposed with fair-cheeked beauty in the *Theogony* ("and Keto bore to Phorcys the lovely-cheeked Graeae, grey from birth...," Φόρκυι δ' αὖ Κητώ γραιίας τέκε καλλιπαρήους / ἐκ γενετῆς πολιίας, 270-71), a juxtaposition not unlike that of monstrous and beautiful in their sisters the Gorgons.⁵⁵⁶ In any case, Ovid's visual focus on the hair of the Furies draws attention to their feminine form in a shift from the *Aeneid*, in which the Furies are emphatically female (they are regularly sisters, and Allecto is *virgo* at 7.479), but the physical focus is on their monstrosity.⁵⁵⁷

As for the depiction of Juno, the image of her frazzled and distracted with anger is

555 Barchiesi & Rosati 2007, 304, pointing to *canities* used of Charon at *Aen.* 6.300: "il particolare descrittivo dei capelli bianchi (su cui contrasta il nero dei serpenti: v. 454) e arruffati varia il modello virgiliano (*Aen.* VII 346 *caeruleis ... de crinibus*) aggiungendo un tocco di grottesco infernale."

556 Kanellopoulou 1988, 364 points out how the iconographic tradition consistently agrees with the youthful beauty in referred to in Hesiod: "Contrary to the most widespread literary tradition, the G. are, in iconography, constantly represented with the features of beautiful young women wearing, as Hesiod describes, rich clothing," (Contrairement à la tradition littéraire la plus répandue, les G. sont, dans l'iconographie, constamment représentées sous les traits de belles jeunes filles portant - comme l'indique Hésiode - de riches vêtements). See two examples at *LIMC* Graiai 1, 2, and see Ogden 2013, 92-98 on the Gorgons, Graeae, and Hesperides group.

557 As discussed in Chapter 2, however, Vergil's Harpies have a similar juxtaposition of feminine and monstrous in their form.

amusing, but it is not clear why Anderson sees it as so clearly demonic. First, on lines 469-71, he says: "Juno makes her request to Tisiphone, and Ovid, having sufficiently characterized her demonic passion in direct speech, quickly summarizes her exchange with the Furies." He then follows that up with his comment on the mention in line 480 of Iris' purification of Juno, "who, it appears, has been tainted by contact with the Underworld. However, Ovid has left the impression that Hell was precisely where this vengeful goddess belonged."⁵⁵⁸ Juno's tendency toward dramatic wrath is somewhat exaggerated, as fits Ovid's style, but I do not see the grounds for 'demonic.'

Furthermore, if it rests, as Anderson's unspecified "demonic passion" suggests, simply on the intensity of her passion, the idea of the demonic quickly risks becoming whatever is less than ideal or rational in humans or gods. The idea of pollution that is foregrounded by Juno's purification could be productive here: purification could be required simply because of the contact with death and the Underworld, contact that would be especially antagonistic to a celestial goddess, but it also seems to have a new element of psychological or moral contamination, so that Juno needs to be cleansed of the desire for destruction and the contact with the destructive powers of the Furies. Perhaps this is what Anderson is suggesting, but the idea that a god would be tainted by the desire for vengeance seems strange, especially in the context of Greco-Roman myth. I would say rather that Ovid presents Hell as the place where a particular sort of vengeance belongs, one that is less straightforward than traditional expressions of divine wrath. Juno's discombobulation is not just a comic effect, perhaps, but a sign that Juno is disturbed in a

558 Anderson 1997, 465, 466.

deeper sense, and this attention to the disturbed and disturbing emotional motivations of characters is in keeping with some of the other appearances of the Furies in the *Metamorphoses*, in which, as I will discuss in the next section, such motivations are more explicit.

This passage seems to demonstrate a clearer sense of the demonic as a separate category: Juno is remarkably malevolent, but she solicits, perhaps must solicit, demonic assistance. The demonic, moreover, is marked by having as its sole domain discord, pain, violence, and madness. No matter how malevolent or antagonistic Juno might be, it is never more than one aspect of her divinity (this is true of any god, and one can see the potential wrath as itself a marker of divinity); the Furies by now seem to be marked primarily by their appearance (horrifying) and effect (the infusion of madness), which is, as an added horror, available to be called upon. As discussed in Chapter 4, Vergil's Allecto consistently instilled maddening desire, which in turn prompted the actions of her victims – a strong contrast to the hallucinations that are the characteristic weapon of the Furies in Greek tragedy. While Ovid does have Tisiphone employ this traditional mode of attack, as I will discuss shortly, he also seems to take advantage of the scope offered by the more internal, and personally motivated, madness seen in the *Aeneid*, with the result that the focus shifts from desires that are simply dangerous to those that are twisted. Allecto accomplished Juno's task of bringing war to the wedding of Lavinia and Aeneas, but the inversion of marriage and funeral torches reflects a conceptual pairing that runs deep and clear within the mythic and literary tradition; in Ovid, on the other hand, we seem to see perversion of desire, which is perhaps as subject to change as its

victims in the *Metamorphoses*.

As soon as Juno has departed, Tisiphone takes action (4.481-494):

Nec mora, Tisiphone madefactam sanguine sumit
importuna facem fluidoque cruore rubentem
induitur pallam tortoque incingitur angue
egrediturque domo; Luctus comitatur euntem
et Pavor et Terror trepidoque Insania vultu.
limine constiterant; postes tremuisse feruntur
Aeolii pallorque fores infecit acernas
solque locum fugit. monstris exterrita coniunx,
territus est Athamas, tectoque exire parabant;
obstitit infelix aditumque obsedit Erinys,
nexaque vipereis distendens brachia nodis
caesariem excussit; motae sonuere colubrae,
parsque iacent umeris, pars circum pectora lapsae
sibila dant saniemque vomunt linguisque coruscant.

Without delay, grim Tisiphone snatches up a blood-soaked torch, dons her cloak, red with gore and blood, girds herself with a twined snake, and leaves the house. Grief accompanies her as she goes, and Fear and Panic and Madness, with her disturbed face. They came to a stop on the threshold; they say the doorposts of the son of Aeolus trembled; fear tainted the maple doors and the sun fled the place. His wife was terrified by the signs, Athamas was terrified, and they were preparing to leave their home; the calamitous Erinys stood in the way and blocked their exit. She spread her arms, entwined with knotted snakes, and shook her hair; the roused snakes resounded: some lie still on her arms; some slip around her breast and hiss and vomit gore and brandish their tongues.

As Gianpiero Rosati points out, this passage expands upon its Vergilian model

(*Gorgoneis Allecto infecta venenis*, *Aen.* 7.341) in having Tisiphone don a bloody cloak, pick up a torch, and cinch her waist with a snake, while also referring to the bloody clothing of Tisiphone in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* (*palla succincta cruenta*, 555) and the torch of Allecto in Book 7 (*sic effata facem iuueni coniecit et atro / lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas*, 456-7).⁵⁵⁹ It is worth noting, however, that the torch in Vergil is part

⁵⁵⁹ Barchiesi & Rosati 2007, 305.

of sustained fire imagery, whereas Ovid emphasizes blood rather than flame throughout this scene. These Ovidian snakes also seem to have more agency than those in Vergil, although they are perhaps inspired by the interaction of Allecto's snake and Amata, especially given that *pars circum pectora lapsae* echoes *levia pectora lapsus* at *Aeneid* 7.349.⁵⁶⁰ Regardless, the image is very powerful, and it evokes both the Minoan "snake goddess" figures and Athena with her aegis.

Ovid also expands upon the Vergilian model by the very description of Tisiphone readying herself. This is reminiscent of arming scenes, whether for battle or seduction, and perhaps particularly evocative of Athena's arming scenes in the *Iliad*, which focus on the power to instill terror (5.733-747, 8.384-391). The juxtaposition of Tisiphone's horrible accoutrements with the domestic activity and setting (a city house, here in Ovid's Hell) adds an element of humor to the scene.

Tisiphone's companions (*Luctus comitatur euntem / et Pavor et Terror trepidoque Insania vultu*, 4.484-5) seem an echo of both the Underworld and war Furies in the *Aeneid*: Luctus is the first named of those at the entrance (*Aen.* 6.274), while Gaudia (whose description as *mala mentis* is recalled by *Insania*), Bellum, and Discordia appear grouped around the chambers of the Eumenides (*Aen.* 6.278-80); Tisiphone rages (*saevit*) on the battlefield (10.761); the Battle of Actium on the shield of Aeneas features a raging Mars, Dirae, joyful Discordia, and Bellona with a whip (*saevit medio in*

⁵⁶⁰ Anderson's comment on the use of *coruscant* adds support for this image of increased agency (1997, 467): "the third verb, which captures the swift flicking of the snake tongue, represents a unique touch of the poet. He takes a verb that is usually transitive and much-used by Vergil to describe the brandishing of weapons, but intransitively refers to the flickering light of things, and applies it to the menacing movement of the reptile tongue. That he sought a special meaning here is demonstrated by the fact that he nowhere else uses this verb."

*certamine Mavors / caelatus ferro, tristesque ex aethere Dirae, / et scissa gaudens vadit Discordia palla, / quam cum sanguineo sequitur Bellona flagello, 8.700-703).*⁵⁶¹ The association of Furies and war will play a significant role in the *Thebaid*, and, as Keith has noted, this passage in Ovid may have been a model for the grouping of Luctus, Irae, Dolor, and Discordia in Statius' tale of Harmonia's necklace.⁵⁶²

Tisiphone's attack on Ino and Athamas draws both on the *Aeneid*, particularly in its aggressive nature and her use of weapons, and on the hallucinatory effect of the Furies in Greek tragedy (4.495-511):

inde duos mediis abrumpit crinibus angues
pestiferaque manu raptos immisit; at illi
Inosque sinus Athamanteosque pererrant
inspirantque graves animas. nec vulnera membris
ulla ferunt; mens est, quae diros sentiat ictus.
attulerat secum liquidi quoque monstra veneni,
oris Cerberei spumas et virus Echidnae
erroresque vagos caecaeque obliviae mentis
et scelus et lacrimas rabieque et caedis amorem,
omnia trita simul, quae sanguine mixta recenti
coxerat aere cavo viridi versata cicuta;
dumque pavent illi, vergit furiale venenum
pectus in amborum praecordiaque intima movit.
tum face iactata per eundem saepius orbem
consequitur motis velociter ignibus ignes.
sic victrix iussique potens ad inania magni
regna redit Ditis sumptumque recingitur anguem.

Then she tore two serpents from the middle of her hair, snatched them up in her destructive hand, and hurled them. And the snakes wander through

561 Bömer points out (1976a, 164) the Book 6 scene as a model, as well as Tisiphone's association with Disease and Fear in the *Georgics* (*pallida Tisiphone Morbos agit ante Metumque, 3.552*); the Homeric Deimos, Phobos, and Eris are mentioned among other general examples of personifications, but not connected to the Vergilian Furies.

562 Keith (2004/2005, 194), however, refers to them as "the abstractions with which Vulcan adorns the necklace." They are in fact co-creators, opposed to Pasithea, Decor, and Cupid, rather than part of the evils added, presumably on the Hesiodic model of Pandora.

the robes of Ino and Athamas and infuse their grievous breaths. There is no wound in their limbs; it is the mind that feels these dreadful strokes. Tisiphone had also brought with her a monstrous liquid poison: froth from the mouths of Cerberus and Echidna's venom, pointless wanderings, the oblivion of a blinded mind, evil and tears and madness and love of slaughter, all ground together, which she had mixed with fresh blood and cooked in a bronze pot, stirred with green hemlock. As both of them are struck with fear, the venom of the Fury turns toward their breasts and moves into their innermost hearts. Then she whirls the torch and swiftly follows fire with moving fire. Thus victorious, and having accomplished her command, she returns to the lifeless kingdom of great Dis and unbinds the snake that she had donned.

The supplemental poison is an Ovidian innovation, and the fact that it is a concoction rather than a natural exudation is an innovation that prefigures the image of Medea and her cauldron as she prepares to rejuvenate Aeson (7.262-74):

interea validum posito medicamen aeno
fervet et exultat spumisque tumentibus albet.
illic Haemonia radices valle resectas
seminaque floresque et sucos incoquit atros;
adicit extremo lapides Oriente petitos
et quas Oceani refluxum mare lavit harenas;
addit et exceptas luna pernocte pruinas
et strigis infames ipsis cum carnibus alas
inque virum soliti vultus mutare ferinos
ambigui prosecta lupi; nec defuit illis
squamea Cinyphii tenuis membrana chelydri
vivacisque iecur cervi, quibus insuper addit
ora caputque novem cornicis saecula passae.

Meanwhile, in the positioned bronze pot, a potent concoction seethed and leapt and grew white with swelling foam. In it she simmered roots cut in the Haemonian valley, and seeds, flowers, and black juices; she mixed in stones sought in the furthest Orient and sands that the returning sea of Ocean bathes; she added snow gathered from the full moon and the unspeakable wings of an owl, with their flesh attached, and the entrails of a werewolf, accustomed to transform his bestial form into a man. Nor did it lack the scaly skin of the slender Cinyphian watersnake or the liver of a long-lived stag, to which she also added the mouth and head of a crow that had endured nine ages of men.

Medea's command over nature and the powers of magic is emphasized throughout her story, but the concoction scene itself, which becomes the iconic image of witchcraft, shares with Tisiphone's description an emphasis on the details and craftsmanship. This is new emphasis is particularly striking in the case of Tisiphone because it is not clear why the potion is necessary, and its superfluity is accentuated by the fact that, after the detail of its creation, the application is not depicted. The overall impression is that Tisiphone's work is to create a specific poison from the evils and griefs of men.

Although the strongest literary influence on this passage is the serpent Allecto used against Amata in the *Aeneid*, the increased focus on the action of the snakes fits well with the new image of crafting injurious magic, especially given their association with witches.⁵⁶³ At the same time, however, the parallel with Medea in *Metamorphoses* 7 throws into relief two important differences. First, Medea is a victim of love, but not portrayed as maddened by it. Nor is her love the source of evils, but rather a prompt to save and renew in the cases of both Jason and Aeson. The reader might think of Euripides' Medea, whose destruction is motivated by love, but Ovid seems to pointedly avoid this and frames her destruction of Pelias as pure malevolence. In this love of destruction she comes closest to resembling female demonic figures, but it is significant that she is portrayed as a master of venom, rather than someone who embodies their destructive power. Her magical abilities, along with the divine assistance of Night, Earth,

⁵⁶³ *Aen.* 7.346-51; see Bömer 1976, especially 165-66, for a wealth of verbal parallels. It is worth noting one crucial distinction: the snake sent against Amata is unnoticed and insinuating; the emphasis on wounds and poison underscores the terror felt by Tisiphone's all too conscious victims.

and triple Hecate, give her power over the natural world (7.192-209) and even death itself, as demonstrated by her renewal of Aeson, but this is an entirely different sort of power than that of horror and madness.

In Book 14, Circe is portrayed in her traditional role as a creator of potions, and, like Medea, as inflamed by love, but Circe's love, when not returned by Glaucus, does turn to rage. She is not portrayed as monstrous herself, but her poisons transform the lovely maiden Scylla into a monstrous hybrid (14.40-67). Neither Medea nor Circe is portrayed as monstrous or horrifying themselves, nor do they serve as agents or intermediaries; what they do have in common with the Furies in the *Metamorphoses* is precisely the emphasis on the crafting of potions, which is the traditional work of these enchanting relatives of Helios, but not of the Furies. Given the strong associations of love and magic spells both in literature and the archaeological record, Ovid's emphasis likely has much to do with the centrality of love (and its companion jealousy) in these stories, but within the context of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole it can also be taken as a comment on the artifice of Augustus.⁵⁶⁴ In my discussion of the connection between desire and the female demonic in the *Aeneid*, I suggested that Vergil is concerned with desire as something that can be manipulated; in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid seems to be concerned with the power to shape itself, and his Furies are incidental to that theme. The image of evil as something to be crafted flows well from Juno's reference to Allecto's *artes nocendi* (*Aen.* 7.338), but Vergil's Allecto, for all the subtlety and psychological

⁵⁶⁴ The fact that Augustus grounded his own actions and, eventually, Rome and her governance, in the context and imagery of the family makes the stories of the *Metamorphoses*, and the traditional domestic context of the Furies, particularly fertile for such an exploration.

acuity of her attacks, seemed to spread evil simply as part of her nature. Overall, the lingering on the macabre elements of a Fury's art is in keeping with the general style of the *Metamorphoses*, but it also has the effect of framing a Fury as a conscious creator and manager of various sorts of evils, even more than she was in the *Aeneid*.⁵⁶⁵

To return to the tale of Ino and Athamas, Tisiphone's return home after a successful mission is a clear echo of Allecto in the *Aeneid*, highlighted by the use of *victrix*, which appears twice in the *Aeneid*, and first referring to Allecto as she addresses Juno after successfully completed her assignment (7.540-44):⁵⁶⁶

Atque ea per campos aequo dum Marte geruntur,
promissi dea facta potens, ubi sanguine bellum
imbuat et primae commisit funera pugnae,
deserit Hesperiam et caeli conversa per auras
Iunonem victrix adfatur voce superba:

And then, while these things were happening throughout the fields with Mars even-handed, the goddess, who had accomplished what she had promised when she stained battle with blood and began the funerals of the

565 The rather charming combination of specific ingredients from the monsters of Hell and general symptoms, which are nonetheless ground together with the physical ingredients, is perhaps echoed in the creation of Harmonia's necklace in the *Thebaid* (2.269-89). Listed as elements are Gorgon's eyes, thunderbolt ash, and serpent crests, along with the Apples of the Hesperides and the dire gold of the Golden Fleece, though it is unclear whether these are representations on the necklace or physical components (*infaustas percussum adamanta figuras / Gorgoneosque orbes Siculaque incude relictos / fulminis extremi cineres viridumque draconum / lucentes a fronte iubas; hic flebile germen / Hesperidum et dirum Phrixei velleris aurum*, 2.277-281). Vulcan then combines the chief of Tisiphone's snakes with the worst power of the girdle of Venus before adding lunar spume and giddy poison (*tum varias pestes raptumque interplicat atro / Tisiphones de crine ducem, et quae pessima ceston / vis probat; haec circum spumis lunaribus unguat / callidus atque hilar perfundit cuncta veneno*, 2.282-85). Immediately afterwards the grievous personifications referred to above (Luctus, Irae, Dolor, and Discordia, 2.287-8) take their part in the fabrication.

566 The other describes Camilla (*qua victrix redit illa*, 11.764). It also appears in the neuter plural in the Polydorus episode (*res Agamemnonias victriciaque arma secutus / fas omne abrumpit*, 3.54-55) and modifying laurel in the *Bucolics* (*atque hanc sine tempora circum / inter victricis heream tibi serpere lauros*, Ec. 8.12-13).

first fight, abandoned Italy, betook herself through the breezes of heaven,
and, victorious, addressed Juno with a proud voice: ...

The scale of Allecto's destruction is far greater, but it is worth noting that she is dismissed by Juno, whereas the independent action of Tisiphone closes the scene with the same element of role reversal that opened it. The word *victrix* also reactivates the martial imagery and underscores the bracketing of the scene with arming and disarming.

In this single episode, then, elements familiar from Books 6 and 7 of the *Aeneid* are brought together. Note particularly that Allecto used a snake on Amata and a torch on Turnus, while Tisiphone not only arms herself with both as she prepares to set out, but uses both in her attack on Ino and Athamas.⁵⁶⁷ We thus lose any suggestion of thematically appropriate implements, as seen in the amorous Amata seduced by a snake or Turnus inflamed to rage by the torch of an angered Fury; snakes and torch now seem to be simply part of the stock image of a Fury, along with gore. Far from disguising herself as Allecto did, Ovid's Tisiphone is marked by her distinguishing accoutrements.

Serpentine unions and fertility

Madness perforce follows Tisiphone's attack, and, once Tisiphone is safely returned home, Ovid describes the effects of her victory (4.512-530):

Protinus Aeolides media furibundus in aula
clamat: 'io, comites, his retia tendite silvis!
hic modo cum gemina visa est mihi prole leaena,'
utque ferae sequitur vestigia coniugis amens

⁵⁶⁷ The superfluity of the torch is perhaps underscored by the reference to adding fire to fire, which could refer to the flames of the torches being sent against victims already burning with the poisons.

deque sinu matris ridentem et parva Learchum
 brachia tendentem rapit et bis terque per auras
 more rotat fundae rigidoque infantia saxo
 discutit ora ferox. tum denique concita mater,
 seu dolor hoc fecit seu sparsum causa venenum,
 exululat passisque fugit male sana capillis
 teque ferens parvum nudis, Melicerta, lacertis
 ‘euhoe Bacche!’ sonat; Bacchi sub nomine Iuno
 risit et ‘hos usus praestet tibi’ dixit ‘alumnus.’
 imminet aequoribus scopulus; pars ima cavatur
 fluctibus et tectas defendit ab imbribus undas,
 summa riget frontemque in apertum porrigit aequor.
 occupat hunc (vires insania fecerat) Ino
 seque super pontum nullo tardata timore
 mittit onusque suum; percussa recanduit unda.

Straightaway Athamas, raging in the middle of the courtyard, shouted, “Io, comrades, stretch out the nets in these woods! Just now I saw a lioness with her twin cubs here.’ Out of his wits, he pursued the steps of his wife as if she were the beast and snatched laughing Learchus from his mother’s breast as he stretched out his little arms; he whirled him through the air two or three times like a sling and, ferocious, shattered the infant face on hard stone. Then at last the mother, roused (whether grief caused this or the dispersed poison), wailed and, deranged, fled with her hair unbound and bearing you, little Melicerta, in her bare, torn arms. “Euhoe Bacchus!” she cried out; Juno laughed at the name of Bacchus and said “Let your nursling furnish these benefits for you.” A cliff overhangs the sea: the deepest part is hollowed by tides and defends the covered waves from storms; the heights stand upright and extend their face to the open sea. Ino seized this spot (insanity had created strength) and threw herself and her own burden down upon the sea, held back by no fear; the broken waves grew white.

This scene bears out the idea that the Furies in Ovid are now connected to a particular sort of twisted transformation, particularly of love. Rather than familial bonds redirected outward to violence and war, as seen in the *Aeneid*, the wild hunter turns on his own son, in his own halls, and the shattered face, already a shockingly violent image, is an infant’s. Ino’s actions can be read as a final attempt at maternal protection (death in a mother’s

arms being preferable to paternal ferocity), but Juno's smiling comment transforms the god Ino nourished into the cause of her suffering, death, and infanticide. Juno is undoubtedly pleased by this destruction, but her laughter is as much at the irony as the punishment; like Ovid's readers, Juno sees the wit in the pain.⁵⁶⁸ Even the final phrase has a similar effect, as it is not the bodies but the waves that are struck, and the described result is not death and disaster but the aesthetic effect of a smooth surface pierced and freshly veiled with white.⁵⁶⁹

The madness inflicted by Tisiphone takes the form of plot-requisite hallucinations and infanticide, as in Euripides' *Hercules Furens* and *Bacchae*. It is, however, a striking departure from the results of Allecto's attacks in the *Aeneid*. Although Turnus does seem to hallucinate weapons, the overall effect seems to be the removal of reason and restraint from his hostile impulses; Amata, on the other hand, practices deception in turn when she feigns Bacchic madness and leads the other women astray.⁵⁷⁰ The effect of Ovid's

568 Anderson (1972, 470) says that "the goddess' laughter, emphasized by enjambement, is sadistic and disgusting." Inasmuch as she is pleased by the suffering, sadistic is applicable (though potentially problematic in this context), but the leap to disgust aborts the process of understanding and interpretation. Throughout the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid lingers on moments of pain, and one might shy away from calling the aesthetic and intellectual stimulation he provides as he does so pleasure, but Ovid uses his creative power to bring together pity and pleasure in the presence of pain, and that merits examination.

569 While I agree for the most part, I think there is more going on than Anderson (1972, 470) suggests when he calls the phrase "a shocking change of focus and short-circuiting of our feelings. The narrator coolly looks at the way the water grows white with foam when the bodies strike it, but he refuses to waste feeling on the tragic souls."

570 The issue of deceptive Bacchic rituals comes up in Ovid's Procne and Philomela episode as well. I have already mentioned the Bona Dea scandal of 62-61 BCE, and see Panoussi 2009, 118-24 for a discussion of the Roman context and concerns about Bacchus and maenads. The cover offered by such ritual is a recurring concern, but the deceptive potential particular to women in Greek and Roman thought is significant in these parallels, and should be kept in mind when considering the development and representations of the female demonic. The story of Hera's deception of Zeus that is used as an example of Ate in the *Iliad* gives a clear

Tisiphone is far more like that of the Furies (or Lyssa) in Greek tragedies, but the aftermath turns to imagery of chthonic fertility and union that is appropriate to both Juno and the Furies.

After Athamas kills one son and Ino leaps into the sea with the other (there to be transformed into Leucothea), the story of Ino concludes with the transformation of her grieving companions into stone and birds. The short episode that follows has a striking parallel to Allecto's serpentine effect on Amata when Cadmus includes Harmonia in his transformation, which seems to have gone unremarked by commentators.

The transformation of Cadmus and Harmonia begins with flight, lament, and his plea to be transformed if it is required (4.563-580):

Nescit Agenorides natam parvumque nepotem
aequoris esse deos; luctu serieque malorum
victus et ostentis, quae plurima viderat, exit
conditor urbe sua, tamquam fortuna locorum,
non sua se premeret; longisque erroribus actus
contigit Illyricos profuga cum coniuge fines.
iamque malis annisque graves, dum prima retractant
fata domus releguntque suos sermone labores,
'num sacer ille mea traiectus cuspide serpens'
Cadmus ait 'fuerat, tum cum Sidone profectus
vipereos sparsi per humum, nova semina, dentes?
quem si cura deum tam certa vindicat ira,
ipse, precor, serpens in longam porrigar alvum.'
dixit et, ut serpens, in longam tenditur alvum
durataeque cuti squamas increscere sentit
nigraque caeruleis variari corpora guttis;
in pectusque cadit pronus, commissaque in unum
paulatim tereti tenuantur acumine crura.

The son of Agenor did not know that his daughter and little grandson were

and early example, for Hera, who wishes to delay the birth of Heracles, is introduced as deceiving with trickery by virtue of her female nature (*ἀλλ' ἄρα καὶ τὸν / Ἥρη θῆλυς ἐοῦσα δολοφροσύνης ἀπάτησεν, Il. 19.96-7*).

now gods of the sea; conquered by grief and the series of evils and portents (for he had seen many), the founder left his own city — as if it were the fortune of the place, not his own, that oppressed him. He was driven in long wanderings, and then reached Illyrian territory, together with his wife. Now heavy with evils and years, they go over the first calamities of their house and recount their toils in conversation. Cadmus says: “Was that sacred serpent not pierced by my sword, when I set out from Sidon and sowed the soil with (strange seeds!) snakes’ teeth? If the care of the gods avenges him with so determined a wrath, let me myself, I beg, be stretched out, a snake, into a long belly.” He spoke, as a snake, and was stretched out onto a long belly and he felt scales grow into a hard skin and his black body speckled with blue spots. He fell down forward onto his breast, and his legs were joined into one and tapered into a smooth point.

As Ovid details the transformation, we see also the union of husband and wife in this new form (4.581-603):

bracchia iam restant; quae restant bracchia tendit,
 et lacrimis per adhuc humana fluentibus ora
 ‘accede, o coniunx, accede, miserrima’ dixit,
 ‘dumque aliquid superest de me, me tange manumque
 accipe, dum manus est, dum non totum occupat anguis.’
 ille quidem vult plura loqui, sed lingua repente
 in partes est fissa duas, nec verba volenti
 sufficiunt, quotiensque aliquos parat edere questus,
 sibilat; hanc illi vocem natura reliquit.
 nuda manu feriens exclamat pectora coniunx
 ‘Cadme, mane, teque, infelix, his exue monstribus!
 Cadme, quid hoc? ubi pes, ubi sunt umerique manusque
 et color et facies et, dum loquor, omnia? cur non
 me quoque, caelestes, in eandem vertitis anguem?’⁵⁷¹
 dixerat. ille suae lambebat coniugis ora
 inque sinus caros, veluti cognosceret, ibat
 et dabat amplexus adsuetaque colla petebat.
 quisquis adest (aderant comites) terretur; at illa
 lubrica permulcet cristati colla draconis,
 et subito duo sunt iunctoque volumine serpunt,
 donec in appositi nemoris subiere latebras.

571 The image of the human elements disappearing as she names them is amusing, but also nightmarishly horrifying. See Anderson for a discussion of the elements of humor throughout this passage.

nunc quoque nec fugiunt hominem nec vulnere laedunt,
quidque prius fuerint placidi meminere dracones.

Now the arms are left; he stretches out the arms that remain and, with tears streaming over his still human face, says: “Come to me, o wife, come, most pitiable of women, while part of me remains! Touch me and take my hand, while it is a hand, before the snake takes over completely.” Indeed he wants to say more, but his tongue has suddenly split into two parts and does no good for one who desires words: however many times he prepares to bring forth a lament, he hisses. This is the voice his nature left him. Striking her bare breast with her hand, his wife calls out: “Cadmus! Stay, and release yourself, poor man, from this monstrosity! Cadmus, what is it? Where is your foot? Where are your arms and hands and natural color and appearance and, even as I speak, everything? Why do you not, heavenly gods, turn me, too, into a similar snake?” She had spoken. And he began to lick the face of his wife and went within the folds on the beloved bosom, as if he were investigating them; he embraced her and sought the familiar neck. Anyone present (their companions were with them) was terrified, but she stroked the slippery neck of the crested serpent — suddenly there were two and they slithered in coiled union until they entered the shadows of the adjoining grove. And now they neither flee men nor harm with wounds, and remember, peaceful serpents, what they were before.

The striking parallel between this scene and that of Amata and the snake in the *Aeneid* seems to have gone unnoticed, or failed to provoke interest. Bömer does list the Amata passage among the appearances of *lubrica*, but the similarities go beyond this arresting word.⁵⁷²

huic dea caeruleis unum de crinibus anguem
conicit, inque sinum praecordia ad intima subdit,
quo furibunda domum monstro permisceat omnem.
ille inter vestis et levia pectora lapsus
volvitur attactu nullo, fallitque furentem
vipeream inspirans animam; fit tortile collo
aurum ingens coluber, fit longae taenia vittae

⁵⁷² He points out that the word is used nine times elsewhere in the *Metamorphoses*, always with *anguis* (and twice of fish in the *Halieutica*) and has an epic model in the *Aeneid*, where it also used in connection with serpents at 2.474, 5.84, and 7.353. (It is also applied to the spilled gore of a sacrifice at 5.335, and used of an opponent by Camilla at 11.716.)

innectitque comas et membris lubricus errat. (*Aen.* 7.346-353)

The only words repeated are *sinus*, *collum*, and *lubricus* (although Harmonia struck her bare breast only a few lines earlier (*nuda...pectora*, 4.590)), but Cadmus transformed seems to imitate Allecto's snake. The language in both passages is serpentine and sexual, with parallel images of twining, slipperiness, and union. It is, in fact, the final union that I find the most powerful parallel: Allecto's snake seems to become part of Amata as it twines through her hair and adorns her neck; Cadmus and Harmonia are joined not only in their new species, but in a single serpentine coil. The awareness of Ovid's couple, on the other hand, allows for a new element of horror, and humor, as the human elements of Cadmus disappear as Harmonia names them.⁵⁷³

The Gorgon Medusa is not the focus of the following section on Perseus, but she does recall the Vergilian Furies and Harpies and introduce the image of fertility arising directly from her monstrous nature.⁵⁷⁴ Ovid tells us that Acrisius came to be grieved by his dishonor (*violare*) of Bacchus and disavowal of his grandson (4.612-614), but both had gone on to greater things (4.614-620):

... impositus iam caelo est alter, at alter
viperei referens spoliū memorabile monstri
aera carpebat tenerum stridentibus alis.
cumque super Libycas victor penderet harenas,
Gorgonei capitis guttae cecidere cruentae,
quas humus exceptas varios animavit in angues;
unde frequens illa est infestaque terra colubris.

The one is now established in heaven, and the other was snatching the

573 See Anderson for a discussion of the elements of humour throughout this passage.

574 Anderson 1997 points both to the minimization of the Gorgons (478-79) and the way the final Medusa story, "which brings back snakes and a vengeful female deity, rounds off the shape of Book 4, though doing little for Perseus" (495).

pliant bronze of the sky with his hissing wings, carrying back the remarkable trophy of the serpentine monster. And when the victor was flying above the Libyan sands, bloody drops fell from the Gorgon's head, which the ground caught and then came alive with a variety of snakes. Because of this, that land is crowded and infested with snakes.

As Anderson points out, the "Gorgon's blood has life-giving properties, though monstrous, which contrast with the life-destroying, petrifying power of her dead stare."⁵⁷⁵ Her ability to literally turn victims into stone with her monstrous head can be seen as the ultimate development of the ability to freeze people with terror that is demonstrated by the Dirae and Harpies in the *Aeneid*, but the fertility of her blood seems to have no literary model. It does, however, work well with the chthonic nature of serpents and, furthermore, tidily recapitulates the generation myth that gives us the Furies, among others, from the severed genitals of Ouranos. Her strange fertility is also demonstrated by the birth of Pegasus and Chrysaor (unnamed in Ovid) from the blood of their mother (*Pegason et fratrem matris de sanguine natos*, 4.786).

Desire also plays a role in Medusa's story, but it is disastrous for her, not for her victims. In explaining why Medusa was the only Gorgon with serpentine hair, Ovid tells the tale of Neptune raping the beautiful maiden (*clarissima forma*, 4.794) in a temple of Minerva. In a swift transfer, the snakes that Minerva gave a presumably terrified Medusa as punishment become what terrifies opponents from their place on the aegis worn by Minerva (4.801-3).⁵⁷⁶ Like Scylla, Medusa is a monster deadly to others, but herself a victim, and the very aspect that makes her monstrous was imposed by another and

575 Anderson 1997, 481.

576 See Ogden 2013, 96 for further references on the Gorgons' shift from monstrous to beautiful in literature and art.

transforms her nature without providing a weapon. Despite the conceptual overlap, then, the contrast with the agency of the Furies and other female demonic figures is striking, and exemplified in the image of Medusa's monstrous head taken from her and used as a weapon for others.

Strange as they are, these stories of Medusa (who is, after all, instrumental in uniting Perseus and Andromeda) and of Cadmus and Harmonia place the snakes used for ill by Tisiphone within a more positive context of fertility and union. The next appearances of the Furies are bound up with twisted lusts in the stories of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela in Book 6 and, more briefly, Myrrha in Book 10. In the very same tales, though, the Furies are also invoked in their role as enforcers of order.

Procne and Philomela

In Book 6 of the *Metamorphoses*, the Furies appear several times in the Tereus, Procne, and Philomela story: twice in person, as it were, and several times evoked by language of vengeance and grief. The first reference comes at the very beginning of the story, as Ovid introduces us to Tereus, who comes to the rescue of Athens when she is under attack by barbarian troops (6.424-432):

Threicius Tereus haec auxiliaribus armis
fuderat et clarum vincendo nomen habebat;
quem sibi Pandion opibusque virisque potentem
et genus a magno ducentem forte Gradivo
conubio Procnes iunxit. non pronuba Iuno,
non Hymenaeus adest, non illi Gratia lecto;
Eumenides tenuere faces de funere raptas,
Eumenides stravere torum, tectoque profanus
incubuit bubo thalamique in culmine sedit.

Thracian Tereus vanquished them with auxiliary troops and gained an illustrious name by winning. It was this man, who was powerful in followers and resources and derived his brave lineage from great Mars, that Pandion yoked to himself with the marriage of Procne. Juno was not *pronuba*, Hymenaeus was not present, nor were the Graces at that wedding bed; the Eumenides held torches taken from a funeral, the Eumenides made up the wedding couch, and an ominous owl sleeps under their roof and perches at the top of the wedding chamber.

The Furies are given double emphasis by beginning two lines in a row, and the fact that they replace Juno as patrons of the marriage recalls the work of Juno and Allecto at the beginning of *Aeneid* 7.⁵⁷⁷ The *Aeneid* also joins marriage and war, and on a grander scale: immediately before summoning Allecto, Juno frames the coming war in terms of Lavinia's marriage (*sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo, / et Bellona manet te pronuba*, 7.318-19). She also specifically refers to Allecto's ability to bring funeral torches: *funereasque inferre faces* (7.337), which is echoed here in line 430. Goldenhard and Zissos suggest that the references to the Furies throughout this episode are "inviting us to interpret the tale of Tereus, Procne, and Philomela as a figuring of hell on earth," and point out that this passage has elements of a hymn and could serve as an invocation of the Furies.⁵⁷⁸

577 It also recalls Juno as *pronuba* at *Aen.* 4.166, and Rosati (2009, 323) points out examples in the *Heroides* of Furies involved in marriages (2.115-20, 6.45-6, 7.96). He also suggests that this relates to the conjunction of marriage and death imagery in Greek tragedy, on which see Rehm 1994, which I discuss briefly in the introduction. I would note, though, that the bivalent imagery of the torch in Greek tragedy, as brought out well by Rehm, seems to have more to do with the transitional nature shared by marriage and death; there is loss there, indeed, but both Vergil and Ovid pick up instead on the torch's destructive potential. At the opening of Book 10, Hymenaeus does attend the more famously ill-omened wedding of Orpheus and Eurydice, but his presence does not function as it should and his hissing torch only causes tears with its smoke (*fax quoque quam tenuit lacrimoso stridula fumo*, 10.6).

578 Goldenhard and Zissos 2007, 4.

As we have seen, torches are commonly associated with, and by now perhaps emblematic of, the Furies, and they show up soon after this introduction when Tereus is in Athens at Procne's request to bring her sister Philomela to Thrace for a visit. Tereus is overcome by lust for Philomela, and this lust is fueled by watching her hug and kiss her father (*omnia pro stimulis facibusque ciboque furoris / accipit*, 6.480-81). Although the metaphor of goading is more broadly applied than that of torches, it is worth noting that it appears in the Amata episode of the *Aeneid* (*reginam Allecto stimulis agit*, 7.405), which will be evoked again when this story gets bloodier, as it soon does. Gildenhard and Zissos point out another parallel between Amata and the workings of lust in Tereus:

From 6.465-6 (*et nihil est quod non effreno captus amore / ausit, nec capiunt inclusas pectoral flamas* [sic]) it appears that Amor has taken control of Tereus. But the passage also harks back to Amata's encounter with Allecto in *Aeneid* 7, where the Latin queen slowly succumbs to the Fury's lethal poison: *necdum animus toto percepit pectore flammam*, says Virgil at one point in the drawn-out process (*Aen.* 7.356). By recalling this highly resonant Virgilian intertext, Ovid peppers his own erotic idiom with hellish undertones, making clear that the violent forces raging within Tereus' breast belong to the sphere of Amor as well as the Underworld.⁵⁷⁹

I would go further and argue that the combination of amorous and hellish is very much a part of Vergil's passage, and of his Furies. Recall that the action of Allecto's snake upon Amata immediately preceding the cited line is described in intimate and seductive language, and Amata encourages an erotically tinged reading by her name ('beloved') and her overly fervent and personal interest in Turnus. Gildenhard and Zissos rightly point out the overlapping imagery of Cupid and the Furies, though I would counter that

579 Gildenhard and Zissos 2007, 5. They also list other instances of the fiery imagery applied to Tereus' lust and point to Kaufhold 1997, "Ovid's Tereus: Fire, Birds and the Reification of Figurative Language," *CP* 92: 66-71.

the statement “the imperceptible infiltration of hearts and minds with fiery poison is their distinctive modus operandi” ignores their more violent manifestations as well as the trademark hallucinations.⁵⁸⁰ They also, however, take this imagery as suggesting that the Furies were in fact successfully invoked and now remain present: “After their explicit invocation, the Furies continue to register in sublimated form.”⁵⁸¹ This is worth consideration, but I do not read this episode as invoking the Furies as agents, which the interpretation of *Gildenhard* and *Zissos* seems to require, as we shall see. Furthermore, it is important to keep in mind that the idea of raging (*furo, furor*) is the broader category, the Furies (*Furiae*) the narrower; the Furies do not need to “disguise their presence under a veneer of erotic *furor*” because both Furies and Eros can (and do) manifest as *furor*.⁵⁸²

Tereus does bring Philomela home with him, but not to her sister. Instead he rapes her and hides her away in the forest, cutting out her tongue for brutal insurance of silence. Philomela is resourceful, though, and eventually contrives a loom and weaves her message into a tapestry. When Procne learns what has happened, she considers punishment (6.583-586):

... dolor ora repressit,
 verbaque quaerenti satis indignantia linguae
 defuerunt; nec flere vacat, sed fasque nefasque
 confusura ruit poenaeque in imagine tota est.

Grief checked her mouth, and the questing tongue lacked words sufficiently indignant. Nor is she free from weeping, but rushes on, about to confuse the permitted and the unspeakable, and is entirely given over to the image of punishment.

580 *Gildenhard* and *Zissos* 2007, 5.

581 *Gildenhard* and *Zissos* 2007, 5.

582 *Gildenhard* and *Zissos* 2007, 5. “If in Athens the Furies disguised their presence under a veneer of erotic *furor*, in Thrace they take cover behind Dionysiac revelry.”

Anderson points out that this passage, while describing total mental and emotional absorption, also suggests that “Procne has become transformed and taken the shape of this punishment. From a loving wife and mother she has changed into a wild creature of vengeance.”⁵⁸³ It is worth noting the irony of such a transformation: she will become an agent of punishment that confuses *fas* and *nefas*, a confusion that itself could merit punishment.

Procne, also resourceful, takes advantage of Bacchic rites to visit her sister undetected (6.594-6):

concita per silvas turba comitante suarum
terribilis Procne furiisque agitata doloris,
Bacche, tuas simulat. ...

Dreadful Procne, driven through the woods, with an accompanying crowd of her own attendants, and spurred by the furies of grief, feigns your rites, Bacchus.

This clearly echoes Vergil’s description of Amata, first in the simile of the top and then in her own feigned frenzy (7.383-387, and note that she rages, *furit*, in line 377):

... non cursu segnior illo
per medias urbes agitur populosque ferocis.
quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi
maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem
evolat et natam frondosis montibus abdit,

No more slowly than that course is she driven through the middle of the city and fierce inhabitants. Yes, and even into the woods she flies, with the feigned inspiration of Bacchus; having embarked on a greater atrocity and begun a greater fury, she abandons her daughter for the leafy mountains...

583 Anderson 1972, 227.

The element of guile, which is not a necessary or common part of the image of women as Maenads, makes this a stronger parallel, and the use of *nefas* reminds us of Procne's imminent confusion of that category. Gildenhard and Zissos, however, take the deception to be an act of the Furies: "Ovid makes clear that her Bacchic ecstasy is feigned, a veneer, which, on the level of plot, merely conceals her real intentions and, on the level of poetics, indicates the presence of a different narrative force: the Furies."⁵⁸⁴ They also take the parallel I note above as reinforcement precisely because they see the same motivation in Vergil: "... it is the fury [sic] Allecto who coordinates the Bacchic outcries and activities. She stimulates Amata to act out the role of a maenad."⁵⁸⁵ She does stimulate Amata, but that is not at all the same as directing her method. One can read the deception practiced by both women as a comment on feminine guile, but the cover and freedom offered by Bacchic rites is also consistent concern in the literature of Greece and Rome, and so would be a natural choice not needing much orchestration by external forces.⁵⁸⁶ The idea that the Furies motivate the ruse is particularly problematic in this case because it negates Procne's agency, which is so central to the episode.⁵⁸⁷

Whether Allecto directs Amata's actions or simply sparks them is an open question (and one that applies to Turnus, too, of course), but the Fury is clearly and

584 Gildenhard and Zissos 2007, 5.

585 Gildenhard and Zissos 2007, 6.

586 As noted in my discussion of Amata in Chapter 4, the dangers of Bacchic rites are not just a literary motif; the *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus* of 186 BCE reveals an early and official concern.

587 Gildenhard and Zissos (2007, 11) actually highlight in their conclusion: "... a crucial feature of the Tereus, Procne and Philomela episode is its aforementioned godlessness, which results in a concomitant expansion of human agency. For the first time, a victim has free rein for retaliation, as she is dealing with a human rather than divine perpetrator. As a consequence, the ethics of revenge become a troublesome issue."

emphatically present in order to spur human action. This is perhaps the most striking and influential aspect of Vergil's innovative Furies. To read the Furies as similar agents, even if hidden, in this section of the *Metamorphoses* seems to obscure the important distinction between the error or evil that can be provoked in humans against their will (even if tapping into some aspect of their nature) and that which humans can themselves seize upon when spurred by strong emotion. Clearly the two are close and, in practice, likely to be indistinguishable, but it is a distinction that Vergil and Ovid themselves maintain. One effect of having the Furies more clearly personified is precisely the ability to distinguish the two situations in narrative. Consider the actions of Tisiphone on Ino and Athamas that were discussed in the previous section: the royal couple are confronted by a Fury and driven to fatal hallucinations, and not only does the story preclude imagining a latent desire or tendency such as there is in the Vergilian analogues, but Ovid makes clear that they see Tisiphone and are aware of her attack. The overlapping imagery and range of the language in this episode allow Procne to be presented as enraged, but by a combination of horrifying circumstance and human nature. This is a critical distinction, and it seems to be one that the poets can now make by using Furies as individual characters taking direct action in a story.⁵⁸⁸

To return to the progression through Ovid's tale, Procne's vengeful wrath is marked by language of burning, and thus echoes the destructive lust that took Tereus: she burns and does not take hold of her wrath (*ardet et iram / non capit*, 609-610),

⁵⁸⁸ There is a similar double-duty in English idiom, though it lacks the same range and development. We can speak of someone maddened by grief or doing crazy things for love without suggesting that they are experiencing hallucinations, and delusions, a term which might be used to refer to either category, can range from relatively harmless to violent.

threatens Tereus and his palace with torches and flames (*cum facibus regalia tecta cremabo, / artificem mediis immittam Terea flammis*, 614-5), and again burns as she prepares her crime (*triste parat facinus tacitaque exaestuat ira*, 623).⁵⁸⁹

The climactic scene, after Tereus asks for Itys, contains more language that evokes the Furies, as well as a reference to them specifically that mirrors that in the opening section (6.653-666):⁵⁹⁰

dissimulare nequit crudelia gaudia Procne;
iamque suae cupiens existere nuntia cladis
'intus habes quem poscis' ait. circumspicit ille
atque ubi sit quaerit; quaerenti iterumque vocanti,
sicut erat sparsis furiali caede capillis,
prosiluit Ityosque caput Philomela cruentum
misit in ora patris nec tempore maluit ullo
posse loqui et meritis testari gaudia dictis.
Thracius ingenti mensas clamore repellit
vipereasque ciet Stygia de valle sorores;⁵⁹¹
et modo, si posset, reserato pectore diras
egerere inde dapes semesaque viscera gestit,
flet modo seque vocat bustum miserabile nati,
nunc sequitur nudo genitas Pandione ferro.

Procne cannot hide her cruel joy, and now, wanting to be the messenger of

589 Gildenhard and Zissos do not mention the reprise of the fiery language, focussing instead on Procne and Philomela as embodiments of the Furies and seeing thematic appropriateness in the crime avenged. ("As the narrative progresses, Procne and Philomela become increasingly assimilated to Furies. Once reunited, they form a ruthless sisterhood determined to avenge a crime committed within the family – an early specialization of the Eumenides" (2007, 6).) But that specialization was in blood guilt, and rape does not seem to have ever fallen under their jurisdiction. Thus Tereus' invocation of the Furies may be "darkly ironic" (6), but it is also traditional.

590 There is also a final echo of the theme in the final lines, as Tereus pursues Procne and Philomela: *ille dolore suo poenaeque cupidine velox / vertitur in volucrem*, 671-2).

591 Note that the reference is to them as sisters, as it is in the later references of Book 10. The family relationship is not new, but was given some emphasis in the *Aeneid* and seems to be part of the more developed and consistent image of the Furies in Latin literature (also visible in the specification of *vipereas*), one that perhaps encourages pairing with the Fates such as we see in the *Thebaid*.

her own destruction, says: “You have within you the one you seek.” He looks around and asks where he is; as he asks again, Philomela leapt out, just as she was, with her hair spattered with slaughter fit for a Fury, and threw the bloody head of Itys in the face of his father. Never had she wanted more to be able to speak and to declare her joy with worthy words. The Thracian threw back the table with an immense roar and roused the snaky sisters from their Stygian valley. Now he longs, if only he could, to pull the dreadful feast from his opened chest, the half eaten innards; now he weeps and calls himself the wretched tomb of his son; now he follows Pandion’s daughters with drawn sword.

Procne’s cruel joy (*crudelia gaudia*, 6.653) evokes the *mala mentis Gaudia* (*Aen.* 6.278-9) who are neighbours of the Eumenides in Vergil’s Underworld. This is a very specific joy, though, and the images are no longer of ambiguous fire and heat, but of gore. The gore, moreover, is specifically befitting a Fury (*furiali caede*, 6.657).⁵⁹² This sets up a striking, and possibly ironic, mirroring effect when the Furies are called upon to avenge slaughter that is fit for a Fury. The adjective thus applies both to those things which are as horrible and gory as the Furies and to those which merit their punishment, and its bivalent nature seems to reflect that of the new Furies as they develop in Latin epic.⁵⁹³

Tereus’ traditional and strikingly compressed invocation of the Furies fits the context of vengeance and kin murder that is also present in the next appearance of the Furies in the *Metamorphoses*, the story of Athaea and Meleager, but his whole episode is framed by twisted and destructive lust: the uncontrollable eagerness of desire present (*cupiens, prosiluit*) in the horrific final destruction and vengeance of Procne and

592 Bömer points out in his discussion of *furiale venenum* (4.506) in the Ino and Athams episode that it is in Ovid that we first see the adjective applied not only to things made or provided by Furies, but also those which are from humans but nonetheless terrible (*atrox*), dreadful (*dirus*), or otherwise suited to Furies (*TLL* 6.1.2.a).

593 The gore and monstrous physicality increasingly associated with them seems to be a crucial part of this shift, as the focus on horrific details allows descriptions that suit crimes.

Philomela echoes the lust for Philomela that overcame Tereus and set the episode in motion. His lust was not only irresistible (he burned like a flame put to dry crops, 6.455-7) but perverted, as he is aroused even further by watching Philomela lovingly entreat her father to let her go visit her sister (6.478-482):

spectat eam Tereus praecontrectatque videndo,
osculaque et collo circumdata bracchia cernens
omnia pro stimulis facibusque ciboque furoris
accipit; et quotiens amplectitur illa parentem,
esse parens vellet. (neque enim minus impius esset!)

Tereus watches her and caresses her beforehand with his viewing, and as he sees her kisses and her arms thrown his neck, he takes it all in as goads and torches and food for his madness; and as often as she embraces her father, he wishes to be her father. (And truly he would be no less wicked!)

This paired image of twisted lust and enforcing order also appears in the story of Myrrha, in which the incestual lust alluded to in Tereus becomes central to the story. Both the lusts of women and their punishment are in fact one of the twin themes set out by Orpheus as he, mourning the second and final loss of Eurydice, begins this set of stories (10.152-54):

nunc opus est leviores lyra; puerosque canamus
dilectos superis inconcessisque puellas
ignibus attonitas meruisse libidine poenam.

Now a lighter lyre is called for; I shall sing of boys cherished by gods and girls who, struck by forbidden fires, earn punishment for their lust.

The Furies appear twice in the story of Myrrha and her terrible lust for her father, and in both cases are referred to as sisters, which is a development I will discuss more in the next section. The first reference is particularly interesting in that the torch of lust that inflamed Myrrha was not Cupid's, but came from one of the Furies, according to Orpheus

(10.311-315):

ipse negat nocuisse tibi sua tela Cupido,
Myrrha, facesque suas a crimine vindicat isto;
stipite te Stygio tumidisque adflavit echidnis
e tribus una soror. scelus est odisse parentem;
hic amor est odio maius scelus...

He said that Cupid had not harmed you with his darts, Myrrha, and clears his own torches of this crime; one of the three sisters touched you with a Stygian branch and swollen vipers. It is a crime to hate one's parent; this love is a crime worse than hate ...

In literature as in iconography, the torch seems to have become emblematic of the Furies.

Here, Cupid's presence and the erotic context highlight the flexibility of the torch and flame imagery discussed earlier. Lust, anger, and madness are all frequently described in such terms, and torches are emblems of both funerals and weddings; the Furies are associated with all of these. As Reed points out, Cupid can also be used to punish; Venus refers to him as her weapon when she sets him on Hades (*'arma manusque meae, mea, nate, potentia' dixit, 5.365*).⁵⁹⁴ This aspect of the Furies, the power to inflame, as opposed to the connection with blood guilt or oaths, seems to be fundamentally shared with Cupid and Venus.

The Furies appear again as Myrrha argues with herself, but as ones who would enforce natural law rather than provoke its violation (10.349-355):

...
nec metues atro crinitas angue sorores,
quas facibus saevis oculos atque ora petentes
noxia corda vident? at tu, dum corpore non es
passa nefas, animo ne concipe, neve potentis
concubitu vetito naturae pollue foedus.
velle puta; res ipsa vetat. pius ille memorque est

⁵⁹⁴ Reed 2013, 237.

moris – et o vellem similis furor esset in illo!”

Do you not fear the sisters with hair of black snakes, whom guilty hearts see attacking their eyes and mouth with terrible torches? But you, while you have not endured the unspeakable with your body, do not catch fire in your soul, and do not pollute the law of powerful nature with forbidden sex. You think you are willing, the situation itself forbids it. He is dutiful, and mindful of custom – and o! how I wish there were a similar burning in him!

This juxtaposition of instigation and (potential) punishment of sexual wrongdoing highlights the versatility of the Furies, and the pairing with Cupid reinforces the similarities of action that one can see in the *Aeneid*. In narrative order, however, this reverses what we see in the *Aeneid*, where the Furies are involved in punishing violators of the marriage bed in Book 6 and then, in Book 7, provoking violations of the promised marriage. The shared inflammatory power mentioned above is more than sufficient grounds for such pairings, but, given the role of Juno as motivating antagonist, one could wonder if the cooperation of Juno and Venus in bringing Dido and Aeneas together could be in the background.

The Furies themselves are not mentioned again in Myrrha’s tale, but related language of crime and offence fittingly occurs when her desire is achieved, in a scene that highlights the perversion of the familial bonds with Ovid’s dark humour (10.465-470):

Accipit obsceno genitor sua viscera lecto
virgineosque metus levat hortaturque timentem.
forsitan aetatis quoque nomine “filia” dixit,
dixit et illa “pater”, sceleri ne nomina desint.
plena patris thalamis excedit et impia diro
semina fert utero conceptaque crimina portat.

The sire receives his own flesh in the abominable bed; he relieves her virginal fears and encourages the timid maiden. Perhaps because of her

age, too, he calls her 'daughter,' and she says 'father,' so that not even the names should neglect the wickedness. She leaves her father's bedroom full: she bears *impius* seed in her terrible womb and carries the conceived crime.

This crime worse than hate (*odio maius scelus*, 10.315) is exuberantly fertile and infuses all the family relationships: the titles 'daughter' and 'father' take part in the crime, which is then literally embodied in the child Myrrha has conceived in her dire womb. The moment of humour in the ironic mistaken identity, which could be played for a laugh in a different context, here drives home the horror of the situation, but the fertility that Ovid so emphasizes does in fact bear beautiful fruit, as Myrrha's child will be Adonis.

Althaea and Meleager

In the next story under consideration, the Furies are once again associated with enforcement, as they are called upon as witnesses to an oath of vengeance. As I will show, this witnessing function together with the consistent references to them as sisters allows a strong parallel with the Fates, which is important both to the structure of this episode and the representations of the Furies in general.

Althaea invokes the Furies as she prepares to kill her son Meleager to avenge the deaths of her brothers (8.475-485):

incipit esse tamen melior germana parente
et, consanguineas ut sanguine leniat umbras,
impietate pia est. nam postquam pestifer ignis
convaluit, 'rogus iste cremet mea viscera' dixit
utque manu dira lignum fatale tenebat,
ante sepulcrales infelix adstitit aras
'poenarum' que 'deae triplices, furialibus' inquit,
'Eumenides, sacris vultus advertite vestros.

ulciscor facioque nefas; mors morte pianda est,
in scelus addendum scelus est, in funera funus;
per coacervatos pereat domus impia luctus.

She begins to be a better sister than parent, and, in order to appease her sibling shades, is faithful in her faithlessness. For, after the destructive fire had grown strong, she said, “Let this funeral pyre consume my womb!” and held out the fatal log with her dire hand. She stood, unfortunate one, before the funereal altar and said: “Three-fold goddesses of punishment, Eumenides, turn your face to these dreadful rites. I avenge and create an unspeakable act; death must be paid for with death, crime must be added to crime, killing to killings. Let this faithless house perish utterly through these heaped up griefs.

This is a traditional context of family vengeance, and the description of a mother torn between two loyalties evokes the conflicting familial demands highlighted in Aeschylus’ *Eumenides*. The phrase *impietate pia est* (8.477) recalls the confusion of *fas* and *nefas* that is part of Philomela’s maddened desire for vengeance discussed above, but is in fact a quite different statement. Althaea is not confused, and the problem expressed by this phrase is the double bind of Orestes — to be true to one responsibility requires violating another. This is fundamentally different from confusing right and wrong, and Althaea’s recognition that she both avenges and creates an unspeakable act reflects, in reverse order, the actions of the Furies themselves, who can inspire and punish unspeakable acts.⁵⁹⁵

In keeping with the tragic echoes, the pounding emphasis on death (particularly in the three pairs of repeated words demonstrating the climactic *coacervatos...luctus*) is

⁵⁹⁵ Once again, the contrast with the crimes inspired by Allecto in the *Aeneid* is striking, for her lusts were ordinary ones gone too far and the war she brought was dreadful, but, as a grounds of glory and epic itself, quite the opposite of unspeakable. These Furies of Ovid’s do, however, recall the role of the Furies in the Vergil’s Underworld, and the dangers of the marriage bed that formed a recurring motif in *Aeneid* 6, as discussed in Chapter 3.

accompanied by an emphasis on family relations — *mea viscera* to mean her son is a powerful, perhaps even shocking, reminder of their relationship, as well as possibly referring to the emotional effect she is about to bring upon herself.⁵⁹⁶ Added to this traditional image, however, are several details that fit with the ‘new’ Furies. First, the sudden resurgence of Althaea’s anger from grief that begins this stage of the story fits well the flame and torch imagery so often applied to anger, lust, and the Furies (8.449-450):

at simul est auctor necis editus, excidit omnis
luctus et a lacrimis in poenae versus amorem est.

But as soon as the author of this death was announced, all grief fell away and was turned from tears to desire for vengeance.

Second, I suggested earlier that the increasing emphasis on the Furies as sisters could encourage, and be encouraged by, an association with the Fates; here we see a doubling of the Fates (*triplices ... sorores*, 452) with the Furies (*deae triplices*, 481).⁵⁹⁷ Anderson rightly points to how this emphasizes her conflict: “Althaea’s dilemma receives a further ironic comment in Ovid’s repetition of the epithet from 452. She is torn between the *Parcae* and *Poenae*.”⁵⁹⁸ I would add, though, that the two sets of goddesses are also united by their implacable natures and connection with death, so the pairing is especially fitting for this scene. The framing effect of the two groups of goddesses is accentuated by their narrative connection to the magical log. The Furies are called to witness by Althaea as she prepares to thrust the log into the fire, thus killing her son; the Fates are

596 In his note on the same phrase in the Myrra scene just discussed, Anderson (1972, 514) points out that “Ovid uses the same phrase to emphasize the *impietas* of Althaea toward her child.”

597 Bömer points out the phrase *triplicesque deae* used of the Fates at 2.654.

598 Anderson 1972, 375.

shown, in a narrative flashback, creating the link between Meleager and the log, which Althaea then snatches from the fire to preserve her son (8.451-457):

stipes erat quem, cum partus enixa iaceret
Thestias, in flammam triplices posuere sorores
staminaque impresso fatalia pollice nentes
'tempora' dixerunt 'eadem lignoque tibi que,
o modo nate, damus.' quo postquam carmine dicto
excessere deae, flagrantem mater ab igne
eripuit ramum sparsitque liquentibus undis.

There was a log which, as the daughter of Thestius lay in bed after giving birth, the three sisters placed into the fire and, as they spun their fatal thread and marked it with a thumb, they said: "We shall grant the same amount of time to you and this log, o newly born child." After this song was recited, the goddesses departed, and the mother snatched the burning branch from the fire and wet it with flowing water.

Finally, the climactic action of the story, thrusting the log into the fire, recalls the torches used as weapons by the Furies. Specifically, Althaea's action is similar to that of Allecto, with the log thrust into the fire rather than a fiery torch thrust into Turnus (*sic effata facem iuveni coniecit et atro / lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore taedas*, *Aen.* 7.456-7). Here, however, the effects are more immediate, direct, and overtly magical. This myth, complete with the iconic magic log, predates Vergil, of course, but Allecto is nonetheless evoked in Ovid's version, particularly when the audience is primed by reference to the Furies.⁵⁹⁹

It is worth noting that Althaea is calling upon the Eumenides to witness, rather than to exact, vengeance, presumably because she is about to take action herself. In fact, Ovid represents Althaea as taking on the role of a Fury herself. I have argued against

⁵⁹⁹ Bacch. *Ep.* 5 mentions the log (140); the reference in the *Iliad*, which does not, is discussed below.

Gilder's view of the infectious nature of the Furies, which extends to seeing Aeneas (34-35), Amata (19-22), and Dido (39-41) as Furies, but this passage, which he does not mention, comes closest. A crucial distinction, I think, is that, rather than a Fury replicating herself by her attack, as Gilder suggests, Althaea invokes Furies who remain offstage as witnesses to her performance of their work, or at least an act which she expects they will approve.⁶⁰⁰ As the episode continues, moreover, Ovid emphasizes her conflicted emotions. In the end, she is implacable, but she is all too human in saying "I want to, and I cannot," (*et cupio et nequeo*, 8.506), and the image of her decisive oath spoken with the fatal log in her dire hand (*manu dira lignum fatale tenebat*, 8.479) is replaced by that of a trembling mother turning away from her own act (8.509-512):

'...
me miseram! male vincetis, sed vincite, fratres,
dummodo quae dederō vobis solacia vosque
ipsa sequar.' dixit dextraque aversa trementi
funereum torrem medios coniecit in ignes.

"... Oh, poor me! You will prevail evilly, but prevail, brothers, provided that I myself follow you and the solace I shall have given you." She spoke and, turned away, thrust the deadly brand into the middle of the flames with her trembling right hand.

Her hesitation and regret seem antithetical to Furies, especially those such as we have seen in the *Metamorphoses* and *Aeneid* who embrace evil, but they are nonetheless a striking presence within the scene, emblematic here of the dreadful requirements of conflicting loves.

In her effectiveness, Althaea is a contrast to the powerless Electra of the *Libation Bearers*, but she does evoke two Homeric references to the Furies, both of which occur in

⁶⁰⁰ Gilder 1997, 34-35, 19-22, and 39-41, respectively.

Book 9 of the *Iliad*, within the stories Phoenix tells in his part of the embassy to Achilles. One refers precisely to this myth of Meleager, though without reference to the magical log: when his mother beats the earth and asks Hades and Persephone for the death of her son, it is an implacable Erinys who heeds her prayer (παιδὶ δόμεν θάνατον· τῆς δ' ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινὺς / ἔκλυεν ἔξ Ἐρέβερσφιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσα, 9.571-72). The other reference is to “an oddly similar incident,” as Hainsworth notes, in Phoenix’s own life.⁶⁰¹ Phoenix, who had been convinced by his mother to seduce his father’s concubine, is cursed by his father, and the curse is enacted by calling upon the Furies (9.453-56):

... πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς ἀντίκ' οἴσθεις
πολλὰ κατηρᾶτο, στυγεράς δ' ἐπεκέκλετ' Ἐρινῦς,
μή ποτε γούνασιν οἴσιν ἐφέσσεσθαι φίλον υἷον
ἐξ ἐμέθεν γεγαῶτα· ...

But my father suspected straightaway and called down many curses upon me, and he called upon the hateful Erinyses, that he would never set a dear child born from me upon his knees.

As Hainsworth points out, “Amuntor calls on the Erinues because they are the guardians of oaths (Hesiod, *Erga* 803) and curses. In an oath the sanction of the goddesses is invoked on oneself, in a curse on another. ... They are associated on the one hand with μοῖρα (19.87) because they are the guardians of the natural order and punish those whose unnatural acts...have breached it, and on the other with Hades and Persephone because they live in the Underworld.”⁶⁰² The example he cites as evidence for association with μοῖρα is problematic because they are being blamed, along with Zeus, for leading Agamemnon astray. Nonetheless, the association is present, primarily, I think, because

601 Hainsworth 1993, 137.

602 Hainsworth 1993, 122.

of their role as enforcers (and creators) of order. Ovid's scene thus recalls a very basic function of the Furies in earlier literature, but one that does not generally appear in tragedy or elsewhere in Latin epic.⁶⁰³

In Book 9, the Furies appear, again in their traditional role of familial vengeance, in a reference to events that are part of the Theban epic cycle, as Themis tells Hebe about the coming need for bestowing and removing youth. The passage occurs within an inset prophecy: Hercules' mother Alcmena and Iole, his war prize now married to his son, had been comforting each other after the death of Hercules by exchanging stories when they were interrupted by Iolaus, the nephew of Hercules, entering the room, restored to his first youth; this restoration had been Hebe's gift to Hercules after their marriage, and it was her imminent oath never to give such a gift again that prompted the following prophecy from Themis (9.403-414):

...
non est passa Themis. 'nam iam discordia Thebae
bella movent' dixit, 'Capaneusque nisi ab Iove vinci
haud poterit, fientque pares in vulnere fratres,
subductaque suos manes tellure videbit
vividus adhuc vates, ultusque parente parentem
natus erit factus pius et sceleratus eodem,
attonitusque malis, exul mentisque domusque,
vultibus Eumenidum matrisque agitabitur umbris,
donec eum coniunx fatale poposcerit aurum
cognatumque latus Phegeius hauserit ensis.
tum demum magno petet hos Acheloia supplex
ab Iove Calliroe natis infantibus annos;

Themis did not allow it. "For Theban strife will soon enough stir up wars,
and only Jupiter will be able to overcome Capaneus; brothers will become

603 Dido's funeral speech (4.606-629) might come closest, as she calls on chthonic goddesses (and the Sun) to answer her prayer, which is much like a curse in its focus on suffering and war for Aeneas and an avenger to arise from her own people.

equal in wounds; he will see, while still alive, his own spirits when the earth has been drawn aside; his son, after he has avenged a parent upon a parent (both *pius* and wicked in the same deed), will be driven, struck with evils, by the appearances of the Eumenides and by ghosts of his mother, an exile from both mind and home, until his wife demands the fatal gold and the sword of Phegeius drains the flank of his kinsman. That is when Calliroe, daughter of Achelous, will beg these years for her infant sons as a suppliant to great Jupiter.

The combination of Furies, ghosts, and exile reprises key elements of their portrayal in tragedy, but the exile and kin-murder also recalls Phoenix's account of his paternal curse and exile discussed above, although there without the suggestion that the Furies actively drove him into exile. The crime that will prompt the Furies (Alcmaeon's murder of his mother, Eriphyle, to avenge the death of his father Amphiaraus) is framed in terms that highlight its similarity to Althaea's dilemma ("both *pius* and wicked in the same deed," *facto pius et sceleratus eodem*, 9.408), and, even in such a glancing reference, both the myth and its narrative framing could serve as reminder of the inevitability of evils and their punishment.

The Death of Orpheus

The final Erinys in the *Metamorphoses* presides over the Thracian women's murder of Orpheus (11.13-19).⁶⁰⁴

...sed enim temeraria crescunt
bella modusque abiit insanaque regnat Erinys.
cunctaque tela forent cantu mollita, sed ingens
clamor et infracto Berecynthia tibia cornu
tympanaque et plausus et Bacchei ululatus

604 Note that Tarrant (2004, 514), in his index, lists this under Erinys but separately, as '=furor.'

obstrepuere sono citharae; tum denique saxa
non exauditi rubuerunt sanguine vatis.

But, indeed, reckless war grows, and moderation departs, and an insane Erinys reigns. All the weapons would be checked by song, but the immense clamor (Berecyntian pipe with bent horn and drums and clapping and Bacchic wailing) drowned out the sound of his lyre. Then, at last, the stones were reddened with the blood of the unheard poet.

This last appearance of a Fury in the *Metamorphoses* is a striking echo of the first (*fera regnat Erinys*, 1.241), and the only difference in phrasing is that this Fury is *insana* rather than fierce. The explicit reference to war, along with madness and reigning, clearly evokes the war-goddess role that is newly associated with the Furies in Augustan epic, but here the Fury not only removes moderation in humans, as before, but is herself *insana*. This word can be used loosely to mean simply frenzied or uncontrolled, or even maddening, as the Furies traditionally are, but its primary meaning refers to the state of being mad, out of one's mind, and this is an important shift in describing a Fury.⁶⁰⁵ In contrast both to the calculation displayed by Allecto in her attacks and to the role of Furies as punishers or witnesses, this Fury is uncontrolled and irrational. She seems to be no longer an agent for anyone or anything, but to embody the very madness that she had formerly inspired in others. This is underscored by the fact that the previous lines depict a stone thrown by one of the women that lays at the feet of Orpheus, conquered by his voice and lyre, as if in supplication for its fury-like assault (*victus vocisque lyraeque est / ac veluti supplex pro tam furialibus ausis / ante pedes iacuit*, 11.11-13). The use of *supplex* conveys a powerful image of aggression tamed, but the Fury herself supersedes

605 For the relatively mild figurative use, see *TLL* 7.1, I.2.c, with the reference to maddening in subsection γ ; for the primary meaning, see *TLL* 7.1, I.1.

the lyre in practice, though not in theory – it is not that the lyre lost its power, but that it was unheard.⁶⁰⁶

Conclusions

The Furies in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* appear in a full range of roles, with antecedents in Homer, Greek tragedy, and, especially, Vergil. Most of these appearances are quite brief, and could almost be read as a portfolio demonstrating their range. The first and last, however, though as short as any, introduce the powerful image of a Fury reigning on earth. This echoes elements of Vergil's Furies, but it also opens up a vision of the world that will be increasingly influential in later literature.

In the only episode in which a Fury is given a significant and active role (4.416-532), Tisiphone is developed as an individual character far more than her model Allecto was in Book 7 of the *Aeneid*. She is described in much more detail, with emphasis on iconic elements such as snakes, and given more individual action and speech. Most significantly, perhaps, she is not summoned from above. Instead, the Furies are shown in their Underworld home, which Juno enters to make her request; in this, they are now more like gods. The description of the Underworld, on the other hand, and the place of the Furies in it, alludes to Vergil's Underworld in Book 6 of the *Aeneid*. Ovid seems to combine his two main models, which highlights the fact that the monsters of Vergil's

⁶⁰⁶ This use of *furialis* is one of those that Bömer (1976a, 169) lists as the figurative use begun by Ovid; so that the assaults would not be caused by a Fury, but as dreadful or, as would fit with the *insana Erinys*, as demented as if they were. This would support taking Erinys as nothing more than *furor*, as Tarrant does (see n. 537 above), and I would not necessarily argue that one should imagine an actual Fury causing this murder; nonetheless, the juxtaposition of *supplex pro tam furialibus ausis* and *regnat Erinys* is striking. Moreover, it emphasizes the specific image of a reigning Fury that occurred in Book 1 in a context within which a simple equivalence with madness is much more problematic.

Underworld are relatively abstract emblems rather than characters, in contrast to the individualized Celaeno and Allecto.

I have argued that Vergil introduced a personal element, character and agency, to the Furies, and broadened their domain from vengeance to general discord and punishment. While Ovid's references to the Furies reflect a wide range of their associations, the extended treatment of Tisiphone in Book 4 develops these Vergilian innovations more fully. There are also indications that elements of Vergil's 'new' Furies are now becoming standard, and they certainly will be influential. In addition to the snakes and torches with which the Furies arm themselves, the consistent reference to the Furies as sisters sets them up as a possible parallel to the Fates. This is further encouraged in Ovid by references to their white hair and the specification that they are three sisters.⁶⁰⁷ Finally, in the first and last appearances of a Fury in the *Metamorphoses*, she does not just rage on a battlefield as Vergil's Tisiphone does, but reigns on earth.

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the Furies seem to be set up for more systematic or thematic use in literature. In earlier Greek sources, the Furies had an important but limited function that was consistently connected to maintaining social and familial order; Vergil's innovations created Furies that were far more versatile and accessible, and Ovid incorporates this even as he suggests a more fixed conception of the form of the Furies. Ovid's Furies do fit a variety of types or roles, but in each appearance they are emblematic of a particular aspect that is thematically appropriate to the episode, whether that is vengeance, madness, oaths, or natural law. This thematic power, as well as the

⁶⁰⁷ Orestes reports seeing three maidens resembling Night in Euripides (ἔδοξ' ἰδεῖν τρεῖς Νυκτὶ προσφερεῖς κόρας, *Or.* 408), but that is not quite the same effect.

more fully developed and stable image, will become very influential on the Furies in later authors.

Furthermore, while the Furies do not have the same central role in the *Metamorphoses* as in the *Aeneid*, they nonetheless highlight important themes within Ovid precisely because of their transformed nature. The juxtapositions associated with the Furies in the *Aeneid* highlight the danger and loss that is always potential in desire and the bonds of love that hold together family and society. In the *Metamorphoses*, the pain is not potential, but already present, and Ovid instead sheds light on the way that pleasure can coexist with pity, and humor can be found in horror.

Conclusion

The wide range of figures examined in this study is itself a demonstration of the greatly expanded scope and characterisation of the Furies and their kin in Augustan epic. We began in the *Aeneid*, with Jupiter's rather ominous framing of peace as a time when bound Furor “will roar, terrible with his blood stained mouth,” (*fremet horridus ore cruento*, *Aen.* 1.296). The two mentions of an Erinys that follow in Aeneas' tale of the fall of Troy prefigure the female demonic figures that appear later in the *Aeneid* in their innovative connection to martial violence and the thematic imagery of disastrous marriage. In Chapter 2, I considered the Harpies encountered in Book 3 of the *Aeneid*, who are linked explicitly with the Furies by Celaeno's reference to herself as “the greatest of the Furies” (*maxima Furiarum*, *Aen.* 3.252). The two groups have in common monstrous forms and the capacity to inflict punishment, but the innovative and perplexing speech that Vergil gives Celaeno serves to highlight the terrifying potential of interactions with the divine world, a theme that recurs throughout the poem. The female demonic figures encountered as Aeneas continues his journey, including the Furies in the Underworld, are the subject of Chapter 3, which concludes with a discussion of the strange new homeland in which he finds a welcoming peace but renews the wrath of Juno. In Chapter 4, I turn to the Fury Allecto, summoned by Juno at the heart of the *Aeneid*. As a whole, her astonishing portrayal as an individual character is central to Vergil's innovations, and further innovative characteristics are itemized within her initial description: association with war, physical mutability, and the power to instigate desire.

The grand arc of war and foundation that completes the poem is bracketed by female demonic figures in the service of the ruling gods, and I therefore turn to Jupiter's Dirae in Chapter 5. The Dirae are kin to the Furies and share their ability to terrify, but Jupiter sends his Dira to bring the action to a stop so that Aeneas can end the battle and begin his foundation with the doubly signified planting of his sword in the breast of Turnus. This concluding action, however, so emphatically solid and foundational, is prompted by a final appearance of the inflaming power of rage and intensely personal love and grief that is associated with the Furies, thus making a fitting end to a poem that moves upon the invincible bonds of love and war, glory and loss. In Chapter 6, we turn at last to the Furies in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, in which they reign among murderous humans, enact punishments for Juno, and are called upon both as creators of twisted passions and as goddesses of vengeance.

Even if nothing else, it would be clear that the Furies and other female demonic figures in Augustan epic have a greatly increased range of action and responsibility, but the very innovation of their characterization points to an arc of development manifest in this parade. Vergil brought out individual members from what had been groups of indistinguishable divine monsters and gave them names, voices, and personalities. Allecto also received her own interests and talents, and her aptitude for deception was an innovative and unifying characteristic of the female demonic figures in the *Aeneid*. In Ovid's Furies, on the other hand, the disguise and deceptive speech seem to have moved inside somehow; his Furies have integrated the mutability of external form and shifted the boundaries that would delimit their own roles and the bonds and desires of the

humans with whom they have contact. Unlike those of the *Aeneid*, the Furies of the *Metamorphoses* do not generally appear as individuals acting upon other individuals; they are instead both more internal, invoked, but not appearing, as punishers and inciters of twisted desires, and very external, almost a part of the landscape as they reign among murderous humans.⁶⁰⁸

Provocation was another of Vergil's key innovations, along with an increased emphasis on a generalized power of punishment, and here, too, Ovid shifts the development. In the *Aeneid*, there is a pool of human emotions that can be managed, inflamed, and directed, their power harnessed or spread destructively. The fire imagery so associated with the passions is entirely apt, since fire can be pervasive and consuming, but is ultimately separate from that which it burns. In the *Metamorphoses*, emotions are part of the very matter that is worked. They are not a separate force to be aroused or diverted, but part of the material that makes up humans, and thus, because no emotion moves alone, their action could never be simple. Along with the horrible effects of perverted lusts, however, this also brings the strange fertility that is connected with the monstrous serpentine imagery with which the Theban episode closes, and recalls in turn the description in Book 1 of the post-flood creation of animals and monsters from sunwarmed mud.

608 Tisiphone in Book 4 of the *Metamorphoses* is exceptional in one sense, as she is manifestly acting alone and directly upon individual humans, but she is also not an individual character in the same way that Allecto was in the *Aeneid* – Ovid's Juno addressed the Furies as a group, and Tisiphone happened to be the one who responded. (Given her intimate connection with Thebes in the *Thebaid*, it is tempting to imagine a personal connection, but Ovid's presentation is more suited to the idea that she was simply the Fury on duty.) The distinction I suggest applies even if one reads Allecto more psychologically or allegorically than I do, as she is still individual and separable in a way that Ovid's Furies are not.

This shift is interesting on its own, illuminating varying themes in the *Aeneid* and *Metamorphoses*, but it is also, I would suggest, an iteration of a larger development that sets the stage for demons as they come to be conceptualized in the Western imagination. In their earliest mentions, the Furies are somewhat abstract gods or powers; in tragedy, their description and effects bring them into contact with the category of monsters, but they are still bound to ideas of justice and maintaining order. In the *Aeneid*, the increased attention to their physical monstrosity, their links to a larger family of monsters, and the focus on their capacity for destruction all mark the Furies as more explicitly monstrous. Their destructive nature, moreover, is tied both to the incitement of crimes and their punishment. In a sort of prelude of the internal and external division in Ovid, the Furies incite crimes by arousing the passions of their victims, but punish them from an external position of authority as they work within the system of the Underworld. This dual role in turn fits well with the association of demons with both possession and presiding over punishments in Hell.

At the same time that they are becoming more monstrous, the Furies are given passions and agency and, with this, desire, intelligence, and purpose. The deception that marks Vergil's Furies arises from the latter two, and their purpose is doubly significant in that it can also belong to someone else. In another apparent reversal of their role as representatives of fundamental laws that apply even to Olympians, the Furies, and their skills, are now at the disposal of others, most famously Juno. These additions not only provide a definitive distinction from monsters, but also pave the way for demons. It is the developments in Ovid, however, that move us from the idea of contagion to

something closer to the idea of possession, while simultaneously returning the Furies to their more abstract role of presiding powers. Consistently, though, they are associated with tangled emotions and the contingent darkness that affects gods and men.

Looking forward to Statius' *Thebaid*, which could rightly be considered an epic of the Furies and is closely tied to both the Augustan epics considered here, one sees the crystallization of the association with twisted motivations and perverted actions, and Furies who are both more intimate and more representative of abstract power. Of particular importance for later developments, the divine is more consistently portrayed as something that is not only dangerous and frequently deceptive, but actively misleads humans using disguise. The disguised approach to humans follows the model familiar from Homer, especially Athena as Mentor in the *Odyssey*, but there the disguise itself is true to the purpose and taken only to shield divinity, as opposed to a tool used in the deception of humans. This later style of deception, moreover, is not part of an individual interaction based on lust or malice, as so common in myths, nor the axiomatic trickiness of divine communication, but seems to arise from a desire to spread discord and destruction. Furthermore, this deception is combined with insinuation – this could be viewed as conceptually related to the disguised sexual penetrations of myth, but in Latin epic it is more akin to what might be called possession, the human's mind and heart directed for another's purpose.

In Roman culture, women were the other that defined limits for the normal and male; the female marked what was unknown and unknowable, monstrous and inherently uncontrolled. Women were also, however, fundamental to the foundation and

perpetuation of society, both in myth and pragmatic actuality, and, in a departure from most Greek literature, they are regularly portrayed as such. The role of the female demonic figures in Augustan epic magnifies this dual role and gives it room to explore the powers and dangers that are domestic and therefore universal. I have explored the ways in which these figures illuminate the dangerous passions of the *Aeneid* and their potential for manipulation, and then, in the *Metamorphoses*, their power to transform themselves and others. The feminine nature and associations of the Furies highlight the paired opposition of seduction and horror that is culturally represented in women, but the particulars of their poetic representations open onto a vista in which the seduction is itself a demonic weapon and the entwined and balanced whole that encompasses them is fertile ground for a dualistic vision in which they are truly and entirely the opposing evil.

Bibliography

- Aellen, Christian. 1994. *À la recherche de l'ordre cosmique: Forme et fonction des personnifications dans la céramique italote*. 2 vols. Zurich: Akanthus.
- Aguirre, Mercedes. 2010. "Erinyes as Creatures of Darkness." In *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion*, 133–41. Greek Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, Lexington Books.
- Aly, Wolf. 1913. *Hesiods Theogonie, mit Einleitung und kurzem Kommentar versehen*. Kommentierte Griechische und Lateinische Texte 2. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.
- Anderson, Sebastian. 2010. "Journey into Light and Honors in Darkness in Hesiod and Aeschylus." In *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion*, 142–52. Greek Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, Lexington Books.
- Anderson, William S. 1958. "Juno and Saturn in the *Aeneid*." *Studies in Philology* 55: 519–32.
- . 1969. *The Art of the Aeneid*. Landmarks in Literature. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Aretini, Paola. 1995. "Gufi e pipistrelli due prodigi nell' 'Eneide' di Virgilio (IV, 462 S.; XII, 853 Ss.)." *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia* 16: 1–11.
- Asma, Stephen T. 2009. *Monsters: An Unnatural History of Our Worst Fears*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Austin, R. G. 1961. "Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.567-88." *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 11 (2): 185–98.
- Bailey, C. 1935. *Religion in Virgil*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barchiesi, Alessandro, and Jörg Rüpke, eds. 2004. *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome Held at Stanford University in February 2002*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Barnhart, Robert K., ed. 1988. *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology*. Bronx, New York: H. W. Wilson.

- Barton, Carlin A. 1993. *The Sorrows of the Ancient Romans: The Gladiator and the Monster*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bettini, M. 1997. "Ghosts of Exile: Doubles and Nostalgia in Vergil's *parva Troia* (*Aeneid* 3.294ff.)." *Classical Antiquity* 16: 8–33.
- Block, Elizabeth. 1981. *The Effects of Divine Manifestation on the Reader's Perspective in Vergil's Aeneid*. Revision of Ph.D. thesis. University of California, Berkeley, 1977. Monographs in Classical Studies. New York: Arno Press.
- Bonghi Jovino, Maria. 2010. "Tarquinia. Types of Offerings, Etruscan Divinities and Attributes in the Archaeological Record." In *Material Aspects of Etruscan Religion. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leiden, May 29 and 30, 2008. BABESCH, Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, Supp 16*, 5–16. BABESCH Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, supp 16. Leuven: Peeters.
- Bonnafé, Annie. 1984. *Poésie, Nature et Sacré*. 2 vols. Collection de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen 15. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient.
- Boyd, Barbara Weiden. 1983. "Cydonea Mala: Virgilian Word-Play and Allusion." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 87: 169–74.
- Boyle, A. J. 1986. *The Chaonian Dove: Studies in the Eclogues, Georgics, and Aeneid of Virgil*. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava, Supplementum 94. Leiden: Brill.
- . , ed. 1993. *Roman Epic*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Braund, S. M., and C. Gill, eds. 1997. *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Braund, Susanna Morton. 1997. "Virgil and the Cosmos: Religious and Philosophical Ideas." In *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*, 204–21. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bremmer, Jan N. 1993. "Three Roman Aetiological Myths." In *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft: Das Paradigma Roms*, 158–74. Colloquia Raurica 3. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.
- Bremmer, J. N., and N. M. Horsfall. 1987. *Roman Myth and Mythography*. Bulletin Supplement, University of London Institute of Classical Studies 52. London:

Institute of Classical Studies.

- Bretzigheimer, Gerlinde. "Jupiter Tonans in Ovids Metamorphosen." *Gymnasium* 100: 19-74.
- Brooks, Robert A. 1953. "Discolor Aura. Reflections on the Golden Bough." *The American Journal of Philology* 74: 260–80.
- Brown, A. L. 1983. "The Erinyes in the *Oresteia*: Real Life, the Supernatural, and the Stage." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 103: 13–34.
- . 1984. "Eumenides in Greek Tragedy." *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 34: 260–81.
- Brucia, Margaret A. 2001. "The Double Harpalyce, Harpies, and Wordplay at *Aeneid* 1.314-17." *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 51 (1): 305–8.
- Bruère, Richard T. 1964. "The Helen Episode in *Aeneid* 2 and Lucan." *Classical Philology* 59: 267–68.
- Buchheit, Vinzenz. 1963. *Vergil über die Sendung Roms. Untersuchungen zum Bellum Poenicum und zur Aeneis*. Gymnasium 3. Heidelberg.
- Büchner, Karl. 1958. *P. Vergilius Maro: Der Dichter der Römer*. Stuttgart: [Originally published as *RE* 8 A1 (1955) 1021-1264 and *RE* 8 A2 (1958) 1265-1486.].
- . 1984. "Zum römischen Sendungsbewußtsein bei Vergil." In *Atti del convegno mondiale scientifico di studi su Virgilio. Mantova, Roma, Napoli 19-24 Settembre 1981*, 1:164–67. Milan: Mondadori.
- Burgess, J. F. 1971. "Pietas in Virgil and Statius." *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 11: 48–61.
- Burnett, Anne. 1973. "Medea and the Tragedy of Revenge." *Classical Philology* 68 (1): 1–24.
- Cairns, Francis, ed. 1986. *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar: Fifth Volume 1985*. ARCA: Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 19. Liverpool: Francis Cairns.
- Cartault, A. 1926. *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Eneide*. Bibliotheque de la Faculté des Lettres, deuxième série 4. Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France.

- Christopoulos, Menelaos, Efimia D. Karakantza, and Olga Levaniouk, eds. 2010. *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion*. Greek Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches. Lexington Books.
- Clare, R. J. 1995. "Chiron, Melampus and Tisiphone: Myth and Meaning in Virgil's Plague of Noricum." *Hermathena* 158: 95–108.
- Clay, Jenny Strauss. 1993. "The Generation of Monsters in Hesiod." *Classical Philology* 88 (2): 105–16.
- Conte, Gian Biagio. 2006. "Questioni di metodo e critica dell'autenticità: Discutendo ancora l'episodio di Elena." *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 56: 157–74.
- . 2007. *The Poetry of Pathos: Studies in Virgilian Epic*. Edited by S. J. Harrison. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- de Grummond, N. T., and E. Simon, eds. 2006. *The Religion of the Etruscans*. Austin.
- Delivorrias, A. 2008. "The Worship of Aphrodite in Athens and Attica." In *Worshipping Women: Ritual and Reality in Classical Athens*, 107–21. New York: Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation (USA) in collaboration with the National Archaeological Museum, Athens.
- de Vaan, M. A. C. 2008. *Etymological Dictionary of Latin and the Other Italic Languages*. Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series 7. Leiden: Brill.
- Dieterich, Albrecht. 1969. *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*. 3rd ed. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Dietrich, Bernard C. 1962. "Demeter, Erinys, Artemis." *Hermes* 90: 129–48.
- . 1964. "Xanthus' Prediction: A Memory of Popular Cult in Homer." *Acta Classica* 7: 9–24.
- Dufallo, Basil. 2013. *The Captor's Image: Greek Culture in Roman Ecphrasis*. Classical Culture and Society. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dumézil, Georges. 1970. *Archaic Roman Religion*. Translated by Philip Krapp. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Dyson, Julia T. 2001. *King of the Wood: The Sacrificial Victor in Virgil's Aeneid*.

- Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture 27. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. [Also see under Hejduk.]
- Easterling, P. E. 1987. "Women in Tragic Space." *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 34: 15–26.
- Eck, Bernard. 2012. *La mort rouge: Homicide, guerre et souillure en Grèce ancienne*. Collection d'Études Anciennes 145. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- Edgeworth, Robert J. 1983. "Vergil's Furies." *The Harvard Theological Review* 76 (3): 365–67.
- Edwards, Mark W. 1991. *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume V: Books 17-20*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eidinow, J. S. C. 2003. "Dido, Aeneas, and Iulus: Heirship and Obligation in *Aeneid* 4." *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 53: 260–67.
- Ernout, A., and A. Meillet. 1994. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: Histoire des mots*. 4th, revised. Paris.
- Fantham, Elaine. 1996. "Religio ... Dira Loci: Two Passages in Lucan *de Bello Civili* 3 and Their Relation to Virgil's Rome and Latium." *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 37: 137–53.
- . 1998. "Allecto's First Victim: A Study of Vergil's Amata." In *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*. London.
- Faraone, Christopher A., and Amina Kropp. 2010. "Inversion, Adversion and Perversion as Strategies in Latin Curse-Tablets." In *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference Held at the University of Zaragoza 30 Sept. - 1 Oct. 2005*, 381–98. *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 168. Leiden: Brill.
- Faraone, Christopher A., and Dirk Obbink, eds. 1991. *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Farron, Steven. 1993. *Vergil's Aeneid: A Poem of Grief and Love*. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava, Supplementum 122. Leiden: Brill.
- Feeney, Denis C. 1984. "The Reconciliations of Juno." *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 34 (1): 179–94.

- . 1991. *The Gods in Epic: Poets and Critics of the Classical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2004. “Interpreting Sacrificial Ritual in Roman Poetry: Disciplines and Their Models.” In *Rituals in Ink: A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome Held at Stanford University in February 2002*, 1–21. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Fiumi, Fausto. 1972. “Cenni storico-critici e suggerimenti interpretativi per l’episodio virgiliano delle Arpie (*Aen.* III, 192 Ss.)” *Orpheus* 19: 171–215.
- Fletcher, F. 1941. *Virgil, Aeneid VI. Edited with Introduction and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Foster, J. C. B. 1977. “Divine and Demonic Possession in the *Aeneid*.” *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 2: 117–28.
- Fowler, Don. 1998. “Opening the Gates of War.” In *Vergil’s Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*. London.
- Fraenkel, Eduard. 1945. “Some Aspects of the Structure of *Aeneid* VII.” *The Journal of Roman Studies* 35: 1–14.
- . , ed. 1950. *Aeschylus, Agamemnon. Edited with a Commentary*. 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Fratantuono, Lee. 2007. *Madness Unchained: A Reading of Virgil’s Aeneid*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, Lexington Books.
- Fratantuono, L., and C. Susalla. 2012. “Virgil’s Camilla and the Authenticity of the Helen Episode.” In *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XVI, C. Deroux Ed.*, 198–210. Collection Latomus 338. Bruxelles: Éditions Latomus.
- Friedrich, Paul. 1997. “An Avian and Aphrodisian Reading of Homer’s *Odyssey*.” *American Anthropologist, New Series* 99: 306–20.
- Galinsky, Karl. 1969a. *Aeneas, Sicily, and Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1969b. “The Triumph Theme in the Augustan Elegy.” *Wiener Studien: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik* 82: 75–107.
- . 1988. “The Anger of Aeneas.” *The American Journal of Philology* 109: 321–48.

- . 1996. *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ganiban, R. T. 2007. *Statius and Virgil: The Thebaid and the Reinterpretations of the Aeneid*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garrison, J. D. 1992. *Pietas from Vergil to Dryden*. University Park, Penn.: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Gaultier, F., and D. Briquel, eds. 1997. *Les Étrusques: Les plus religieux des hommes. XIIIes rencontres de l'École du Louvre. Les plus religieux des hommes: État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque international, Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais 17-18-19 Novembre 1992*. Paris.
- Gibson, Craig A. 1999. "Punitive Blinding in *Aeneid* 3." *The Classical World* 92 (4): 359–66.
- Gildenhard, Ingo, and Andrew Zissos. 2007. "Barbarian Variations: Tereus, Procne and Philomela in Ovid (*Met.* 6.412-674) and Beyond." *Dictynna (On Line)* 4 (November): 1–19.
- Gilder, Richard. 1997. "Goddesses Unbound: Furies and Furial Imagery in the Works of Seneca, Lucan, and Statius." PhD, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Gillis, Daniel. 1983. *Eros and Death in the Aeneid*. Rome: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider.
- Gilmore, David D. 2003. *Monsters: Evil Beings, Mythical Beasts, and All Manner of Imaginary Terrors*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Glei, Reinhold F. 1991. *Der Vater der Dinge: Interpretationen zur politischen, literarischen und kulturellen Dimension des Krieges bei Vergil*. BAC, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium 7. Trier: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier.
- Goldberg, Sander M. 2005. *Constructing Literature in the Roman Republic: Poetry and Its Reception*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goold, G. P. 1970. "Servius and the Helen Episode." *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74: 101–68.
- Graf, Fritz, ed. 1993. *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft. Das Paradigma Roms*. Colloquia Raurica 3. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.

- Gransden, K. W. 1984. *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Grassmann-Fischer, Brigitte. 1966. *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis*. *Studia et Testimonia Antiqua* 3. Munich: Wilhelm Fink.
- Griffin, Jasper. 1977. "The Epic Cycle and the Uniqueness of Homer." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 97: 39–53.
- . 1980. *Homer on Life and Death*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gutting, E. 2006. "Marriage in the *Aeneid*: Venus, Vulcan, and Dido." *Classical Philology* 101: 263–79.
- Habinek, Thomas N. 1998. *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hainsworth, Bryan. 1993. *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume III: Books 9-12*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Halleux, Robert, and Jacques Schamp, eds. 1985. *Les lapidaires grecs: Lapidaire Orphique, kérygmes lapidaires d'Orphée, Socrate et Denys, lapidaire nautique, Damigéron-évax*. Collection Des Universités de France. Paris: Société d'édition "Les Belles Lettres."
- Harari, M. 2010. "The Imagery of the Etrusco-Faliscan Pantheon between Architectural Sculpture and Vase-Painting." In *Material Aspects of Etruscan Religion. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leiden, May 29 and 30, 2008*. BABESCH, *Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, Supp 16*, 83–103. BABESCH, *Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, supp 16*,. Leuven: Peeters.
- Hardie, Alex. 2007. "Juno, Hercules, and the Muses at Rome." *American Journal of Philology* 128 (4): 551–92.
- Hardie, Philip R. 1983. "Some Themes from Gigantomachy in the *Aeneid*." *Hermes* 111: 311–26.
- . 1993. *The Epic Successors of Virgil: A Study in the Dynamics of a Tradition*. Roman Literature and Its Contexts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2002. *Ovid's Poetics of Illusion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- . 2012. *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hardie, Philip R., ed. 1994. *Virgil, Aeneid Book IX*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harpham, Geoffrey Galt. 1982. *On the Grotesque: Strategies of Contradiction in Art and Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Harrison, E.L. 1976. "Virgil's Plague: A New View of the Relationship between the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*. A Lecture to the Virgil Society, January 1977." *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 16: 9–17.
- . 1984. "The *Aeneid* and Carthage." In *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1986. "Foundation Prodigies in the *Aeneid*." *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 5: 131–64.
- Hawkins, Julia. 2004. "The Ritual of Therapy: Venus the Healer in Virgil's *Aeneid*." In *Rituals in Ink. A Conference on Religion and Literary Production in Ancient Rome Held at Stanford University in February 2002*, 77–97. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Heinze, Richard. 1993. *Virgil's Epic Technique*. Translated by H. Harvey, D. Harvey, and F. Robertson. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hejduk, Julia. 2009. "Jupiter's *Aeneid*: *Fama* and *Imperium*." *Classical Antiquity* 28 (2): 279–327.
- Henry, Elisabeth. 1989. *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Virgil's Aeneid*. Carbondale, Il.: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Hershkowitz, Debra. 1998. *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heubeck, Alfred, Stephanie West, J. B. Hainsworth, eds. 1988. *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey. Volume I: Introduction and Books I-VIII*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heubeck, Alfred, Arie Hoekstra, eds. 1989. *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey. Volume II: Books IX-XVI*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Horsfall, Nicholas. 1993. "Mythological Invention and Poetica Licentia." In *Mythos in mythenloser Gesellschaft: Das Paradigma Roms*, 131–41. *Colloquia Raurica* 3. Stuttgart and Leipzig: Teubner.
- . 2000. *Virgil, Aeneid 7: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2002. *Virgil, Aeneid 3: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2007. "Fraud as Scholarship: The Helen Episode and the Appendix Vergiliana." *Illinois Classical Studies* 31/32: 1–27.
- . 2008. *Virgil, Aeneid 2: A Commentary*. Leiden: Brill.
- Hostetler, Kristen Lee. 2007. "Serpent Iconography." *Etruscan Studies* 10: 203–8.
- Hübner, Wolfgang. 1970. *Dirae im römischen Epos. Über das Verhältnis von Vogeldämonen und Prodigien*. Vol. 21. *Spudasmata: Studien zur klassischen Philologie und ihren Grenzgebieten*. Herausgegeben von Hildebrecht Hommel und Ernst Zinn. Hildesheim: Georg Olms.
- Hügi, Markus. 1952. *Vergils Aeneis und die Hellenistische Dichtung*. *Noctes Romanae, Forschungen über die Kultur der Antike* 4. Bern: Paul Haupt.
- Hunter, Richard. 1993. *The Argonautica of Apollonius: Literary Studies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- James, Sharon L. 1995. "Establishing Rome with the Sword: *Condere* in the *Aeneid*." *The American Journal of Philology* 116: 623–37.
- Janan, Micaela. 2009. *Reflections in a Serpent's Eye: Thebes in Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Janko, Richard. 1992. *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume IV: Books 13-16*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jannot, Jean-René. 2005. *Religion in Ancient Etruria. Translated by Jane Whitehead*. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Jenkyns, R. 1998. *Virgil's Experience. Nature and History: Times, Names, and Places*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jocelyn, H. D., ed. 1967. *The Tragedies of Ennius: The Fragments Edited with an Introduction and Commentary*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Johnson, S. K. 1927. "Elided Spondees in the Second and Third Foot of the Vergilian Hexameter." *The Classical Review* 41: 123.
- Johnson, Walter Ralph. 1965. "Aeneas and the Ironies of *Pietas*." *The Classical Journal* 60: 360–64.
- . 1976. *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Johnston, Sarah Iles. 1992. "Xanthus, Hera and the Erinyes (*Iliad* 19.400-418)." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 122: 85–98.
- . 1999. *Restless Dead: Encounters between the Living and the Dead in Ancient Greece*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Jones, Jr., J. W. 1986. "The Allegorical Traditions of the *Aeneid*." In *Vergil at 2000: Commemorative Essays on the Poet and His Influence*, 107–32. AMS Ars Poetica 3. New York: AMS Press.
- Kanellopoulou, C. 1988. "Graiai." In *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 4.1. Zurich: Artemis Verlag.
- Keith, Alison. 2000. *Engendering Rome: Women in Latin Epic*. Roman Literature and Its Contexts. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 2002. "Ovidian Personae in Statius's *Thebaid*." *Arethusa* 35: 381–402.
- . 2004. "Ovid's Theban Narrative in Statius' *Thebaid*." *Hermathena* 177 & 178: 181–207.
- . 2007. "Imperial Building Projects and Architectural Ecphrases in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Statius' *Thebaid*." *Mouseion: Journal of the Classical Association of Canada* 7: 1–26.
- Kenney, E. J. 2001. "'Est Deus in Nobis ...': Medea Meets Her Maker." In *A Companion to Apollonius Rhodius*, 261–83. Mnemosyne, Supplement 217. Leiden: Brill.
- Keydell, R. 1942. "Orphische Dichtung, A." *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. 18:1. Stuttgart: Metzlersche.
- Khan, H. A. 1996. "The Harpies Episode in *Aeneid* 3." *Prometheus* 22: 131–44.

- Kirk, G. S. 1985. *The Iliad, a Commentary. Volume 1: Books 1-4*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- . 1990. *The Iliad, a Commentary. Volume 2: Books 5-8*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Knauer, G. N. 1964a. *Die Aeneis und Homer: Studien zur poetischen Technik Vergils mit Listen der Homerzitate in der Aeneis*. Hypomnemata, Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben 7. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- . 1964b. "Vergil's *Aeneid* and Homer." *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 5: 61–84.
- Knox, Bernard M. W. 1950. "The Serpent and the Flame: The Imagery of the Second Book of the *Aeneid*." *The American Journal of Philology* 71: 379–400.
- Knox, Peter E. 1997. "Savagery in the *Aeneid* and Virgil's Ancient Commentators." *The Classical Journal* 92 (3): 225–33.
- König, Annemarie. 1970. "Die Aeneis und die Griechische Tragödie: Studien zur Imitatio-Technik Vergils." PhD, Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin.
- Konstan, David. 1986. "Venus's Enigmatic Smile." *Vergilius* 32: 18–25.
- Korn, Matthias. 1989. *Valerius Flaccus, Argonautica 4, 1-343: Ein Kommentar*. Spudasmata: Studien zur klassischen Philologie und ihren Grenzgebieten. Herausgegeben von Hildebrecht Hommel Und Ernst Zinn 46. Hildesheim: Georg Olms.
- Korn, Matthias, and Hans Jürgen Tschiedel, eds. 1991. *Ratis Omnia Vincet. Untersuchungen zu den Argonautica des Valerius Flaccus*. Spudasmata: Studien zur klassischen Philologie und ihren Grenzgebieten. 48. Zürich: Georg Olms.
- Krauskopf, Ingrid. 1997. "Influences grecques et orientales sur les représentations de dieux étrusques." In *Les plus religieux des hommes*, 25–36. Paris.
- . 2006. "The Grave and Beyond in Etruscan Religion." In *The Religion of the Etruscans*, 66–89. Austin, Texas.
- Kropp, Amina. 2010. "How Does Magical Language Work? The Spells and *Formulae* of the Latin *Defixionum Tabellae*." In *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference Held at the University of Zaragoza 30 Sept. - 1 Oct. 2005*, 357–80. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 168. Leiden: Brill.

- Kühn, Werner. 1971. *Götterszenen bei Vergil*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Lausberg, Marion. 1983. "Iliadisches im ersten Buch der Aeneis." *Gymnasium* 90: 203–39.
- Lee, K. H. 1982. "The Iris-Lyssa Scene in Euripides' *Heracles*." *Antichthon* 16: 44–53.
- Liebeschuetz, W. 1967. "The Religious Position of Livy's *History*." *The Journal of Roman Studies* 57 (1/2): 45–55.
- Liegle, J. 1932. "Pietas." *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 42 (repr. in Oppermann (1967) 229–273): 59–100.
- Linderski, Jerzy. 1995. "Roman Religion in Livy." In *Roman Questions: Selected Papers*, Orig. published in *Livius: Aspekte seines Werkes*, W. Schuller, ed. (Konstanz 1993), 608–25 (53–70 in orig. pub.). Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Lloyd-Jones, Huw. 2002. "Curses and Divine Anger in Early Greek Epic: The Pisander Scholion." *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 52 (1): 1–14.
- Lloyd, Robert B. 1954. "On *Aeneid*, III, 270–280." *The American Journal of Philology* 75 (3): 288–99.
- . 1957. "*Aeneid* III: A New Approach." *The American Journal of Philology* 78: 133–51.
- Lowe, Dunstan. 2015. *Monsters and Monstrosity in Augustan Poetry*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Luck, Georg. 1985. *Arcana Mundi: Magic and the Occult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Lyne, R.O.A.M. 1983a. "Lavinia's Blush: Vergil, *Aeneid* 12.64–70." *Greece & Rome, Second Series* 30: 55–64.
- . 1983b. "Vergil and the Politics of War." *The Classical Quarterly, New Series* 33 (1): 188–203.
- . 1984. "Diction and Poetry in Vergil's *Aeneid*." In *Atti del convegno mondiale scientifico di Studi su Virgilio. Mantova, Roma, Napoli 19-24 Settembre 1981*, 2:64–88. Milan: Mondadori.

- . 1987. *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1989. *Words and the Poet: Characteristic Techniques of Style in Vergil's Aeneid*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- MacBain, Bruce. 1982. *Prodigy and Expiation A Study in Religion and Politics in Republican Rome*. Collection Latomus 177. Brussels: Latomus.
- Mackie, C. J. 1992. "Vergil's Dirae, South Italy, and Etruria." *Phoenix* 46 (4): 352–61.
- Mack, Sara. 1978. *Patterns of Time in Vergil*. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books.
- Malamoud, Charles, and Jean-Pierre Vernant, eds. 1986. *Corps des dieux. Le temps de la réflexion* 7. Paris: Gallimard.
- Mankin, D., ed. 1995. *Horace. Epodes*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Martindale, Charles, ed. 1997. *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Milnor, Kristina. 2005. *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus: Inventing Private Life*. Oxford Studies in Classical Literature and Gender Theory. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Moltesen, Mette, and Cornelia Weber-Lehmann. 1992. *Etruskische Grabmalerei Faksimiles und Aquarelle. Dokumentation aus der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek und dem Schwedischen Institut in Rom*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie 7. Mainz: Philipp von Zabern.
- Moorton, Richard. 1988. "The Genealogy of Latinus in Vergil's *Aeneid*." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 118: 253–59.
- Müller, C. O. 1835. *Dissertations on the Eumenides of Aeschylus with the Greek Text and Critical Remarks*. Cambridge.
- Müller, Dietram. 1987. "Ovid, Iuppiter und Augustus." *Philologus* 131: 270-288.
- Murano, Francesca. 2013. *Le tabellae defixionum Osche*. Ricerche sulle lingue di frammentaria attestazione 8. Pisa and Rome: Fabrizio Serra editore.
- Murgia, Charles E. 1971. "More on the Helen Episode." *California Studies in Classical*

- Antiquity* 4: 203–17.
- . 2003. “The Date of the Helen Episode.” *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 101: 405–26.
- Nappa, Christopher. 1994. “Agamemnon 717-36: The Parable of the Lion Cub.” *Mnemosyne, Fourth Series* 47: 82–87.
- . 2005. *Reading after Actium: Vergil’s Georgics, Octavian, and Rome*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Nelis, Damien. 2001. *Vergil’s Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*. ARCA: Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 39. Leeds: Francis Cairns.
- Nethercut, William R. 1968. “Invasion in the *Aeneid*.” *Greece & Rome, Second Series* 15 (1): 82–95.
- Newlands, Carole. 2004. “Statius and Ovid: Transforming the Landscape.” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 134: 133–55.
- Nicoll, W. S. M. 2001. “The Death of Turnus.” *The Classical Quarterly New Series*, 51: 190–200.
- Norden, E. 1916. *P. Vergilius Maro. Aeneis Buch VI*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Ogden, Daniel. 2013. *Drakōn: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ogle, M. B. 1911. “The House-Door in Greek and Roman Religion and Folk-Lore.” *The American Journal of Philology* 32: 251–71.
- O’Hara, James J. 1990. *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil’s Aeneid*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Oppermann, Hans, ed. 1967. *Römische Wertbegriffe. Wege der Forschung* 34. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.
- Orlin, Eric M. 2010. *Foreign Cults in Rome: Creating a Roman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Otis, Brooks. 1970. *Ovid as an Epic Poet*. Second. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- . 1995. *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*. 2nd ed. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Pachoumi, Eleni. 2012. "Eros as Disease, Torture and Punishment in Magical Literature." *Symbolae Osloenses* 86: 74–93.
- Padel, Ruth. 1992. *In and Out of the Mind: Greek Images of the Tragic Self*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1995. *Whom Gods Destroy: Elements of Greek and Tragic Madness*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Paleothodoros, Dimitris. 2010. "Light and Darkness in Dionysiac Rituals as Illustrated on Attic Vase Paintings of the 5th Century BCE." In *Light and Darkness in Ancient Greek Myth and Religion*. Greek Studies: Interdisciplinary Approaches. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, Lexington Books.
- Panoussi, Vassiliki. 2009. *Greek Tragedy in Vergil's Aeneid: Ritual, Empire, and Intertext*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paschalis, Michael, ed. 2005. *Roman and Greek Imperial Epic*. Rethymnon Classical Studies 2. Herakleion, Crete: Crete University Press.
- Pavlock, Barbara. 1992. "The Hero and the Erotic in *Aeneid* 7-12." *Vergilius* 38: 72–87.
- . 2009. *The Image of the Poet in Ovid's Metamorphoses*. Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Perkell, Christine, ed. 1999. *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*. Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Petrini, Mark. 1997. *The Child and the Hero: Coming of Age in Catullus and Vergil*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Piranomonte, Marina. 2010. "Religion and Magic at Rome: The Fountain of Anna Perenna." In *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference Held at the University of Zaragoza 30 Sept. - 1 Oct. 2005*, 191–213. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 168. Leiden: Brill.
- Pöschl, V. 1962. *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid*. Translated by G. Seligson. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Preisendanz, K. 1973. *Papyri graecae magicae: Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*. 2nd ed.

- A. Henrichs. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Putnam, Michael C. J. 1965. *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- . 1970. "Aeneid VII and the Aeneid." *American Journal of Philology* 91 (4): 408–30.
- . 1982a. *Essays on Latin Lyric, Elegy, and Epic*. Princeton Series of Collected Essays. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1982b. "The Third Book of the Aeneid: From Homer to Rome." In *Essays on Latin Lyric, Elegy, and Epic*, 267–87. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 1995. *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- . 1999. "Aeneid 12: Unity in Closure." In *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, 210–30. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press.
- . 2011. *The Humanness of Heroes: Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's Aeneid*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Quint, David. 1993. *Epic and Empire: Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*. Literature in History. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- . 2011. "Virgil's Double Cross: Chiasmus and the Aeneid." *The American Journal of Philology* 132: 273–300.
- Rabel, Robert J. 1985. "The Harpies in the Aeneid." *The Classical Journal* 80 (4): 317–25.
- Radermacher, Ludwig. 1908. "Motiv und Persönlichkeit (I&II)." *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie N.f.* 63: 445–64; 531–58.
- Raeburn, David, and Oliver Thomas. 2011. *The Agamemnon of Aeschylus: A Commentary for Students*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Reckford, Kenneth J. 1961. "Latent Tragedy in Aeneid VII, 1-285." *The American Journal of Philology* 82: 252–69.
- . 1981. "Helen in Aeneid 2 and 6." *Arethusa* 14: 85-99.

- Rehm, Rush. 1994. *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Richardson, Nicholas. 1993. *The Iliad: A Commentary. Volume VI: Books 21-24*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Richlin, Amy. 1984. "Invective against Women in Roman Satire." *Arethusa* 17: 67–80.
- Roncalli, F. 1997. "Iconographie funéraire et topographie de l'au-delà en Étrurie." In *Les plus religieux des hommes*, 37-54. Paris.
- Rossi, Andreola. 2002. "The Fall of Troy: Between Tradition and Genre." In *Clio & the Poets: Augustan Poetry & the Traditions of Ancient Historiography*, 231–51. Mnemosyne, Supplementum 224. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2004. *Contexts of War: Manipulation of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Rudd, W. J. N. 1983. "The Idea of Empire in the *Aeneid*." *Hermathena* 134: 35–50.
- Russo, Joseph, Manuel Fernández-Galiano, Alfred Heubeck, eds. 1992. *A Commentary on Homer's Odyssey. Volume III: Books XVII-XXIV*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Salapata, Gina. 2006. "The Tippling Serpent in the Art of Lakonia and Beyond." *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 75: 541–60.
- Sarian, H. 1986. "Erinys." In *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae*, 3.1, 839-843. Zurich: Artemis Verlag.
- Scheid, John. 2001. *Religion et piété à Rome*. Sciences des religions. Paris: Albin Michel.
- Schilling, Robert. 1954. *La religion romaine de Vénus depuis les origines jusqu'au temps d'Auguste*. Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome 178. Paris.
- Schultz, C. E., and P. B. Harvey Jr., eds. 2006. *Religion in Republican Italy*. Yale Classical Studies 33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schultz, Celia E. 2006. "Juno Sospita and Roman Insecurity in the Social War." In *Religion in Republican Italy*, 207–27. Yale Classical Studies 33. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Scullion, Scott. 1994. "Olympian and Chthonian." *Classical Antiquity* 13: 75–119.
- Seaford, Richard. 2003. "Aeschylus and the Unity of Opposites." *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 123: 141–63.
- Segal, Charles. 1968. "Circean Temptations: Homer, Vergil, Ovid." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 99: 419–42.
- . 1990. "Dido's Hesitation in *Aeneid* 4." *The Classical World*, no. 84: 1–12.
- Setaioli, Aldo. 1998. *Si Tantus Amor ... Studi Virgiliani*. Testi e manuali per l'insegnamento universitario del latino 53. Bologna: Pàtron.
- Sharrock, Alison. 1994. "Ovid and the Politics of Reading." *Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici* 33: 97–122.
- . 2002. "Gender and Sexuality." In *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, 95–107. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shipley, F. W. 1925. "The Virgilian Authorship of the Helen Episode, *Aeneid* II, 567-588." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 56: 172–84.
- Shipp, G. P. 1964. "Personification in Homer with Special Reference to Ate." *Proceedings of the Ninth Congress of the Australasian Universities' Languages and Literature Association*, 35–37.
- Sinclair 1979. *Hesiod. Works and Days*. New York: Arno Press. First published 1932.
- Small, J. P. 1982. *Cacus and Marsyas in Etrusco-Roman Legend*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, Riggs Alden. 2005. *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Smolenaars, J. J. L. 2004. "A Disturbing Scene from the Marriage of Venus and Vulcan: *Aeneid* 8.370-415." *Vergilius* 50: 96–107.
- Sommerstein, Alan H., ed. 2008. *Aeschylus. Oresteia*. Loeb Classical Library 146. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Spence, Sarah. 1991. "Cinching the Text: The Danaids and the End of the *Aeneid*." *Vergilius* 37: 11–19.

- Stahl, Hans-Peter. 1990. "The Death of Turnus: Augustan Vergil and the Political Revival." In *Between Republic and Empire: Interpretations of Augustus and His Principate*, 174-211. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- . 1998a. "Political Stop-Overs on a Mythological Travel Route: From Battling Harpies to the Battle of Actium." In *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*, 37–84. London: Duckworth, in assoc. with Classical Press of Wales.
- , ed. 1998b. *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*. London: Duckworth, in assoc. with Classical Press of Wales.
- Staples, Ariadne. 1998. *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins: Sex and Category in Roman Religion*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Steingräber, S., and S. Menichelli. 2010. "Etruscan Altars in Sanctuaries and Necropoleis of the Orientalizing, Archaic and Classical Periods." In *Material Aspects of Etruscan Religion. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leiden, May 29 and 30, 2008. BABESCH, Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, Supp 16*, 51–74. BABESCH, Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology, supp 16. Leuven: Peeters.
- Stratton, Kimberly B., Dayna S. Kalleres, eds. 2014. *Daughters of Hecate: Women and Magic in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tarrant, R. J., ed. 2012. *Aeneid, Book 12*. Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Taylor, John Prentice. 1917. "The Mythology of Vergil's *Aeneid* According to Servius." PhD, New York: New York University.
- Thomas, Richard F. 2004. "Torn between Jupiter and Saturn: Ideology, Rhetoric and Culture Wars in the *Aeneid*." *The Classical Journal* 100: 121–47.
- Thome, Gabriele. 1993. *Vorstellungen vom Bösen in der lateinischen Literatur: Begriffe, Motive, Gestalten*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.
- Tracy, H. L. 1964. "Fata Deum and the Action of the *Aeneid*." *Greece & Rome, Second Series* 11 (2): 188–95.
- Traina, A. 1996. "Latino e gli dei in fuga." *Eikasmos* 7: 255-259.

- Tzanetou, Angeliki. 2012. *City of Suppliants: Tragedy and the Athenian Empire*. Ashley and Peter Larkin Series in Greek and Roman Culture. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Unte, Wolfhart. 1994. "Die Gestalt Apollos im Handlungsablauf von Vergils Aeneis." *Gymnasium* 101: 204–57.
- van der Graaf, Cornelis. 1945. "The Dirae, with Translation, Commentary and an Investigation of Its Authorship." PhD, Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht.
- Vance, E. 1981. "Sylvia's Pet Stag: Wildness and Domesticity in Virgil's *Aeneid*." *Arethusa* 14: 127-38.
- Ventris, Michael and John Chadwick. 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*, 2nd ed. by John Chadwick. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Verdenius, W. J. 1985. *A Commentary on Hesiod, Works and Days, Vv. 1-382*. Mnemosyne, Bibliotheca Classica Batava, Supplementum 86. Leiden: Brill.
- Vernant, Jean-Pierre. 1986. "Corps obscur, corps éclatant." In *Corps des dieux*, 19–45. Le Temps de la réflexion 7. Paris: Gallimard.
- Versnel, H. S. 1991. "Beyond Cursing: The Appeal to Justice in Judicial Prayers." In *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*, 60–106. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Visser, Margaret. 1980. "Erinyes: Their Character and Function in Classical Greek Literature and Thought." PhD, Toronto: University of Toronto.
- . 1984. "Vengeance and Pollution in Classical Athens." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 45: 193–206.
- Vogt, K. M. 2006. "Anger, Present Injustice and Future Revenge in Seneca's *De Ira*." In *Seeing Seneca Whole: Perspectives on Philosophy, Poetry and Politics*. Leiden: Brill.
- Walbank, F. W. 1938. "ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 58, Part 1: 55–68.
- Walde, A., and J. B. Hofmann. 1965. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. 4th ed. Heidelberg: Carl Winter.
- Waser. 1912. "Furiae." *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 7.

- Neue Bearbeitung. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Waszink, J. H. 1963a. "Agmina Furiarum." *The Harvard Theological Review* 56 (1): 7–11.
- Weber, Clifford. 1990. "Some Double Entendres in Ovid and Vergil." *Classical Philology* 85 (3): 209–14.
- West, M. L. 1966. *Hesiod. Theogony. Edited with Prolegomena and Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1990. *Studies in Aeschylus*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 1. Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner.
- Williams, Gordon. 1986. "Statius and Vergil: Defensive Imitation." In *Vergil at 2000: Commemorative Essays on the Poet and His Influence*. AMS Ars Poetica 3. New York: AMS Press.
- Williams, R. D., ed. 1962. *P. Vergili Maronis, Aeneidos Liber Tertius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 1981. *Virgil. Aeneid V. Edited with a Commentary*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Winnington-Ingram, R. P. 1983. *Studies in Aeschylus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wissowa, Georg. 1912. *Religion und Kultus der Römer*. 2nd ed. Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft 5. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, Oskar Beck.
- Wlosok, Antonie. n.d. *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis*. Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften.
- Woodman, Tony, and David West, eds. 1984. *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wright, M. R. 1997. "Ferox Uirtus: Anger in Virgil's Aeneid." In *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, 169–84. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wüst, E. 1956. "Erinyes." *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Supp. 8. Stuttgart: Druckenmüller.

Zeppezauer, Dorothea. 2011. *Bühnenmord und Botenbericht: Zur Darstellung des Schrecklichen in der griechischen Tragödie*. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 295. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Zetzel, James E. G. 1989. "Romane Memento: Justice and Judgment in *Aeneid* 6." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119: 263–84.

Appendix A: The uses of *dirus*

Etymological dictionaries⁶⁰⁹ agree that *dirus* is ultimately from the Proto-Indo-European verbal root *dwei-, ‘to fear’, (which is also the source of Greek δειδω and δεινός), but its history is untraceable.⁶¹⁰ Servius Auctus says that it comes from the Sabines and Umbrians (*Sabini et Umbri quae nos mala, dira appellant*, on 3.235), which could explain its relative lack of early citation, but de Vaan rightly advises caution: “The recent date of appearance, and the absence of any derivatives within Latin, might also be interpreted as a support for this explanation. We may accept it, but with the necessary precautions, since it remains an explanation *ex obscuro*.”⁶¹¹ In this investigation, I focus on the appearances of the word before Vergil, as his usage was so influential. Even in these early uses, it is clear that *dirus* was used in various contexts, but always with a clear basic, if not necessarily complete, meaning of causing or meriting fear. This calls into question the common view that its first and strictest meaning and use is that of a technical term in a religious context, which is important for our understanding of the *Aeneid*, wherein it is used more broadly. I should make it clear that I am not proposing a strict divide between religious and non-religious uses; on the contrary, I argue against such a division, which can be encouraged by viewing the word as a technical term in origin.

The earliest attested use is in a fragment of Accius’ *Alphesiboea*, a play in which

609 Walde-Hofmann 1965, Ernout-Meillet 1994, and De Vaan 2008.

610 The English word ‘dread’, which comes closest to being an equally flexible translation, and in its earliest uses in Middle English shows a similar connection with fear of the divine, may ultimately come from the Old English words for ‘advise against, fear’ (Barnhart 1988).

611 de Vaan 2008, 171.

Harmonia's necklace continues to cause grief for Alpheisiboea, wife of Alcmaeon, one of the Epigoni:⁶¹² ... *dirum hostificumque diem, o / vim torvam aspecti atque horribilem!*⁶¹³

In this passage, which is listed in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* under I.A: *de malis ominibus*, a specific and technical sense of "ill-omened" would fit well, but so would a less specific word such as 'dread.' The lack of context makes analysis difficult, but the two pairs of adjectives make it clear that both day and violence are to be feared or dreaded. The very rare adjective *hostificus* does not offer much clarity; a day that is hostile could be called ill-omened loosely or retrospectively without a context of religious practice.⁶¹⁴ This citation is followed by a parenthetical citation from one of Cicero's letters to Atticus (*Non fuisset illa nox tam acerba Africano sapientissimo viro, non tam dirus ille dies Sullanus callidissimo viro C. Mario, si nihil utrumque eorum fefellisset*, 10.8.7). While it is true that Cicero's predictions about Caesar's imminent downfall are introduced with a mention of religious augury, the lessons of his colleague are placed alongside Plato's (*Et tamen, mi Attice, auguria quoque me incitant quaedam spe non dubia nec haec collegi nostri ab Atto sed illa Platonis de tyranni*, 10.8.6), and the overall import seems to be that any man can be mistaken, with dire results, which seems rather contrary to a reading of *dirus* here as presaging evil. In fact, the very logic of the condition argues against such a reading: here the *dirus dies* is the actual result of error, not a sign of evil that is to come.

612 His mother was Eriphyle, wife of Amphiaraus, and it was the offer of the necklace that led her to convince Amphiaraus to join the war, a crucial aspect of the Seven against Thebes saga.

613 Acc. *trag.* 80 (Ribbeck); 39-40 in Warmington's *Remains of Old Latin*. The speaker is unspecified, but Warmington suggests it might be Alpheisiboea mourning Alcmaeon's death.

614 *TLL* 6.3, 3050. It appears only here and once in Cicero (*qui tectis ... meis hostificum quoddam et nefarium omni imbutum odio bellum intulistis, dom.* 60).

The *TLL* cites Catullus (as well as Vergil and later authors) under heading 1.B, *apponitur nominibus ad funesta, maxime ad inferna spectantibus: dira ferens stipendia Minotauro* (Cat. 64.173). Cicero is cited often for the technical, religious meaning of the word, as in the *TLL* under the sub-group of the feminine plural substantive use meaning ‘bad omens’ (*mala omina*): *dirae, sicut cetera auspicia, ut omina, ut signa, non causas afferunt, cur quid eveniat, sed nuntiant eventura, nisi provideris* (Cic. *de div.* 1.29). The aspect of avoidability in this meaning is interesting, particularly in apparent contrast to the Accius passage above, in which the adjective seems more to describe than predict.

Horace’s fifth Epode, a poem set explicitly in the context of magic and curses, provides an interesting set of data: *dirus* appears modifying *venena* (*cur dira barbarae minus / venena Medeae valent, Ia. 5.61-2*) and both substantively and modifying *detestatio* in the same line (*diris agam vos; dira detestatio / nulla expiatur victima, Ia. 5.89-90*).⁶¹⁵ This passage (specifically *dira detestatio*) is the first cited use of the adjective referring specifically to curses or incantations, and Mankin points out the *figura*

615 These second examples come from the speech of the young boy, who threatens to return to the witches as an avenging ghost/Fury (91-96):

quin, ubi perire iussus exspirauero,
nocturnus occuram furor
petamque uoltus umbra curuis unguibus,
quae vis deorum est Manium, et inquietis assidens praecordiis
pauore somnos auferam.

The epic parallels (Ap. Rhod. 3.703-4; *Aen.* 4.384-6) share the ideas of vengeance and death, but the avian imagery of *assidens* and *curuis unguibus* also recalls the Harpies (although Mankin (1995,135) points out that “ghosts and other revenants often have long nails ..., probably since the nails of corpses, along with their hair and teeth, seem to grow after death...” When the boy describes the stoning of the witches, they are *obscenas* (98), which offers a point of similarity with Vergil’s Harpies, as the adjective is twice used to describe them (*Aen.* 3.241, 262; the Dirae in Book 12 are also *obscenae volucres*, 12.876), as well as the hunger prophesied by Celaeno (*Aen.* 3.367).

etymologica of *diris...dira*, which makes a close connection between the dreadful things (*diris*) and the curse (*detestatio*).⁶¹⁶ Given that the boy goes on to detail what will happen to the witches (first sleeplessness, then death by stoning and unburied bodies), it is not clear that *diris* here refers specifically and exclusively to the curse itself rather than to the dreadful things it brings. It is worth noting that both curses and bad omens suggest the possibility of correction or counteraction.

In the more general sense of hateful, fierce, terrifying, Vergil is the first author cited (and often), with the sole exception of Cicero.⁶¹⁷ The passage from Cicero, however, is from his translated excerpt of the *Prometheus Unbound* of Aeschylus (*namque, ut videtis, vinclis constrictus Iovis / arcere nequeo diram volucrem a pectore*, Cic., *Tusc.* 2.24). This example, alongside that from his letter to Atticus mentioned above, makes clear that even Cicero, our primary source for the strict religious meaning of *dirus*, also used it more broadly; we should therefore be cautious about arguments based on the primacy of the ‘original’ religious meaning.⁶¹⁸ This example is also notable for the joining of Jupiter, punishment, and a dreadful bird; one wonders whether it was an influence on Vergil. Vergil is also the first citation in the sub-category of terrifyingly harmful, beginning with his reference to the dreadful plague that should be restrained

616 TLL 5.1269; the substantive use of *dirae* to refer to curses cites this passage along with the roughly contemporaneous examples Tib. 2.6.53, Prop. 3.25.17, and Livy 10.28.17 (TLL 5.1270). Mankin 1995, 134.

617 TLL 5.1271-4.

618 Ernout-Meillet, for example, say, of the substantive fem. pl. (176): “‘mauvais présages, malédictions, imprécations’; et déifié dans *Dīra* et *Dīrae* ‘les Furies’. En passant dans la langue commune (où, d’ailleurs, il est assez rare et garde une couleur noble et poétique, comme le dérivé rare, mais classique, *dīritas*), l’adjectif a pris le sens plus général de ‘funeste, redoutable, etc.’”

before it infects the herd (*continuo culpam ferro compesce, priusquam / dira per incautum serpant contagia vulgus*, *Georg.* 3.469). It is clear that Vergil was very influential in this broader usage; it is less clear that there is a definite distinction between this use and some of those referred to above.

Lucretius 2.421 is also cited as an example of this less strict usage applied to people and things (as opposed to omens). This would provide the only other pre-Vergilian usage I have yet found, but requires using Lachmann's supplement (*diri*, paired with *turpes* in a discussion of like 'seeds' producing like — good colours are not produced by the same things as those that force tears, and so on), which I am reluctant to count for these purposes. It is worth noting, however, that the other adjectives in the line are *foedus* and *turpis*, which suggest an element of impurity or shame rather than enmity or fear, which again attests to the semantic range of *dirus*.

By Late Antiquity *dirus* seems to be strongly tied to divine wrath; the *TLL* gives us *dirus dei ira natus* (Paulus Diaconus, *Epitoma Festi*, 8th CE) and *dirum est triste, infestum et quasi deorum ira immissum* (Nonius Marcellus, 4th CE). This is clearly part of the word's range from the beginning, but it is worth keeping in mind that the association was most likely influenced by Christian interpretations of Vergil's *Dirae*.

When considering the use of *dirus* in Vergil, scholars have tended to focus on the associations with the underworld (which might originate with Vergil) and ominous messages from the gods. We ought, however, to consider Homer's use of the related adjective δεινός as a possible influence or parallel, particularly given the fact that *dirus* is so rarely attested before Vergil. Homeric usage would merit attention in any case simply

because of the general importance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to the *Aeneid*.

Of the eleven uses of δεινή in the *Odyssey*, seven modify θεός (Athena once, Circe and Calypso three times each), which it only does in the feminine form, three modify Charybdis, and one a windstorm. This last, at 5.317, is part of the the shipwreck of Odysseus after he has left Calypso. The references to Calypso herself as ‘dread goddess’ come at 7.246, 7.255 (where she is also δολόεσσα, at 7.245), and 12.449, but the word also appears in the simile describing Hermes’ approach to her island (5.52) and, in its superlative form, in her oath by Styx as she sets Odysseus free (5.186). Its use with swearing by Styx occurs elsewhere, but the bracketing of Calypso’s island is interesting, particularly when considered alongside its application to the goddess herself. The adjective is also used by Odysseus’ mother to describe the streams that separate the realm of Hades from that of the living (μεγάλοι ποταμοὶ καὶ δεινὰ ῥέεθρα, 11.157). In the *Iliad*, forms of δεινός strikingly appear three times in four lines (5.739-742) within Athena’s arming scene: once of the aegis itself and twice of the Gorgon’s head upon it. Either the head or the Gorgon herself is also a τέρας of Zeus (5.742), which can mean either sign or monster (as with *monstrum* in Latin) and thus provides a possible point of contact with the ‘technical’ meaning of *dirus*. All of these instances are quite suggestive given the context of *dirus* in the *Aeneid*. Furthermore, the prevalence of δεινός in the Homeric epics and the relative rarity of *dirus* prior to Vergil suggest that part of its function in the *Aeneid* could be to give an appropriate epic flavor to the poem.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁹ *Dirus* appears 39 times in the *Aeneid* (four in the *Georgics*); δεινός 53 in the *Iliad*, and 37 in the *Odyssey*.