



Chapitre d'actes

2015

Published version

Open Access

This is the published version of the publication, made available in accordance with the publisher's policy.

Juno, sea-storm and emotion in Virgil, Aeneid 1.1-156: Homeric and Epicurean contexts

Nelis, Damien Patrick

How to cite

NELIS, Damien Patrick. Juno, sea-storm and emotion in Virgil, Aeneid 1.1-156: Homeric and Epicurean contexts. In: Emotions between Greece and Rome. Cairns, D. (Ed.). Florida. London : Institute of Classical Studies, 2015. p. 149–161. (Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement)

This publication URL: <https://archive-ouverte.unige.ch/unige:116698>

JUNO, SEA-STORM, AND EMOTION IN VIRGIL, *AENEID* 1.1-156: HOMERIC AND EPICUREAN CONTEXTS*

D. P. NELIS

Much of the study that has been devoted to the representation of the emotions in Virgil's *Aeneid* has tended to focus on the final scene of the poem, the moment when Aeneas, as he kills Turnus, is described as 'burning with fury and terrible in his wrath' (*furiis accensus et ira/ terribilis*, *Aen.* 12.946-7) and 'seething with rage' (*fervidus*, *Aen.* 12.951).¹ Two of the most influential studies have been K. Galinsky's paper on 'The anger of Aeneas' and M. Erler's 'Der Zorn des Helden: Philodems *De ira* und Vergils Konzept des Zorns in der *Aeneis*'. The former argues for the importance of Aristotle and Peripatetic thought as an essential key to the understanding of the Virgilian text, while the latter favours Philodemus and Epicurean influence.² Among other important contributions to the debates surrounding the passage, F. Cairns devoted a chapter of his magisterial study of the *Aeneid*, *Virgil's Augustan epic*, to 'Kingship and the conflict of Aeneas and Turnus', in which the topic of anger (and especially the words *furiae* and *furor*) is central. His arguments and conclusions have been challenged by R. Thomas.³ D. Fowler's typically wide-ranging and probing study of 'Epicurean anger' and of the difficulties involved in applying philosophical schemes to the closing scene appeared in a collection of essays entitled *The passions in Roman thought and literature*, a volume that also includes important contributions to the debate by M. Wright and C. Gill.⁴ The latter returned to the same topic in a later article, arguing in eloquent detail for the relevance of Hellenistic philosophical thinking about the emotions to the interpretation of the *Aeneid*.

* I would like to offer sincere thanks to Douglas Cairns, Fiachra Mac Góráin, Philip Hardie, and Joseph Farrell for help and advice of various kinds. They have improved this paper, but they are in no way responsible for its remaining defects.

¹ Translations of Virgil are taken from S. Lombardo, *Virgil, Aeneid* (Indianapolis 2005).

² K. Galinsky, 'The anger of Aeneas', *AJPh* 109 (1988) 321-48; M. Erler, 'Der Zorn des Helden: Philodems *De ira* und Vergils Konzept des Zorns in der *Aeneis*', *GB* 18 (1992) 103-26; see also K. Galinsky, 'How to be philosophical about the end of the *Aeneid*', *ICS* 19 (1994) 191-201. Arguing for Virgil's Epicureanism much more broadly, see V. Mellinghof-Bourgerie, *Les incertitudes de Virgile: Contributions épicuriennes à la théologie de l'Enéide* (Brussels 1990); for a brilliant analysis of allusion to Lucretius in Virgil, including the final scene, see P. R. Hardie, *Lucretian receptions: history, the sublime, knowledge* (Cambridge 2009) chap. 5, esp. 173-79.

³ F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan epic* (Cambridge 1989); R. Thomas, 'Furor and furiae in Virgil', *AJPh* 112 (1991) 161-62.

⁴ S. M. Braund and C. Gill, *The passions in Roman thought and literature* (Cambridge 2007) chapters 1, 9 and 11.

Gill concluded that 'the *Aeneid* is written from a Stoic or an Epicurean standpoint (perspectives which often, if not always, converge on each other)'.⁵ G. Indelli tackles the subject of Virgil's vocabulary in a paper entitled 'The vocabulary of anger in Philodemus' *De ira* and Vergil's *Aeneid*' in an important volume entitled *Vergil, Philodemus and the Augustans*, in which several papers deal with the emotions.⁶ J. Stephens has argued for a mix of Platonic and Stoic ideas as the key to Virgil's thinking.⁷ And all the while, in a long series of profoundly influential studies, M. Putnam has been working out his vision of the most disturbing aspects of end of the *Aeneid*, culminating most recently in his book *The humanness of heroes: studies in the conclusion of the Aeneid*.⁸

But this is not to say that all the work on the emotions in the *Aeneid* has been directed solely to offering interpretations of the poem's close by means of an exclusive focus on anger. In 1989, R. Rieks published a volume about emotions and the structure of the whole poem, arguing that pathos is one of the foundations on which the *Aeneid* is built. He begins his study by emphasizing the ways in which R. Heinze, V. Pöschl, and B. Otis had already underlined the special importance of the emotions in Virgil's epic.⁹ More recently, the scope of the enquiry into the emotions in Virgil has been widened by the studies of G. B. Conte, Y. Syed, and W. Polleichtner.¹⁰ In this paper, I would like to take the latter's use of the words 'select scenes' as an invitation to go back to the beginning of the *Aeneid*, in order to try to investigate the ways in which the opening of the epic may be read as indicative of the role of emotions in the poem as a whole. Whereas Polleichtner concentrates on Virgil's depiction of Aeneas caught in the storm, I will attempt to offer a more general reading of the opening 156 lines of the poem. This will bring out the ways in which Virgil establishes the importance of a series of key words and thematic patterns

⁵ C. Gill, *The structured self in Hellenistic and Roman thought* (Oxford 2006) 435-61, at 460.

⁶ D. Armstrong, J. Fish, P. A. Johnston, M. B. Skinner, *Vergil, Philodemus and the Augustans*, (Austin 2004) 103-10.

⁷ 'Platonism and Stoicism in Vergil's *Aeneid*', in *Platonic Stoicism-Stoic Platonism: the dialogue between Platonism and Stoicism in antiquity*, ed. M. Bonazzi, C. Helmig (Leuven 2007) 87-107, esp. 103-07.

⁸ M. Putnam, *The humanness of heroes: studies in the conclusion of the Aeneid*, (Amsterdam 2011). On the closing scene of the *Aeneid*, the bibliography is of course vast; for bibliographical orientation see, for example, N. M. Horsfall, *A companion to the study of Virgil* (Leiden 2001²; 1995) 192-216; D. Nelis and W. Polleichtner, 'Emotions and the death of Turnus in Vergil's *Aeneid* 12', in *Violentes émotions: approches comparatistes*, ed. P. Borgeaud, A.-C. Rendu (Geneva 2009) 101-13; and the recent commentary of R. Tarrant, *Virgil, Aeneid XII* (Cambridge 2012) esp. 16-30. More generally, see J. Dion, *Les passions dans l'œuvre de Virgile: Poétique et philosophie* (Nancy 1993) and, on anger in the ancient world, see S. Braund and G. Most, *Ancient anger. Perspectives from Homer to Galen* (Cambridge 2003); and W. V. Harris, *Restraining rage: the ideology of anger control in classical antiquity* (Cambridge, MA 2002).

⁹ R. Rieks, *Affekte und Strukturen: Pathos als ein Form- und Wirkprinzip von Vergils Aeneis*, Zetemata 86 (Munich 1989).

¹⁰ G. B. Conte, *The poetry of pathos: studies in Virgilian epic*, ed. S. J. Harrison (Oxford 2007); Y. Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman self: subject and nation in literary discourse* (Ann Arbor 2005); W. Polleichtner, *Vergil, the emotions, and the transformation of epic poetry: an analysis of select scenes*, Bochumer Altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium, Band 82 (Trier 2009).

which will reverberate throughout the poem, thus underlining the importance the emotions will have throughout his epic.

The essential point about the importance of the opening scenes was made by V. Pöschl in his famous study *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Äneis*, when he stated that lines 8-296 were ‘eine Antizipation des Ganzen’ and discussed the ‘Gefühlscharakter’ of the storm scene and of the poem as a whole.¹¹ Following Pöschl and also Polleichtner, who applies the technique in greater and more systematic detail, I will look at the ways in which Virgil reworks his Greek models, in an attempt to show how he deliberately foregrounds the emotions, right from the poem’s opening lines:

*Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
 Italiam, fato profugus, Laviniaque venit
 litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
 vi superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram;
 multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem, 5
 inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum,
 Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romae.
 Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,
 quidve dolens, regina deum tot volvere casus
 insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores 10
 impulerit. tantaene animis caelestibus irae?*

Arms I sing – and a man,
 The first to come from the shores
 Of Troy, exiled by Fate, to Italy
 And the Lavinian coast; a man battered
 On land and sea by the powers above
 In the face of Juno’s relentless wrath;
 A man who also suffered greatly in war
 Until he could found his city and bring his gods
 Into Latium, from which arose
 The Latin people, our Alban fathers,
 And the high walls of everlasting Rome.
 Muse, tell me why the Queen of Heaven
 Was so aggrieved, her godhead so offended,
 That she forced a man of faultless devotion
 To endure so much hardship. Can there be
 Anger so great in the hearts of gods on high?

The first eleven verses of the poem pin down anger (*iram*, 4 and *irae*, 11) as a key theme, in line with the beginning of Homer’s *Iliad*. The anger of Achilles mentioned in the very first word of that epic (μῆνιν) becomes in the *Aeneid* the anger of the goddess Juno. Anger is immediately linked by Virgil to memory (*memorem* [...] *ob iram*, 4) and feelings of pain, suffering and resentment, which are all expressed by the Latin word *dolens* (9). The importance of memory is immediately reinforced by the words *Musa* [...] *memora* in line

¹¹ V. Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Äneis* (Berlin 1977³) 13-23.

8, as Virgil connects matters of poetic memory and epic tradition to Juno's emotional state and his ability to narrate it.¹² Finally, *ira* (this time as a plural, *irae*, after the singular *iram* of line 4, again in the same metrical position at line-end) is linked also to *animus* (*animis*, 11), in the remarkable question that brings the prologue to a close: 'Can there be/ Anger so great in the hearts of gods on high?' This is a question that 'has a purchase in centuries of philosophical debate concerned with denying the gods such motivations of anger'.¹³ Its implications will reverberate right through to the very end of the divine action of the *Aeneid*.¹⁴ In addition, it identifies *animus* as another key word in Virgil's handling of the emotions in the opening sections of the *Aeneid*.¹⁵

In order to leave his readers in absolutely no doubt of the importance of the verbal and thematic patterns established by his choice of vocabulary in the first eleven lines, Virgil repeats himself in the immediately following verses. These are devoted mainly to setting the scene by recounting Juno's love of Carthage, her fear, which is strongly linked, like anger in verse 4, to memory (*id metuens veterisque memor Saturnia belli*, 'the Goddess brooded on this and on the Trojan War', *Aen.* 1.23), and her hatred of Rome. The whole passage (*Aen.* 1.12-33) famously ends with the resounding verse stating the efforts involved in founding the Roman race (*tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*, 'so massive was the labour of founding Rome'). This verse-end in turn looks back to an earlier climactic line-ending, that of line 5, (*dum conderet urbem*, 'until he could found his city'). Right from the outset, therefore, the poem's beginning and its end are linked in narratives of pain, passion, and endurance. The distant vision of foundation, achievement, and closure is first glimpsed in a context dominated by Juno's highly emotional state, which will consistently promote resistance to the poem's fated ends, to Trojan destiny and the Roman future.

In the midst of the narrator's explanation of the reasons for Juno's desire to destroy the Trojan fleet, that is, her hatred of the Trojans and her fear that one day their descendants will destroy her beloved Carthage, lines 25-26, *necdum etiam causae irarum saevique dolores/ exciderant animo*, create a complex mesh of self-allusion. The word *causae* picks up *causas* of line 8, while *irarum* recalls *iram* in 4 and *irae* in 11. *Saevique* recalls *saevae* in line 4, while *dolores* picks up *dolens* in line 9 and *animo* recalls *animis* in line 11. The overall effect of this remarkable example of dense intratextuality is to focus all the anger, resentment, and violence on the figure of Juno, her support for Carthage, and her hatred of their Trojans and their potential to found Rome. The emotional element in the story thus moves from the personal and mythical to the historical, and it is historical in an extremely broad sense, since Juno's fears and anger in fact imply the history of Rome from its

¹² On Virgilian emotions and memory see A. Schiesaro's contribution to this volume.

¹³ D. C. Feeney, *The gods in epic: poets and critics of the classical tradition* (Oxford 1991) 130. Feeney's reading of the epic's opening scenes is essential reading and has greatly informed my understanding of the text.

¹⁴ See Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid* (n. 10, above) 107-13, 122-25.

¹⁵ On key words in the proem and the methodological problems involved in interpreting them, see Horsfall, *A companion* (n. 8, above) 104.

foundation down to the destruction of Carthage in 146 BC.¹⁶ But against this vast canvas, in what follows the focus will be narrowed down to bear on only certain key aspects of Virgilian technique, the central aim being to use the study of Virgilian intertextuality in order to highlight the emphasis he lays on the emotions.

Comparison between Virgil and his main surviving models, Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, helps to bring out the originality of Virgil's procedure. Undoubtedly, the Iliadic paradigm is strongest, and it is perhaps the key role of anger in both *Iliad* 1 and *Aeneid* 1 that has led scholars to look for and emphasize its importance in the *Odyssey* and the *Argonautica* where, on the surface at least, anger seems to be less visible and important.¹⁷ But Virgil is doing more than simply starting out his epic with anger because the *Iliad* began with anger.¹⁸ It is obvious that, for all its evident prominence, he is involved in reworking totally his Iliadic model, especially in terms of the intensity of his focus on the emotions. In doing so, he is drawing on several models simultaneously. Even in Homeric terms, the parallel between Achilles' anger and that of Juno does not work completely in isolation, since the *Odyssey* very near its beginning emphasizes the anger of Poseidon (*Od.* 1.20). This is one of the many cases which suggest that Virgil was keenly aware of similarities between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* and that he made use of the connections in the construction of his *Aeneid*.¹⁹ Given the complexity of his handling of both epics, it is worth taking a closer look at how Virgil read Homer, before going on to survey the evidence for the presence of other influences.

As we have already seen, the μῆνις of *Iliad* 1.1 is inevitably recalled and extended by the thrice-mentioned anger of Juno (*iram*, *Aen.* 1.4; *irae*, *Aen.* 1.11; *irarum*, *Aen.* 1.25). Virgil uses *ira* as a Latin equivalent of Greek μῆνις. But μῆνις is not just a regular word for anger; it evokes an intensity of feeling that is closer to rage and wrath, and some scholars see it as a quasi-divine force.²⁰ Homer had other words available to him and he uses several of them in the lines that follow (*cf.* already χολωθεῖς used of Apollo, 1.9). Having transferred the anger from Achilles to Juno and having turned Homeric μῆνις into *ira*, Virgil pointedly goes so far as to rewrite Homeric μῆνιν in the first words spoken by

¹⁶ On Juno's anger, its symbolism and Roman history, see Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils* (n. 11, above) 13-23; P. R. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: cosmos and imperium* (Oxford 1986) builds on his insights to offer a brilliantly convincing reading of the whole poem in terms of the interactions between cosmic and imperial imagery and verbal and thematic patterns. Feeney, *The gods in epic* (n. 13, above) chap. 4, reveals the complexities involved in Virgil's handling of the divine.

¹⁷ See J. Strauss Clay, *The wrath of Athena: gods and men in the Odyssey* (Princeton 1983) and P. Dräger, *Die Argonautica des Apollonius Rhodios: Das zweite Zorn-Epos der griechischen Literatur*, BzA 158 (Munich 2001).

¹⁸ On *Aeneid* 1 and the *Iliad* see especially M. Lausberg, 'Iliadisches im ersten Buch der *Aeneis*', *Gymnasium* 90 (1983) 203-39.

¹⁹ For this approach to the Homeric in the *Aeneid* see Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan epic* (n. 3, above) chap. 8. See also E. Dekel, *Virgil's Homeric lens* (New York 2012).

²⁰ See, for example, the study of L. Muellner, *The anger of Achilles: menis in Greek epic* (Ithaca 1996); see also L. Muellner, 'Homeric anger revisited', *Classics@* 9 (2011) *Defense mechanisms in interdisciplinary approaches to Classical studies and beyond*: <http://chs.harvard.edu/wa/pageR?tn=ArticleWrapper&bdc=12&mn=4022> (accessed 15/9/13).

Juno in the poem: *men(e) incepto*.²¹ This remarkable bilingual pun draws attention to the act of translation from Greek into Latin, just as it also underlines the crucial importance of anger as a theme in Virgil's epic rewriting of Homer. And if we look a little more closely at the wider context, as this example of word play surely invites us to do, further interesting connections come into view.

D. Cairns has investigated in detail the essential link between anger and honour in the *Iliad*, starting from the opening scenes of book 1.²² Without going into the details of his important demonstration, it is noteworthy that Virgil seems to have read the opening of the *Iliad* along similar lines, because, having transferred anger from Achilles to Juno, the theme of honour is also associated with her. It is surely no coincidence that she is said to be obsessed by 'the spiteful honour given/ To ravaged Ganymede' (*rapti Ganymedis honores*, *Aen.* 1.28) and that her first speech begins, as we have seen, with *men(e) in* (37) and then ends with the word *honorem* (49).²³ Intriguingly also, Cairns in the paper in question has also linked anger and honour to the motif of the gaze, of the angry look. Here too, Virgil's Homeric imitation merits attention, because the very first action of the *Aeneid* is, in a rather bizarre way, a look or glance, as the Trojans sail out of sight of Sicily (*Aen.* 1.34-5):

*Vix e conspectu Siculae telluris in altum
vela dabant laeti et spumas salis aere ruebant,
cum Iuno...*

Sicily had scarcely dropped out of sight,
And they were sailing joyfully on the open sea,
Bronze prows shearing the seaspume,
When Juno...

Virgil does not explicitly describe Juno's glance. Instead, he refers to the fact that the Trojans have sailed out of sight of Sicily, implying both that they can no longer see the coast, and that those on the coast can no longer see the ships. But immediately the reader becomes aware that Juno has spotted them.²⁴ So this is not exactly the same thing as the Homeric Achilles looking angrily at Agamemnon, or as Agamemnon's eyes blazing at

²¹ See W. Levitan, 'Give up the beginning? Juno's mindful wrath (*Aeneid* 1.37)', *Liverpool Classical Monthly* 18 (1993) 14; for discussion see J. O'Hara, *True names: Vergil and the Alexandrian tradition of etymological wordplay* (Ann Arbor 1996) 115.

²² D. L. Cairns, 'Ethics, ethology, terminology: Iliadic anger and the cross-cultural study of emotion', in *Ancient anger: perspectives from Homer to Galen*, ed. S. Braund and G. Most (Cambridge 2003) 11-49.

²³ Cf. *Aen.* 12.840, where *honores* is the last word addressed to her by Jupiter in the poem. On Juno and *honor* see Feeney, *The gods in epic* (n. 13, above) 132.

²⁴ For the importance of Juno's glimpse see Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid* (n. 10, above) 110-12; see also Hardie, *Lucretian receptions* (n. 2, above) 160-61 on focalization during the storm, and in general R. A. Smith, *The primacy of vision in Virgil's Aeneid* (Austin 2005). Note that if the Trojans are out of sight of land, all they can see is sea and sky, and it is just at this point that the Juno = Hera = Aer sees them. For the allegorical connection between Juno and the lower air see Hardie, *Cosmos and imperium* (n. 16, above) 229 n. 175 and Feeney, *The gods in epic* (n. 13, above) 132.

Calchas, but the nexus involving anger, honour, and the gaze in *Iliad* 1 is certainly present right at the very opening of the *Aeneid*, indicating just how closely Virgil studied his Homeric models.²⁵

From the broadest perspective, what Virgil seems to be doing here is mapping Iliadic elements onto a grand Odyssean structure, as he combines imitation of both *Odyssey* 5, in which Poseidon sets out to drown Odysseus in a storm, and *Iliad* 1. He is able to do so very neatly in relation to the theme of anger, as we have already seen, because of the mention of anger very close to the beginning of the *Odyssey* (μενέαινεν, 1.20), which Virgil will probably have read as a direct Odyssean imitation of the *Iliad*. It is noteworthy, too, that just as in the case of Achilles' behaviour in the *Iliad*, anger is followed by withdrawal in the *Odyssey*, since Poseidon is absent (away among the Ethiopians, 1.22-26) when the other gods meet in council to discuss the fate of Odysseus. So the anger of Juno can be read in terms of the anger both of Achilles and of Poseidon. But, since it is often the case that Virgil's reworking of his fundamental Homeric intertexts is combined with simultaneous use of related sources, it is necessary to try to find out what he may owe to other models.

As far as the *Argonautica* of Apollonius Rhodius is concerned, the theme of anger is not explicitly present in the poem's opening.²⁶ The role filled by Pelias as the instigator of the hero's troubled voyage corresponds, with varying degrees of precision, to that of Poseidon in the *Odyssey* and Juno in the *Aeneid*, but the narrator does not say specifically that he is angry when he arranges for Jason to set out on his dangerous mission. However, the narrator clearly alludes to Hera's anger against Pelias when he refers to his omission to sacrifice to her in lines 13-14. Instead of clear exposition of divine motivations, it is an atmosphere filled by human weeping and sorrow that surrounds the opening scenes of the narrative (e.g. *Arg.* 1.247-305 and the distress of Alcimedea).²⁷ As far as other possible models are concerned, Virgil seems to have used the storm scenes in Livius Andronicus and Naevius, as well as a storm description in the *Nostoi* of the Epic Cycle and its previous imitations in both Greek and Roman tragedy. The remains, however, are too fragmentary to allow conclusions to be drawn about details relating to the emotions, and the lack of context makes it all but impossible to offer an interpretation of broader thematic concerns.²⁸ However, one surviving Latin epic text does provide us with some fascinating traces of another crucial Greek influence on the opening scenes of *Aeneid* 1, and that is Epicurus, as mediated through Lucretius' *De rerum natura*.

When the narration of the poem's epic action actually begins, after Juno's first angry speech, she visits Aeolus, lord of the winds, in order to talk him into unleashing a violent sea storm against the Trojan fleet as it sets sail from Sicily towards Italy (*Aen.* 1.50-80). There is a direct causal link between Juno's passion and the tempest, and it becomes

²⁵ Note also Cairns, *Ethics* (n. 22, above) 30 n. 82 on Greek ὄργος, Latin *dolor*, and the connection between being angry and feeling aggrieved, which is of course important given Virgil's use of *dolens* and *dolores* at *Aen.* 1. 9 and 25.

²⁶ In general on Apollonius, epic, and anger see Dräger, *Zornepos* (n. 17, above).

²⁷ See Feeney, *The gods in epic* (n. 13, above) 57-59

²⁸ For detailed discussion see M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and early Latin poetry*, Hermes Einzelschriften 24 (Wiesbaden 1972) 16-18 (on Livius Andronicus), 23 (on Naevius), 85-86 (on the *Nostoi*-storm).

quickly obvious that Virgil constructs the whole storm scene in such a way as to present it as a symbol of Juno's impassioned state of mind. The violent winds and surging seas unleashed by Aeolus represent the storm of anger in Juno's heart.²⁹ In establishing the link between the two, Virgil uses the technique of verbal patterning and repetition, while adopting an established metaphorical link in Greek and Latin literature between wind and wave imagery and human emotions.³⁰

Furthermore, P. Hardie has demonstrated in detail how this imagery functions during the storm scene in relation to Lucretius, who frequently makes use of the analogy between external meteorological events and internal mental states.³¹ To provide one example of the kind of connections in operation, he demonstrates how a line such as *DRN* 6.34, describing a mind 'storm-tossed' by emotion (*volvere curarum tristis in pectore fluctus*) influences *Aeneid* 12.831, where Jupiter addresses Juno: *irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus*.³² The latter verse is very precisely the *Aeneid*'s final reference to Juno's anger, and it looks back directly to the poem's beginning, where the direct result of her rage is to send real waves rolling to the shores (*vastos volvunt ad litora fluctus*). In the localized context of the poem's opening, these words reverberate against further expressions relating to Juno's intervention: the *volvere casus* of line 9, the *volvere Parcas* of line 22 and the *talia [...] volutans* of line 50. Juno's angry thoughts, the unrolling of fate, and the sufferings of Aeneas in the storm are obviously and inextricably interconnected.³³ In Epicurean thought more generally, of course, the analogy between storm and mind is of central importance, given that ἀταραξία and γαλήνη both rely on the relationship with weather imagery in order to construct the philosophical ideal of quiet calm.³⁴

Given the possibility of a specifically Epicurean background to Virgil's storm, it is noteworthy that he also uses repetition of a key word in Lucretius. Virgil uses *animus* five times in the opening 156 lines of the epic (11, 26, 57, 149, 153) to press home yet further

²⁹ The essential point is made by Hardie, *Cosmos and imperium* (n. 16, above) 229: 'Thus there is a sense in which the real storm of book one of the *Aeneid* is a product or expression of the inner mental "storm" of the goddess Juno.'

³⁰ See for example W. C. Scott, 'Wind imagery in the *Oresteia*', *TAPhA* 97 (1966) 459-71.

³¹ Hardie, *Cosmos and imperium* (n. 16, above) 227-28; see also J. T. Dyson, 'Fluctus irarum, fluctus curarum: Lucretian religio in the *Aeneid*', *AJP* 118 (1997) 449-57 and 'Waves of emotion: an epic metaphor in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*', in *Metaphor and the ancient novel*, ed. S. Frangoulidis, S. J. Harrison and M. Paschalis (Groningen 2005) 163-76.

³² Cf. also *Aeneid* 8.19, where Aeneas is deeply concerned (*magno curarum fluctuat aestu*), a verse which reworks Catullus 64.62 (*magnis curarum fluctuat undis*) and *Aen.* 4.531-2 (*curae [...] magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*). K. W. Gransden, *Virgil, Aeneid book VIII* (Cambridge 1976) on 19 notes that the metaphor of being tossed on a sea of trouble is 'by Virgil's time a poetic commonplace', tracing it back to Aeschylus, *Persae* 599.

³³ Cf. also *volvit* at 101 and *volvitur* at 116, both referring to death and drowning.

³⁴ See for example M. F. Smith, 'Three textual notes on Lucretius', *CR* 16 (1966) 264-66. Note that at *Aen.* 1.43, in Juno's opening speech, the line-ending *aequora ventis* recalls *DRN* 2.1: *suave, mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis*. The parallel reinforces the suggestion that Virgil had in mind a connection between his epic storm and the philosophical storm imagery of Lucretius; Lucretius of course has in mind previous epic storms and draws on them for his philosophical epic.

the importance he attaches to the emotions. Its precise meaning being notoriously difficult to define, *animus* has caused great difficulties for translators of the *Aeneid*, who have been forced to use different terms to render it, thus masking the presence of a strikingly dense pattern of repetition.³⁵ Whatever its exact meaning in any given case, it is obvious that its use is related to emotionality and that its frequent re-use establishes the emotions as a central concern of the poem. We have already seen how line 26 picks up line 11, as the initial plural of the expression *animis caelestibus* is limited to the *animus* of Juno alone. Virgil first asks if there is great anger in the minds of deities (*tantaene animis caelestibus irae*). He then goes on, as we have already seen, to repeat very similar vocabulary to state that in Juno's case the causes of her anger have certainly not fallen from her mind (*necdum [...] causae irarum [...] exciderant animo*). Soon after, when Juno approaches Aeolus, the ruler of the winds is described thus (1.56-57):

*celsa sedet Aeolus arce
sceptra tenens, mollitque animos et temperat iras.*

Here in a vast cave
Aeolus rules the squalls and gales.

The phrase *mollitque animos et temperat iras* requires some unpacking. On one level, the two parts of the phrase can be taken to mean almost the same thing, that is, *temperare iras* is just another way of saying *mollire animos*. This parallel becomes even more obvious when one remembers that 'anger' is one of the generally accepted meanings of *animus*.³⁶ Thus far in the poem, the theme of anger has been entirely associated with Juno. Here, it is now being transferred to the winds, but this transition from the goddess to the physical force is eased by the fact that Hera, the Greek equivalent of Juno, was allegorized as Aer, the lower air, the realm of storm-winds.³⁷ And given that Virgil is here talking of air in the form of winds, it has also been noticed that *animos* must here involve a bilingual play on the Greek word for wind, *ἄνεμος*.³⁸

Furthermore, Virgil's combination of the verb *mollire* with *animus* has a rich literary heritage. The tragedian Pacuvius (fr. 63 Schierl), for example, had described thus the calming of a storm (*silescunt venti, mollitur mare*, 'the winds grow quiet and the sea settles'). This demonstrates just how natural Virgil's expression would have seemed as a way for a poet to refer to the calming of the winds and a stormy sea. On the other hand, the historian Sallust (*Jugurtha* 33.3), in describing an excited and hostile meeting of the Roman plebs, employs the expression *sedare motus et animos eorum mollire* ('calmed their emotions and softened their spirits'),³⁹ showing how this vocabulary is also well

³⁵ The following section summarizes an argument made in greater detail in D. P. Nelis 'Translating the emotions: some uses of *animus* in Vergil's *Aeneid*', *Social Science Information* 48 (2009) 487-99.

³⁶ See *OLD* s.v. *animus*, 11.

³⁷ See Hardie, *Cosmos and imperium* (n. 16, above) 229 n. 175 and Feeney, *The gods in epic* (n. 13, above) 132.

³⁸ See O'Hara, *True names* (n. 21, above) 119

³⁹ As translated by A. J. Woodman, *Sallust: Catiline's war, the Jugurthine war, Histories* (London 2007) 78.

suited to the description of emotions. Once again, therefore, on the level of linguistic usage, it is easy to see how Virgil evokes parallels between the physical world and an emotional state, underlining once more the symbolic nature of the storm as an expression of Juno's devastating anger.

The fourth and fifth appearances of *animus* occur when Neptune eventually intervenes to calm the storm raised by Juno and Aeolus. Virgil uses a simile, the first of the poem, to illustrate his intervention, and the text runs thus:

*ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
seditio, saevitque animis ignobile vulgus,
iamque faces et saxa volant—furor arma ministrat; 150
tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant;
ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet,—
sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto 155
flectit equos, curruque volans dat lora secundo.*

*Riots will often break out in a crowded assembly
When the rabble are roused. Torches and stones
Are soon flying – Fury always finds weapons –
But then all eyes light upon a loyal citizen,
A man of respect. The crowd stands still
In hushed expectation. And with grave words
He masters their tempers and calms their hearts.
So too the crashing sea fell silent, as its sire,
Surveying the watery expanse, drove his chariot
Under a clear sky, giving the horses free rein.⁴⁰*

In Homeric similes, human activity is usually illustrated with reference to phenomena from the natural world, but Virgil compares a storm at sea to a riotous mob, using human emotions to help describe the physical forces of nature, that is, the storm-winds and their disturbance of the sea. Their violent effect is emphasized by the three-fold repetition of the word referring to the 'flat surface of the sea', *aequor/aequora* in lines 142, 146 and 154. In addition, this simile recalls in quite a detailed manner the earlier description of Aeolus' power to control the winds, as Virgil's deeply intratextual style continues to enable the reader to construct meaningful patterns of thematic coherence.⁴¹

This glance back suggests that the key element in the simile is its illustration of the fact that violent rage, the dominating emotion of the epic thus far, can be controlled and checked. With the violence of the mob, we are reminded of the frenzied rage of Juno

⁴⁰ In his translation S. Lombardo italicizes the simile.

⁴¹ Cf. *mollitque animos et temperat iras*, 57; *et mulcere dedit fluctus*, 66; and *ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet*, 153.

earlier, which led directly to the storm.⁴² Here, however, for the first time in the poem, anger is brought under control. The mob rages, *saevit animis*, but the man subdues it with the power of his words, *regit dictis animos*. Virgil is, I would suggest, inviting the force of the expression *regit dictis* to be reflected back onto the words of the *Aeneid* itself. On one level, therefore, whatever the precise historical reference suggested by the text, the man in the simile is Virgil, whose *Aeneid* contains a message for Roman state, troubled by many years of civil strife.⁴³

The profoundly Lucretian nature of the opening scenes of the *Aeneid* has been demonstrated in great detail by P. Hardie.⁴⁴ His arguments help to bring into focus intriguing parallels between the man of Virgil's first simile and Lucretius' description of Epicurus, at *DRN* 1.66-74:

*primum Graius homo mortalis tollere contra
est oculos ausus primusque obsistere contra;
quem neque fama deum nec fulmina nec minitanti
murmure compressit caelum, sed eo magis acrem
inritat animi virtutem, effringere ut arta
naturae primus portarum claustra cupiret.
ergo vivida vis animi pervicit et extra
processit longe flammantia moenia mundi
atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque,* 70

... a man of Greece was the first that dared to uplift mortal eyes against her, the first to make stand against her; for neither fables of the gods could quell him, nor thunderbolts, nor heaven with menacing roar, but all the more they goaded the eager courage of his soul, so that he should desire, first of all men, to shatter the confining bars of nature's gates. Therefore the lively power of his mind prevailed, and forth he marched far beyond the flaming walls of the world, as he traversed the measurable universe in thought and imagination;⁴⁵

At the opening of his epic, Lucretius' Venus puts brings calm (*DRN* 1.6-7), whereas Virgil's Juno brings storm, until Neptune intervenes to restore order and calm. Like Venus, Epicurus, and in his wake Lucretius, can bring about philosophical ἀταραξία and

⁴² For a hint of Epicureanism in the depiction of Poseidon as he looks out at the storm before calming it (*prospiciens summa placidum caput extulit unda*, 'Lifting his serene face above the waves / He peered out...', *Aen.* 1.127) see Hardie, *Lucretian receptions* (n. 2, above) 161-62.

⁴³ For a more detailed discussion of this simile see D. P. Nelis, 'Didactic voices in Vergil's *Aeneid*' in *Vox poetae: manifestations auctoriales dans l'épopée gréco-latine*, Collection du Centre d'études et de recherches sur l'Occident romain, CEROR 39, ed. E. Raymond (Paris 2011) 275-83.

⁴⁴ Hardie, *Cosmos and imperium* (n. 16, above) 176, 180-83, 227-29; see also Hardie, *Lucretian receptions* (n. 2, above) 160-62.

⁴⁵ As translated by M. F. Smith, *Lucretius, De rerum natura* (Cambridge, MA 1992²).

γαλήνη, both terms, as we have seen, drawing on weather imagery.⁴⁶ The anonymous man in the Virgilian simile restores peace, order, and calm amidst a violently raging mob. The Lucretian verses just quoted contain the key word *animus* three times, as well as referring to thunder and lightning. Given Virgil's description of thunder and lightning during his storm scene (1.90),⁴⁷ and the fact that in the opening scenes of the *Aeneid*, as just demonstrated, the *animus* is of pivotal and constant concern, it certainly seems possible that he is drawing directly on Lucretian precedent here, and that his image of a single man (*virum*, 1.151) calming passions is directly influenced by Lucretius' unique *homo* (*DRN* 1.66).

If it is accepted that the opening of *Aeneid* 1 is so strongly Lucretian and that Virgil's emphasis on the emotions may have strong Epicurean elements, there are some interesting corollaries. The presence of such allusion to Epicurean ideas at the beginning of the epic may help to support the arguments of those who claim that the end of the poem is best understood against an Epicurean background.⁴⁸ Furthermore, in a forthcoming paper A. Schiesaro will offer a strongly Empedoclean reading of the Virgilian storm. In light of this, it is worth considering the fact that D. Sedley has produced strong arguments for believing that the opening scenes of the first book of the *De rerum natura* are profoundly Empedoclean, both in overall conception and in numerous points of detail.⁴⁹ If we accept their propositions, it is not difficult to imagine Virgil indulging in a coherent tissue of window reference or double allusion to two related models, and to see him drawing simultaneously on both Lucretius and his model, Empedocles.⁵⁰

Finally, the possible presence of a significant Lucretian intertext in the first 156 lines of the *Aeneid* should perhaps be taken into account in relation to a much-discussed textual problem at the opening of Lucretius' first book. The lines at *DRN* 1.44-49 have been rejected by many editors, because they do not seem to fit at this point, and because they

⁴⁶ For the strong contrast between the emotions of the Virgilian Venus on her first appearance in the *Aeneid* and the imagery used of the goddess in Lucretius' prologue see Hardie, *Lucretian receptions* (n. 2, above) 162 n. 31.

⁴⁷ Cf. also 1.124, *murmure pontum* and *DRN* 1.69, *murmure [...] caelum*.

⁴⁸ See for example Erler, 'Der Zorn des Helden' (n. 2, above) and also Indelli, 'The vocabulary of anger' (n. 2, above), who argues that Virgil's vocabulary of anger is to be closely compared to that of Philodemus. On the links between the patterns of Lucretian allusion at the opening and close of the epic see Hardie, *Lucretian receptions* (n. 2, above) 160-77.

⁴⁹ See D. Sedley, *Lucretius and the transformation of Greek wisdom* (Cambridge 1998) chap. 1; see also D. Sedley, 'Lucretius and the new Empedocles', *Leeds International Classical Studies* 2.4 (2003): <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/lics/>. In an eagerly awaited forthcoming paper S. Trépanier will explore further the nature of the relationship between the prologue of the *DRN* and Empedocles.

⁵⁰ Probable Ennian influence can of course be fitted easily into such a multi-layered intertextual mix, as Virgil reworks Lucretius who is in turn alluding to Ennius, who is in turn using Empedocles: see S. J. Harrison, 'Ennius and the prologue to Lucretius *DRN* 1 (1.1-148)', *Leeds International Classical Studies* 1.4 (2002): <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/classics/lics/>; and also P. R. Hardie, 'The speech of Pythagoras in Ovid *Metamorphoses* 15: Empedoclean *Epos*', *CQ* 45 (1995) 204-14 and *Lucretian receptions* (n. 2, above) chap. 4.

reappear at *DRN* 2.646-61, where they fit perfectly. However, C. Bailey and M. F. Smith have argued against excluding the lines in question:

*omnis enim per se divum natura necessest
immortali aevo summa cum pace fruatur* 45
*semota ab nostris rebus seiunctaque longe;
nam privata **dolore** omni, privata periclis,
ipsa suis pollens opibus, nihil indiga nostri,
nec bene promeritis capitur nec tangitur **ira**.*

For the very nature of divinity must necessarily enjoy immortal
life in the deepest peace, far removed and separated from our affairs;
for without any **pain**, without danger, itself mighty by its own resources,
needing us not at all, it is neither propitiated with services nor touched
by **wrath**.⁵¹

The gods of Lucretius feel neither pain (*dolor*) nor anger (*ira*), in strong contrast to Virgil's Juno. If Virgil found these lines near the start of the poem in his text of Lucretius and if he is indeed alluding to *DRN* 1.44-49 in his repeated references to *dolor* and *ira* in the first 25 lines of the *Aeneid*, then Virgil's opening begins to appear ever more Lucretian and Epicurean in outlook. It thus becomes a little easier to get a grip on just how much the quintessentially Roman epic that is the *Aeneid* owes to Greek thinking about the emotions.

University of Geneva

⁵¹ As translated by Smith, *Lucretius* (n. 43, above).