

***Agmine facto*: rampant rhetoric in Aeneid I**

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This article is the product of continued research in Vergil's pictorial imagery, a topic addressed earlier in a paper on the Laocoön episode of the Aeneid, which appeared in the 2001 edition of SAJAH. The poet's visual rhetoric seems to remove the barriers traditionally imposed on poetry and the literary arts, and his verbal palette contains all the descriptive elements indigenous to painting, cinema, and sculpture. The convoluted verse results in the strategic placement of words to convey visually the images in his narrative format. These observations remain the premise on which I have based my commentary on the first major event of the epic, the storm sequence of Bk i. A *catalogue raisonné* provides a survey of the art inspired by the passage dating from early Italian Renaissance through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. There ensues a transposition of the exegesis to the author's visual interpretation in an attempt to mirror Vergil's painter-like and sculptural qualities in the genre of abstract expressionism and to evoke once again Horace's humanistic doctrine on poetry and the visual arts, ut *pictura poesis*.

Episodic narrative and the simile

In her article entitled "Vergil: painter with words," Pauline Turnbull¹ stated that Vergil's painter-like quality was manifested in the descriptions of the actual and the metaphor. If simile and metaphor appear to be varieties of the same thing, as Aristotle remarks in his *Rhetoric* (III.4.1406b), the storm sequence in Bk i and the simile which introduces it, *velut agmine facto*, would adequately support Turnbull's theory since the episode not only renders a violent portrayal of nature's rampage but also functions as a pictorial symbolic event which other subsequent similes in the *Aeneid* recall. According to Pöschl² the first simile foreshadows much of the action of the *Aeneid*, and Hornsby³ adds that Vergil uses the storm similes of violent nature to illuminate men's behavior, a pattern which reflects the ever changing condition of Aeneas and the Trojan cause. Consequently, the visual images in this passage emerge as metaphorical depictions of the destructive nature of man and war.

Whereas this first simile of the epic functions in a symbolic capacity to involve men and elemental forces, it also works in collaboration with a second simile to frame the episode thematically and structurally as a textual divider. In conjunction with passages in which other rhetorical devices achieve the same result those passages in the *Aeneid* which are flanked by similes or those in which a simile anchors an episode or closes it, I have labelled "episodic narrative." Further discussion on the two similes of the storm sequence and their significance will follow in the explication of these verses.

Cinematic progression: the storm sequence

The episodic narrative comprising Bk i.81-156 is an exemplification of Vergil's literary technique for pictorial, symbolic, and cinematic representation. Since the focus of research for this contribution is a continuum of the "cinematic progression" discussed in the *Laocoön* article⁴, it would be appropriate to explore those parallels which substantiate the thesis that Vergil's rhetoric in the storm

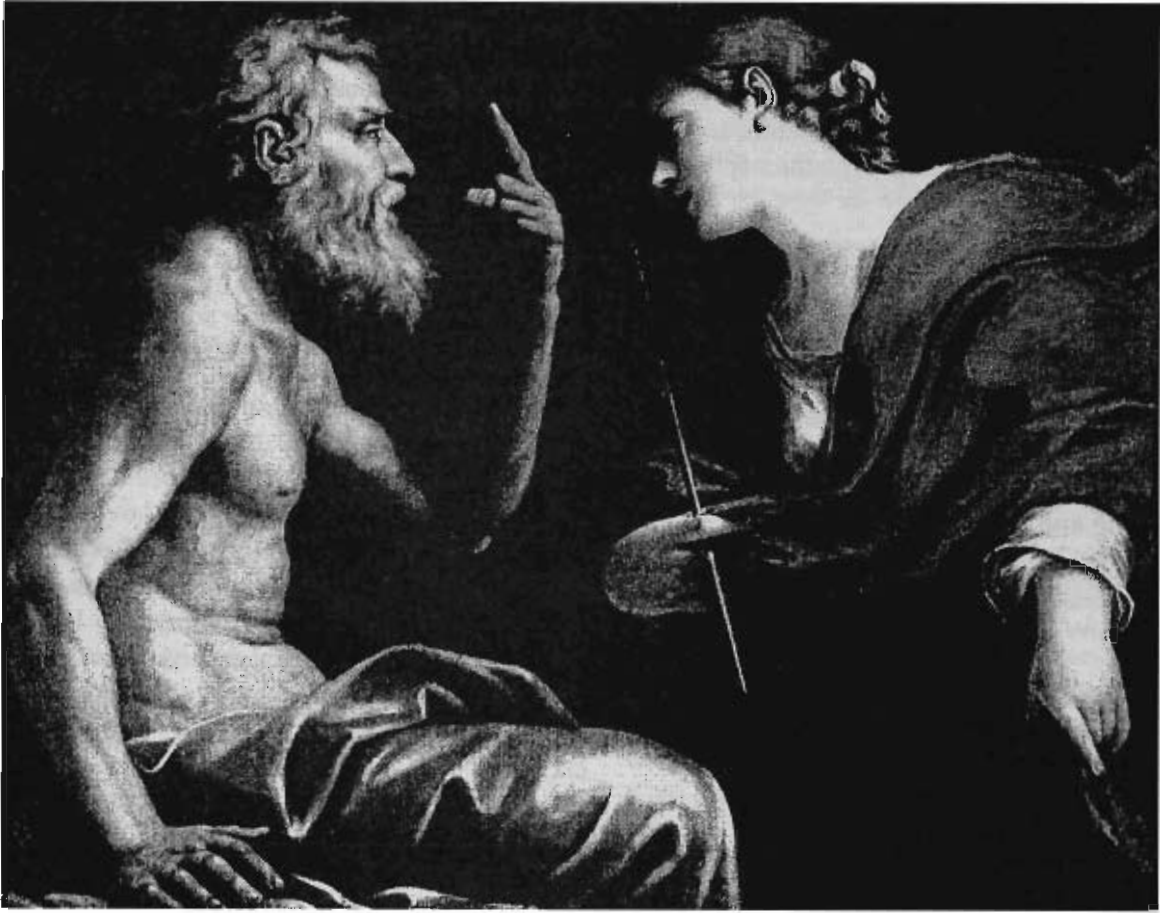


Figure 1 Lucio Massani,
Giunone sollecita Eolo contro le navi di Enea Juno begs for the help of Aeolus against the ship of Aeneas
 (16th cen). Oil on canvas.
 Galleria Doria Pamphili, Rome.
 Photo: Alinari / Art Resource, NY)

sequence waxes symbolic in function and cinematic in structure.

At the bid of Juno, Aeolus, (figure 1) whom the goddess has bribed with an offering of her most beautiful nymph, Deiopea, unleashes the captivated winds from the hollow mountain:

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

The immediate observation is that Aeneas' fate is in the hands of the immortals whose appearance prefaces the actual storm in the sequence of the narrative⁵. The simile,

*velut agmine facto*⁶ (as if they had formed a marching column), reveals the martial theme which represents the winds as soldiers. Their fury is expressed in the verbs *ruunt* and *perflant*, their shape is rendered with *turbine*, but their identity is not revealed until:

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

Three in number are Eurus, Notus, and Africus as they have fallen over the sea and continue to overturn it and unroll enormous waves to the shores. The anaphoric⁷ *ruunt* coupled with the same device in the

polysyndeton, *-que, -que, -que*, contributes to the frequentative action which is only heightened by the alliteration⁸ of the *t* in line 83, and the *v* in line 86. The chaotic result is described appropriately by the following onomatopoeic line:

insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum
(i.87)

There ensues the shouting of men and the creaking of ropes. The clouds suddenly take away the daylight as they move across the sky, and black night⁹ broods over the sea. The darkness is alleviated only by the flashes of lightning and thunder:

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

The storm is organized in three stages, each introduced at the beginning of the line by a perfect tense and each followed by a series of graphic historic presents. Aeolus strikes the hollow mountain to signal the attack, *impulit* (i.83); the winds descend upon the sea, *incubuerunt* (i.84); and the sound of thunder accompanied by a streak of lightning brings the onslaught to a climax, *intonuere* (i.90). The change to perfect tense implies rapid or instantaneous action as is characteristic of the Greek aorist to render a "snapshot" occurrence in the narrative. The historic present is used intermittently by Vergil to bring the reader closer to the scene of action, and on an average it is three times as frequent as any other tense in the narrative sections of the poem¹⁰. If a comparison could be suggested with modern film making in its effort to prolong visually a particular scene and to enhance the dramatic effect, this temporal device would depict the event in "slow motion." In addition the winds personified by the initial simile are themselves a pictorial vehicle to denote motion.

Aeneas, in the form of apostrophe¹¹, turns to the heavens and addresses Diomedes from whom he was rescued by his goddess mother, Venus. He laments not having succumbed to the enemy in war on his native soil, but he is stopped by the north wind, Aquilo, whose gale plows directly into his sails and wreaks havoc to his ship:

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

The frequentative, *jactanti*, reflects the frustration in Aeneas' dilemma as he continues his relentless prayer. It is reminiscent of the language used in *et terris jactatus et alto* (tossed about both on land and on sea) in line 3. *Stridens*, (shrieking) depicting the sound of the gale, mirrors *stridorque rudentum* in the initial onslaught to the ships. At this point Vergil's range of words to designate the sea includes *fluctus*, *undis*, and *aquae*.¹² These references continue as the Trojan sailors witness, hanging precariously on a wave, these unbridled forces:

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

In the previous two passages cited, the verbs function in tandem to deliver cinematically the forceful impact of the storm and to reveal vividly its destructive nature. With the phrases *ad sidera* (to the stars) and *aquae mons* (mountain of water) hyperbole is at work to paint the magnitude of the storm's course. The monosyllabic close¹³ of line 105 brings this frame of action to an abrupt halt. Particularly descriptive are the last two lines to render the parting of the waves and mixture of sand and surf. The remaining lines depicting the destructive path of the storm

resume with the rhetorical *Tris Notus... tris Euris*:

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

(i.108-112)

The anaphoric adjective begins the countdown of the ships to be ravaged by wind and water. With the same device in *saxa*. .*saxa*¹⁵ and *harenis*. .*harenae*, the pounding effect of the natural forces is achieved. With the poet's use of words connoting rocks, reefs, shoals, and sand, the reader is aware of the cinematic progression which results in a shipwreck. One fatality occurs as Aeneas is witness to the tragic outcome of his faithful companion, Orontes:

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

(i.113-117)

Vergil continues to use similar rhetoric in the position of *unam* to correlate with the double occurrence of *tris* earlier. This passage is fraught with words that both epitomize and summarize the sequence of tempestuous events which has preceded. The number three¹⁶, having originated by numerical count in the introduction of the winds, resumes with *tris*, the equal number of ships Notus and Euris overturned. *Ter* in line 116 reflects *terque quaterque* in line 94, and finally the symmetrical structure in the above passage is revealed in three separate assaults on Orontes's ship: (1) *pontus*. .*ferit*, (2) *fluctus*. .*torquet*, and (3) *vorat*. .*vertex*. If one acknowledges the pattern of items or actions appearing in threes, and subsequently, fours, further observation can be made in the number of things floating in the waves¹⁷: (1) *rari nantes*, (2) *arma virum*, (3) *tabulae*, and

(4) *Troia gaza* (lines 118-119). Also four additional ships are overcome in the final lines of the storm's course:

*Jam validam Ilionei navem, jam fortis Achatae,
et qua vectus Abas, et qua grandaevus Aletes,
vicit hiems; laxis laterum compagibus omnes
accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt.*

(i.120-123)

It is not until *validam Ilionei navem* that the actual word for "ship" appears¹⁸. Since line 108, there has been an increasing employment of ellipsis which has contributed to the fragmented structure of this passage. After the storm overcomes the ships of Ilioneus and Achates, the elliptical device continues with the anaphora of *et qua*. .*et qua*. The devastation is consummated in the appropriate sibilants of *remisque fatiscunt*, thus terminating the destructive rampage of the storm and avenging Juno's wrath on the Trojans.

As an epilogue following the storm, Neptune, disturbed by what has occurred, emerges from the crest of a wave, and aware that Juno's malice and ill temperament were the cause of the Trojans' bad fortune, chides the winds. This famous passage represents a topical landmark which bears a twofold significance. Firstly, it has spurred a host of visual interpretations during the Baroque and Renaissance periods for the poet's fanciful portrayal of the god of the sea in his attempt to reverse the ill fate which his sister Juno has imposed on the Trojans. Secondly, the epic simile which concludes the episode compares a god to man and has subsequently been appropriated to symbolize statesmen in their ambitious efforts to acquire power and esteem in the political arena. The diatribe commences with a peremptory tone:

*"Tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?
Jam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti,
miscere et tantas audetis tollere moles?
Quos ego ? ! sed motos praestat componere
fluctus.*

(i.132-135)

Neptune rebukes the winds of lesser

rank¹⁹, *generis vestri*, and questions their encroachment on his jurisdiction, *meo sine numine*, as they have mingled heaven and earth and have upheaved a mass of destruction. The famous *Quos ego*²⁰ is the impactful rhetoric which vividly portrays the god's rage. Donatus²¹ states: "*duo pronomina cum pondere suo*." Similar diction occurred earlier in *Tris Notus*. . . *tris Euris* (i.108-110). Servius²² comments on the aposiopesis and the traditional use of the conjunction *sed* to resume the line and to describe the god's priority in calming the sea before assessing the proper penalty for the gales. Neptune hastens the winds to flight giving Euris stern warnings for their king Aeolus to restrict his realm to the massive rocks where they are incarcerated. The master then diverts his attention to calming the swollen waters as he scatters the clouds and brings back the sun²³. His assistants, Cymothoe and Triton, together lean forward to dislodge the ships from a sharp crag while Neptune himself with his trident raises the galleys and opens wide paths in the sand and tempers the sea. He glides upon the water's surface on his light wheels.

The short restrained simile which heralded the storm, *velut agmine facto*, now is complemented by the most famous epic simile in the *Aeneid*. It compares Neptune, who has placated the seas and avenged the winds, to the statesman who has the ability to thwart the efforts of a mob threatening to overthrow the state:

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

(i.148-156)

And just as, often, when a crowd of people
is rocked by a rebellion, and the rabble

rage in their minds, and firebrands and stones
fly fast for fury finds its weapons if,
by chance, they see a man remarkable for
righteousness and service, they are silent
and stand attentively; and he controls
their passion by his words and cools their spirits:
so all the clamor of the sea subsided
after the Father, gazing on the waters
and riding under cloudless skies, had guided
his horses, let his willing chariot run.

(tr Allen Mandelbaum)

The simile symbolizes chaos to order²⁴ and in conjunction with the first simile continues to compare the violence of nature with that of men. The military jargon in *agmine facto* suggests an aggressive attack in which violent movement and rampage would convey pictorially the thematic agenda. The final comparison is less frenetic in tone and is designed to apprise the reader of a *noblesse oblige* which foreshadows the role of Aeneas as he represents the embodiment of the ideal man through his loyalty, *pietate* (i.151), in the Roman order, *magno in populo* (i.148). The moral paradigm is the thematic focus which lends a conclusive element to the episode and brings the cinematic pace to a halt. Just as the dialogue between Juno and Aeolus prefaced the storm and foretold the ill fate of the Trojan ships, so does the god of the sea make his appearance at the end to reverse the course of action and assist the Trojans. In collaboration with the two similes as topical landmarks, the appearance of the deities flanking the event seems to frame and secure the passage within its own confines²⁵ in adherence to the episodic narrative format.

Quos ego and the *Aeneid* cycles

Beginning with the Middle Ages and continuing through the Renaissance specific episodes were rendered pictorially to embrace different causes. The illustrators of the epic portrayed various scenes as a didactic aid to the story line, and therefore the content of their work was more encompassing. In many instances the authors of these *Aeneid* cycles were unknown, and for lack of a better

nomenclature they were designated "Masters of the *Aeneid*." Much scholarly effort and time have been expended on the discovery of evidence for the proper attribution of these works, but quite often the only criteria available to accomplish this feat are observations and knowledge concerning the authors that will inspire leading questions and hypotheses concerning the same.

Often particular scenes were stressed more than others contingent on the commentaries of the poem which were available to the illustrators for interpretation or on their individual moral values. Among the multiple *Aeneid* cycles which appeared as illustrations from the actual text, the most consistent themes to be treated were from Bk i: the storm and shipwreck sequence (*Quos ego*), the Trojans' reception by Dido in Carthage, and the banquet scene at Dido's palace. The hunt and cave scenes later culminating with Dido's suicide from Bk iv are sometimes depicted as a continuation of the Dido affair, thus resulting in an omission of Aeneas' narrative describing the fall of Troy and the subsequent wanderings of the Trojan hero. Such is the case with the seven *Aeneid* cassone panels now attributed to Apollonio di Giovanni (1415/17-1465). Jennifer Morrison has ascribed him the foremost painter of cassoni (bridal chests) in fifteenth century Florence, and has ranked him as the artist most singularly associated with Vergil's epic poetry of the early Renaissance²⁶. Also among his *oeuvres* are his illustrations of the Vergil codex in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence, consisting of eighty-eight miniatures, all but two detailing scenes from the epic, and sixteen additional cassone panels depicting such stories as the meeting of Solomon and Sheba, the fall of Darius, and the generosity of Scipio. Apollonio, hitherto known as the "Vergil Master," the "Dido Master," and the "Master of the Jarves Cassoni," before the definitive attribution of his works by Ernst Gombrich²⁷, owned a fairly lucrative shop in

partnership with Marco del Buono where their cassoni were mass produced. These bridal chests, measuring approximately one and one half feet high and five feet long, were commonly commissioned in pairs by the groom's family. In a formal procession after the wedding ceremony, filled with the bride's trousseau and dowry, they were transported for public view from the house of the bride to the house of the groom and ultimately were placed in the married couple's bedroom either against a wall or at the foot of their bed. This ritual publicly validated their marriage. The common story line by which the chests were decorated revolved around amorous themes in the late Trecento and early Quattrocento. Such thematic content took its source primarily from the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. Toward the beginning of the second quarter of the fifteenth century the front panels of the cassoni became more complex and classically oriented with themes from the *Aeneid* and the *Odyssey*. Thus during the Renaissance the classical text provided moral lessons for the newly-married couple which would remind them of the *pietas* of Aeneas and encourage them to emulate his virtuous life-style. Ellen Callmann suggests that a rigid formula was adhered to in the choice of pictures which the artists executed on these panels²⁸. A sense of pride in one's country and its ancestors is realized in the image of Aeneas; but pride must be tempered by humility which is manifested in the bride's submission to her husband.

In her article Morrison calls attention to the compositional and interpretive inconsistency in Apollonio's *Aeneid* cassoni and offers a cogent explanation for these variations²⁹. She prefaces her thesis with a comparison of themes and their juxtaposition in the seven panels: two in the Jarves collection at Yale, two in the Hannover collection, one in the Musée de Cluny in Paris (now moved to Ecoen Musée de la Renaissance), one in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and one lost. In the Jarves

panels the author has depicted the shipwreck of Aeneas and his crew on the shores of Carthage, but only in the far right third of the second panel does he treat themes from future books. The Hannover panels, avoiding any replication of the Yale pair, conflate scenes from the latter, and in the second panel detail the banquet with Dido juxtaposed with the hunt from Bk iv. The Boston and Ecoen panels introduce themes which Vergil himself never described. Morrison contends that these diverse treatments of themes are based on ancient and contemporary commentaries of the *Aeneid* which were widely shaping the views of humanists of the late Trecento and throughout the Quattrocento. Apollonio possibly was responding to these literary interpretations of the *Aeneid* which in turn accounted for his own interpretations realized in his will to choose or to ignore the depiction of specific themes. Among those ancient commentators were Fulgentius (ca 467-532) and Bernardus Silvestris (flourished 1145-1153), but equally influential on his work were Maffeo Vegio, who wrote a thirteenth book of the *Aeneid* in 1428, Cristoforo Landino whose commentaries on Bks i-iv of the *Aeneid* entitled *Disputationes Camaldulenses* were published in 1472, and notably, Giovanni Boccaccio whose *De claris mulieribus* of ca 1357 was well received in the fifteenth century by Renaissance humanists.

Morrison refers to Craig Kallendorf³⁰ who acknowledges that there are two "Boccaccios" when dealing with the figure of Dido. In his earlier works occurring between 1335 and 1344, *Filocolo*, *Ameto*, *Amorosa visione*, and *Elegia di Madonna Fiametta*, his interpretation of the Carthaginian queen more or less agrees with Vergil's story. In Bk i, as an example of virtue and nobility, she is building a city and administering laws and justice until Aeneas arrives, and in Bk iv she compromises her chastity by yielding to her love for the Trojan leader, and subsequently commits suicide after his abandonment of her.

Kallendorf attributes a second interpretation of Boccaccio to his friendship

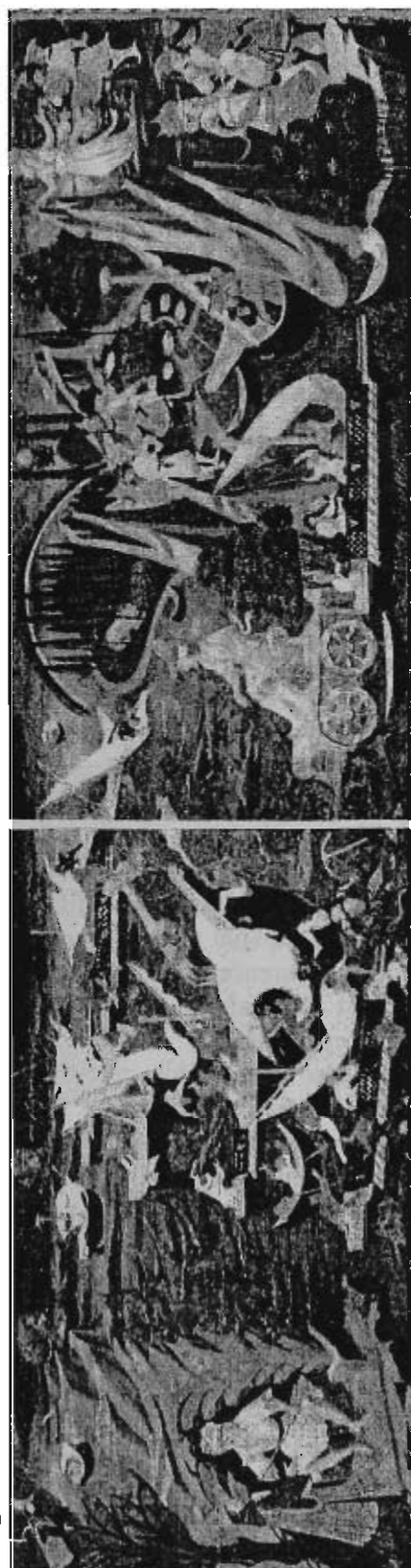


Figure 2 Apollonio di Giovanni, Aeneid I. Tempera on panel, 49 x 160 cm.
New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery. James Jackson Jarves Collection. 1871.34. (Photo: Yale University Art Gallery)

James Jackson Jarves
Collection. 1871.34.
Photo: Yale University Art Gallery

with Petrarch³¹ by whom the commentator is swayed to an "historical" account of the story which puts Dido three hundred years after Aeneas, and thus negates any relationship with him at all. By the late 1340's or early 1350's Boccaccio³² compromises the "historical" version of the story in his *De claris mulieribus* by relating the events leading up to Dido's arrival at Carthage and the purchase of the land after her husband had been killed by her older brother, and she had been forced to flee with the immense treasure of her deceased spouse which she had been able to recover. She vows a life of chastity, but the elders of Carthage, fearing invasions from neighboring suitors, arrange a marriage between Dido and the king of Musicani, at which time the queen takes her life to preserve her marriage vows. Consequently, in the later interpretation, Aeneas arrives just in time to meet the queen and shortly thereafter to witness her suicide. This version puts Dido in a more favorable light by denying any sexual union between her and any other suitor, including Aeneas. From this second account of Boccaccio Morrison presents her thesis that Apollonio drew the thematic content of the Jarves panels from that source, restricting the material to Bk i of the *Aeneid*: the first panel (figure 2) detailing the storm arranged by Juno, the rescue of Aeneas' ship by Neptune, and the arrival on the shore of Carthage; the second panel (figure 3), detailing the reception of the Trojans at a point in the story before Aeneas is removed from the cloud to make him visible to the queen. Morrison further substantiates her thesis of the "historical" account of Boccaccio by calling attention to the compositional structure of the second panel. Here, Aeneas and Achates are separated from the queen by a pillar, and in the upper right hand corner of the panel is depicted the building of a city which is ineluctably interpreted to represent the future Rome. By choosing to render Dido as the queen of Carthage and alluding to Aeneas as the founder of Rome, Apollonio

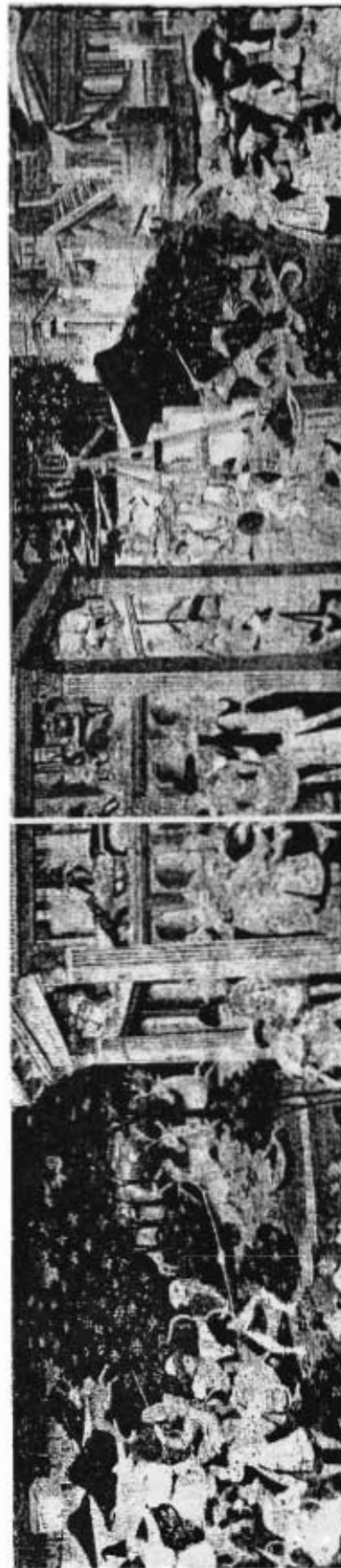


Figure 3 Apollonio di Giovanni, *Aeneid II*. Tempera on panel, 49.3 x 160 cm.
 New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery.
 James Jackson Jarves
 Collection. 1871.35.
 (Photo: Yale University Art Gallery)

places the two figures as founders of civilizations in equally authoritative roles and negates the existence of any sexual union³³. Thus the theme of the two Jarves panels is restricted to Bk i and excludes any mention of the illicit affair from Bk iv.

Whereas the Yale collection favorably portrays Dido as the noble and virtuous queen of Carthage who upholds the vows of marriage, the Hannover panels depict an opposite image. Morrison argues that the Dido of these panels is the passionate queen who succumbs to her sexual desires, and that this interpretation derives from the commentaries of Fulgentius³⁴ and Bernardus Silvestris³⁵. These two commentators, along with Servius and Donatus, were the closest to contemporaries of Vergil so that they increasingly gained esteem with their didactic accounts. Everything detailed in the first panel (figure 4) foreshadows a physical union between Dido and Aeneas: Venus instructing Cupid to inflict his arrow of love on Aeneas; Aeneas appearing three times in close proximity to the queen; the down-playing of the representation of construction of a city in the background. The second Hannover panel (figure 5) details the banquet scene juxtaposed to the hunt, and in the upper right corner is the refuge from the storm to the cave in which the royal couple consummate their illicit love. Thus the artisan of the Hannover panels, by omitting the two books of Aeneas' account of the Trojan War and his subsequent wanderings, has employed Bks i and iv as a narrative framing device and has represented Dido as an unfavorable *exemplum* whose conduct should not be emulated by those couples for whom the cassoni were commissioned³⁶.

The Dido theme of the Jarves and Hannover panels is totally missing in the Boston and Ecouen versions. Instead it has yielded to themes either alluded to by Vergil such as the last books of the *Aeneid* or to themes that do not appear at all in the epic. There is speculation that the source of

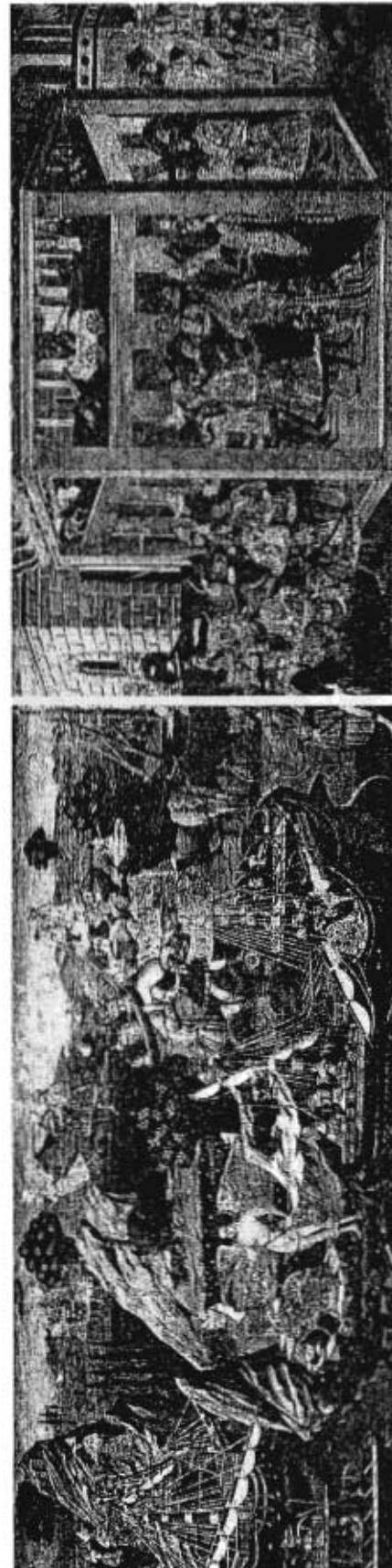


Figure 4 Apollonio di Giovanni. *Aeneid I*. Tempera on panel, 42.5 x 164 cm. Hannover: Niedersächsische Landesgalerie. (Photo: Niedersächsische Landesgalerie)

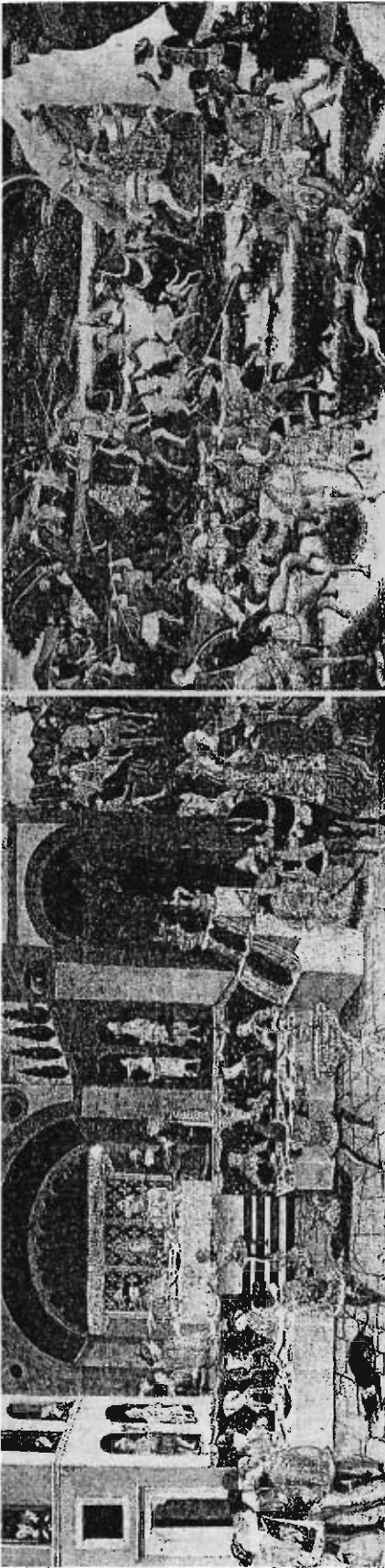


Figure 5 Apollonio di Giovanni. *Aeneid II*. Tempera on panel, 67 x 188 cm.
 Hannover: Niedersächsische Landesgalerie.
 (Photo: Niedersächsische Landesgalerie)

inspiration derives from Maffeo Vegio's *Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid* of 1428³⁷. The principal story line of its author begins with the death of Turnus and continues with the reconciliation between King Latinus and Aeneas and the subsequent marriage of Aeneas and Lavinia. This third motif, not treated in Vergil's account, occupies the right third of the Ecouen panel, but the remaining themes detailed by the artist recount in chronological order those which the poet did treat: Latinus and his allies, Aeneas' sacrifice, his victory over Camilla³⁸, and the defeat of Turnus. Apollonio's theme of marriage is now manifested in the union between Aeneas and Lavinia and conveniently meets the thematic demand and serves the purpose for his cassoni.

The Boston panel provides very few clues for a description of the narrative, since it comprises two themes found neither in Vergil's epic nor Vegio's text. Callmann has cautiously, and according to Morrison³⁹, accurately dubbed the panel with "Scenes from the *Aeneid*." It is their consensus that the first scene, detailing a tournament to honor Aeneas' victory, is derived from Vegio's account of the nine days of feasting after the marriage ceremony, and possibly from the nine days of funeral games to honor Anchises in Bk v. Thus a martial tournament to celebrate a marriage ceremony, with the women as trophies witnessing the event from windows above, was not an uncommon motif to reflect contemporary customs concerning marriage ceremonies. The artist of Apollonio's shop apparently drew his inspiration from this tradition and conflated the "martial" with the "marital."⁴⁰ It is therefore conjectured that the entire Boston panel is the product of the imagination of the painters of the cassone panels who, like Vegio, wanted to go beyond a definitive source and embellish the text with their own creative interpretations.

With the above evidence it is apparent that these six extant *Aeneid* panels have emerged

from the interpretations of Vergilian commentaries, both ancient and contemporary, and from the imagination of the painters themselves.

A second entry for which there is specific attribution and which restricts the scenes solely to Bk i of the *Aeneid*, is a group of tapestries known as the *Navigazione d'Enea*, designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria, dated from the early to mid-thirties of the sixteenth century. From the Doria inventories of 1561 and 1741 we learn respectively that there are six in number and that their size ranges from fourteen feet in height and twelve and one half to nearly fifteen feet in width. Bernice Davidson attributes the commissioning of these works to the religious and political themes derived from Vergil's epic which were found to translate appropriately to contemporary affairs, to the alliance between Charles V and Doria, and to their aspirations for the Holy Roman Empire⁴¹. The entire Aeneas legend has been allegorized in both pagan and Christian eras to represent loyalty and devotion to one's quest to overcome evil adversaries and ultimately to gain fame and immortality. From Bk i of the *Aeneid* and the Fourth *Eclogue*, in particular, future generations have conveniently found a way to use for their own cause the fate of the Trojan hero and the destined role of an unnamed successor who would inherit the rule of the world without end.

On the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Doria there are two main salons joined by a smaller reception room, each containing a painted fresco in its vaulted ceiling, and each decorated with wall tapestries which dealt with related themes. It is commonly believed that the Neptune salon⁴² for which the *Navigazione d'Enea* tapestries were designed, was second in importance to the Jupiter salon in which hung the collection known as the *Furti di Giove*, tapestries also designed by Perino, speculated to have been executed a year later.



Figure 6 Marcantonio Raimondi, *Quos ego*.
Engraving.
New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
(Photo: Metropolitan Museum)

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

The theme of the Neptune salon is based on this vision of imperial triumph. Conjecture for the conception of Perino's format is

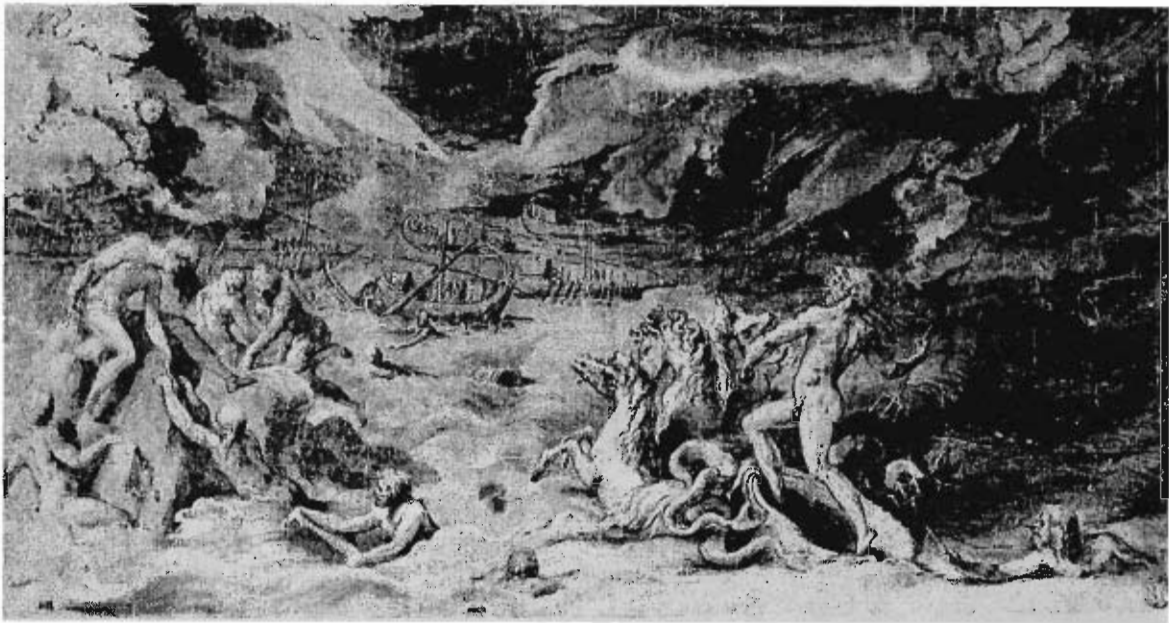


Figure 7 Perino del Vaga, *Neptune calming the tempest* Drawing.
Louvre, Paris.
(Photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, NY)

derived from the striking similarity to Marcantonio's *Quos ego* (figure 6), an engraving believed to be designed by Raphael with the same title. It will be noted later that this particular work of Raphael was a great source of inspiration for Vrancx's drawing of the same topic. Marcantonio's print positions the god of the sea in the center, trident in right hand, driving back the winds as he holds his horses in tight rein with his left hand. The nine smaller scenes that surround Neptune all represent a sequence of events in a chronological pattern which occurs at the beginning of Bk i, from the shipwreck of Aeneas and his crew, leading up to the banquet scene at its conclusion⁴³. The parallels in Marcantonio's engraving and the Neptune salon become obvious with the *Quos ego* theme occupying the theme of the vault fresco superseding the tapestries on the walls which depict the same events in a similar chronological order to the engraving. The ravages of time soon destroyed completely

this vault painting, and it was replaced by an "illusionistic painting of an architectural perspective."⁴⁴ However, we do have two sources on which to rely in addition to verbal descriptions: a preliminary drawing of Perino (figure 7), and an engraving of the drawing by Bonasone (figure 8), the latter probably bearing a closer resemblance to Perino's vault fresco.

Since the tapestries of the *Navigazione d'Enea* have been lost⁴⁵, as well as the cartoons used for their production, our sources are restricted to three or four drawings by Perino and two or three copies of lost drawings which depict themes from Bk i. Two autograph drawings remain of the *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas*: one in Hamburg, and the other at Chatsworth. From these versions of the scene, although they are dissimilar in many ways⁴⁶, is evidence of Perino's compositional style. These two sketches provide clues with which we can link them with several tapestries found in



Figure 8 Giulio Bonasone, Neptune calming the tempest. Engraving.
(Source: Davidson 1990: 37.)

various European collections of the middle sixteenth century. Two such tapestries, one in Vienna (figure 9), the other in Madrid, appear to be variations on the *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas* used in the Doria salon⁴⁷. The former version, because companion pieces have not been found, is believed to be an isolated depiction of the banquet scene. The Madrid tapestry, however, seems to be one component of seven, all with matching borders, woven of silk and wool and measuring over twelve feet in height and ranging from approximately twelve and three quarters to sixteen feet wide⁴⁸. Six of these tapestries in the Spanish Patrimonio Nacional, treat scenes from Bk i of the *Aeneid*, but one from Bk iv depicts Mercury sent by Jupiter to rebuke Aeneas for remaining in Carthage.

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

The second tapestry depicts Aeneas standing on the prow of his ship in

supplication after the storm has subsided. Venus and Jupiter, detailed above, appear in the roundel at the top of Marcantonio's engraving as the deities discuss Aeneas' role in the future glory of Rome⁴⁹.

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

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

The fifth tapestry bears the theme taken from the upper right picture in the margin of the engraving. Ilioneus with a companion is standing before a throned Dido apprising the queen of the plight of the Trojans while Aeneas, on the side, remains veiled in a cloud⁵⁰.



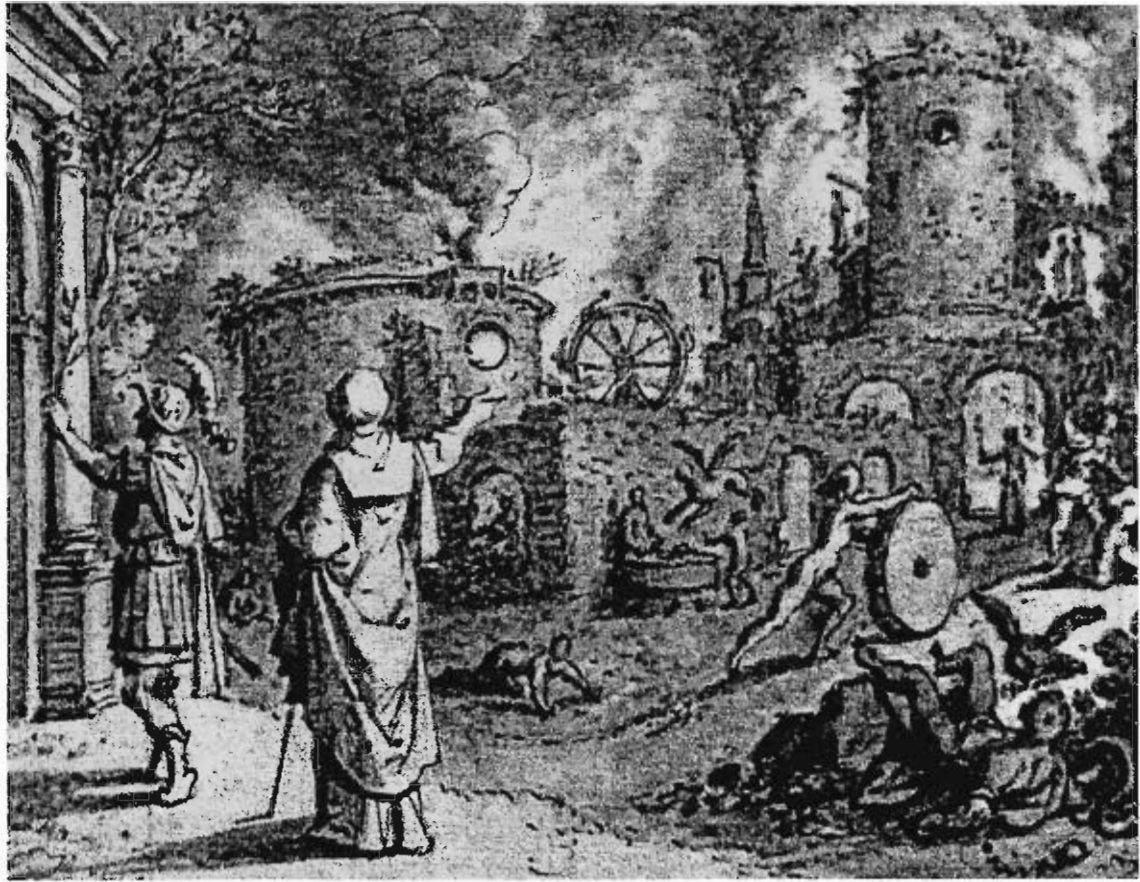
Figure 9 After Perino del Vaga, *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas*. Tapestry.
Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für Angewandte Kunst.
(Source: Davidson 1990: 41.)

The sixth tapestry detailing the famous *Banquet of Dido and Aeneas* (discussed earlier) completes the cycle of scenes which Perino is believed to have taken from the circle of events engraved around the *Quos ego* of Marcantonio. Thus the Neptune salon mirrors the format of the engraving by the placement of the individual tapestries hung in a circle to provide in chronological order a depiction of the events as they unfolded in Bk i of Vergil's poem. If the Madrid tapestries can be a replication of those six pieces found in the Doria inventory of 1561, one mystery remains concerning a seventh tapestry appearing in the Spanish collection which illustrates from Bk iv the mission of Mercury sent by Jupiter to remind Aeneas of his destined role in history. Because, as Davidson has stated, the figures and composition of the tapestry are consistent with Perino's style, even more so than with the first two pieces, I support her attribution

with the fact that Mercury appears in the roundel of Marcantonio's engraving, continuing the source of Perino's derivation. One could hypothesize either that one of the tapestries in Madrid was designed by another artist, or perhaps, that there could have been more than six components to the Genoese set⁵¹.

The *Navigazione d'Enea* tapestries remained in the Doria inventories from 1561 through 1790. They were subsequently taken to Rome before 1825 and placed in the Villa Doria Pamphilj and inventoried on June 6 of that year as "*Storia di Enea. Molto belli se poco conservati*"⁵². After that year the tapestries vanished from the records.

The problematic task of assigning the proper attribution to the *Aeneid* cycles continues into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is within this time frame that the



third and final model exemplifying illustrations of the *Aeneid* falls. With the

Figure 10 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *In the underworld*, *Aeneid* VI, 548 ff.
Paris, Art Market.
(Source: Ruby 1990: 62.)

initial contribution of Friedrich Winkler's article "*Der unbekannte Sebastian Vrancx*" in 1964⁵³, the way was paved for other researchers to find conclusive evidence for the attribution of at least sixty-five illustrations for the *Aeneid* to Sebastiaen Vrancx (1573-1647). Louisa Ruby⁵⁴ states that the Dutch artist, who was traditionally regarded merely an innovative painter of battle scenes and village plunderings, is the author of a series which apparently represents the largest and most original set of illustrations for Vergil's epic since Sebastian Brant's of 1502⁵⁵. She bases this conclusion on an overwhelming evidence concerning

stylistic characteristics these works share with other paintings and drawings by Vrancx, and on the study of available biographical data. To further her thesis for the authorship she adds that three of his drawings with their backgrounds mirror the subjects of prints by Wenzel Hollar after Vrancx⁵⁶.

Ruby suggests three possible reasons for the artist's interest in the epic. The first is a trip to Rome which could have introduced him to other of the many *Aeneid* cycles and spurred his interest in the poem as a subject worthy of illustration. Although his series does not reflect a stylistic change resulting

from this exposure, he was apparently influenced by the work of Paul Brill as evidenced in his drawing *Mountainous landscape* in 1597 and *Diana taking a bath* in

1600. Two landscape paintings of 1600 also mirror compositions by Brill to the extent that they could have been painted by Brill himself.



Figure 11 Sebastiaen Vrancx, *Quos ego*, Aeneid I, 124 ff.
Amsterdam, Private Collection.
(Source: Ruby 1990: 68.)

A second hypothesis for Vrancx's fascination with Vergil's epic is his interest in the military which is revealed in his many depictions of battle scenes and village plunderings as well as his membership in Antwerp's citizens' guards' and fencers' guild⁵⁷.

It was Vrancx's knowledge and love of literature that Ruby deems the most likely reason for the artist's desire to illustrate the *Aeneid*. A member of one of Antwerp's Chambers of Rhetoric, *De Violieren*, he would probably have seen the illustrations and translations of Van Mander's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* and possibly Crispin van de Passe's *Aeneid* edition, the *Speculum*

Aeneidis Virgilianae of 1612. This could have been the catalyst that spurred his drive to produce his own edition.

In forming comparisons of other *Aeneid* cycles of the sixteenth century with the drawings of Vrancx, one original element is the appearance of an extant Dutch translation of the text at the bottom of six of the drawings. Ruby speculates that there is probability that Vrancx himself is the translator, and that the lack of these appended verses on fifty-nine of the sheets could be the result of their removal by a pair of scissors. In spite of their adaptability for being made into prints Vrancx's drawings from the *Aeneid* were never realized for that purpose or as

illustrations for a book, although it is believed that this was the artist's intent. Valid proof is the execution of figures depicted in battle scenes in which the warriors carry their swords in their left hand and their shields and scabbards on their right sides, the reverse of normal procedure in warfare. Any attempt to imagine the artist's intention for their being used for tapestries would be unlikely not only by their sheer number but because of the appearance of the text beneath them.

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

One major difference, among others, between Brant's woodcuts and Vrancx's drawings is the former's multi-scenic format which allows for the economical solution of a cycle when only one print is allowed for each chapter. In Vrancx's series each freely executed drawing details a singular scene with the exception of *In the underworld* (figure 10) where various figures such as Tityos, Tantalus, and Ixion receive their punishment in the same frame. Except for the extensive treatment of themes a search for similarities in the two artists reaps very little in their composition.

Nevertheless, Brant's *Aeneid* cycle influenced almost every illustration or painting of Vergil's works in the first half of the sixteenth century and beyond⁵⁸, and in particular, the painted cycle of Niccolò dell'Abbate, painted for the *Gabinetto* of the castle of Scandiano in 1540. Although he altered Brant's German-Gothic style, his

twelve panels bore a close resemblance to Brant's illustrations in format and in subject matter⁵⁹.

Hervé Oursel features in his article an enameled plaque with an inscription, *La chasse de Didon et Enée*, belonging to a series of approximately eighty plaques reproducing a part of Brant's *Aeneid* cycle.⁶⁰ According to Oursel this *Maître de l'Enéide* remains anonymous, and his work continues to be unique in more than one way in the annals of enameling. Apparently, the artist was commissioned by an amateur who, infatuated with Brant's illustrations, wanted all or part of these woodcuts reproduced in enamel either for the purpose of enhancing his social status or of decorating his "studiolo." The collection of enamels represents an unprecedented example in its abundance of isolated engravings reproduced in enamel. Likewise, it is the only case in which there exists only a single copy of each plaque. Moreover, this series marks the breaking in of pagan iconography in Limoges enamels which hitherto were dedicated to essentially religious works.

If Vrancx derived little from Brant's popular and successful edition which influenced so many illustrators of the sixteenth century, where did he find the resources for his drawings? Apparently he drew many of his illustrations from a scrupulous reading of the text, as evidenced by the Dutch paraphrasing beneath his creations. One particular visual source which could have influenced Vrancx on one of his trips to Italy was a horse painted in Raphael's *Conversion of St Paul* which Vrancx duplicated in a work by the same name. The most direct influence, however, is believed to be Raphael's *Quos ego* and *Galatea* which also inspired other illustrators of note.

Franz Cleyn's illustrations for John Ogilby's English translation of 1654 has something in common with those of Vrancx in two respects: the detailing of many of the

same scenes, and the ratio of the number of scenes illustrated which range from four to eight per book. Given the fact that precise parallels are lacking between the two artists, the only major similarity in their individual cycles lies in overall conception and format. Nevertheless, regarding the common ground for detailing the same scenes, their illustrations of *Quos ego* bear the closest resemblance. Vrancx could have taken his inspiration from Raphael's *Quos ego* and *Galetea*, which renders Triton blowing his horn. Perhaps considered Raphael's strongest influence on Vrancx, this motif was repeated by various illustrators of the *Aeneid* cycles in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A comparative study of the various interpretations of the theme would be appropriate to account for the artists' different versions. The engraving of the *Galetea* by Marcantonio Raimondi which was entitled *Quos ego* (figure 6) is probably the model used by Vrancx and Cleyn, although both were likely to be familiar with Raphael's original. Cleyn's version, with its vertical composition, details a muscular Neptune threatening the heavens with his trident raised in his right hand, his left hand grasping the reins of his horses. By contrast, that of Vrancx (figure 11) renders the god of the sea with uplifted left hand pleading to the heavens and his weapon lying low to his right side. This detail places Cleyn's version closer to the engraving of Marcantonio than to Vrancx's drawing.

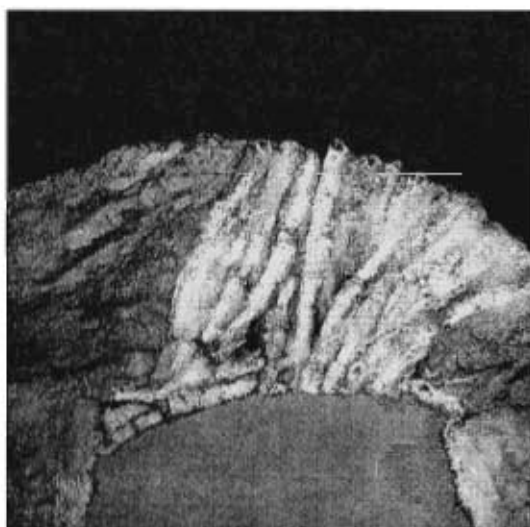
To continue the comparison, two other representations of the theme are found in Rubens' *The voyage of the prince from Barcelona to Genoa* and in the *Quos ego* of Perino del Vaga whose tapestries of the *Aeneid* cycle were discussed earlier. The former is an oil sketch in the Fogg Art Museum which is speculated to have been influenced by Vrancx's drawing for obvious similarities in the composition, but by reasons speculated by Reznicek⁶¹ that the two artists moved in the same circles. Perino's fresco has

been destroyed by the ravages of time (previously indicated), but from a drawing of the scene (figure 7) and from an engraving of the same by Giulio Bonasone (figure 8) a final comparison is drawn by Ruby which groups the artists in their similar depiction of the horses. The heads of Rubens' and Vrancx's horses bear remarkably similar traits, unlike those of either Cleyn's, Raphael's, or Perino's. Vrancx's and Rubens' horses are half submerged in the water; those of Raphael are totally clear of the waves; and Cleyn's have emerged to stand completely on dry ground.

Ruby acknowledges that three determinations have been gleaned in assigning attribution to the *Aeneid* cycle of Sebastiaen Vrancx: (1) that his trip to Italy undoubtedly influenced his art more than previously imagined, (2) that his *Aeneid oeuvre* exemplifies one of his few treatments of a subject from classical literature in the visual arts, and (3) that his original and pictorial presentation of the *Aeneid* proves him an innovator and active humanist of the Renaissance⁶².

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

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



which were meant to accompany the text.

Figure 12 Rayford Shaw, *Notus* (2000). Mixed media, 167.6 x 167.6 cm.

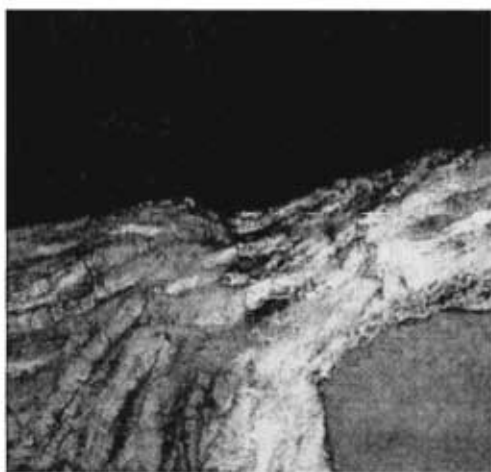


Figure 13 Rayford Shaw, *Eurus* (2000). Mixed media, 167.6 x 167.6 cm.

Because of their consecutive format linking a prescribed sequence of events in a unified thematic pattern, the *Aeneid cycles* are the derivative source for the visual abstractions which comprise the final division of this article.

Aquae mons: a visual abstraction

If cinema is defined as a motion picture which portrays a succession of events programmatically unfolding to a deterministic conclusion, this visual genre could emerge as a major component in the literary arts. With the employment of the appropriate verbal mechanisms, movement expressed by words becomes the vehicle for a visual experience. Such is the cinematic rhetoric describing the storm and shipwreck sequence in *Aeneid* I, and such is the premise on which I base my own interpretation of the episode in the tradition of abstract expressionism.

Textual source:

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

At the same time, *Eurus*, *Notus*, and *Africus* with frequent gusts leaned upon the sea and churned the open waters from their lowest depths; they toss vast waves toward the shores.

The triptych format⁶³ of the panels reflects the three winds which Aeolus released from the mountain, and the minimalistic style in which they are executed is indigenous to the frequentative nature of the poet's verse. Their composition hinges on the direction from which the winds appear. For the visual presentation the chronological order of the first two entries in the text has been reversed. The negative shape located at the bottom of each canvas illustrates the source of their domain. *Notus* (figure 12), the south wind, logically originates from the central lower region and is self-contained by

its symmetrical design. Eurus (figure 13), the east wind, positioned in the lower right quadrant, and Africus (figure 14), the west wind, emanating from the left, are joined in an elongated unified arch.

Ancillary sources:

The thematic *res latentes*⁶⁴ (things lying hidden) is drawn from:

*Sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris
hoc metuens molemque et montis insuper altos
imposuit, regemque dedit qui foedere certo
et premere et laxas sciret dare jussus habenas.*
(i.60-63)



Figure 14 Rayford Shaw, *Africus* (2000). Mixed media, 167.6 x 167.6 cm.

But the all-powerful father, fearing this (their intemperance), hid (the winds) in dark caves and placed upon them a mass of lofty mountains, and he gave them a ruler who would know how to control them by specific agreement and how to give them free rein when commanded.

Further language depicting the figure of incarceration appeared earlier:

*...Hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
luctantis ventos tempestatesque sonoras
imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.*
(i.52-54)

Here in a huge cave King Aeolus represses

the wrestling winds and the howling storms with his command and restrains them with chains and a prison.

The positive shape of each canvas arises from a pictorial conflation of mountain, cave, and sea, as evidenced in *vasto antro, speluncis atris, montis altos, cavum montem, and vastos fluctus*. Highlights and modulation emanate from:

Intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether
(i.90)

The heavens thundered, and the sky flashes with frequent lightning.

Finally, each cinematic frame of the group is contained by a shroud of darkness originating from the formulaic: *...ponto nox incubat atra.*

(i.89)

Black night broods over the sea.

All three abstractions elicit the monosyllabic close of *aquae mons* (i.105) in their endeavor to comport faithfully with the pictorial account of Vergil's text.

Conclusion

To recapitulate the topics addressed in this article is to acknowledge the on-going research of the pictorial in the *Aeneid* through structural analysis. A comparative study of the Laocoön episode and the storm sequence reveals a plethora of parallels and similarities which appear to be carefully employed by the poet to evoke conscious recall on behalf of the reader. The episodic narrative format occurs in both instances as illustrated by the presence or mention of deities which flank the events and work in conjunction with the simile to contain the passages within a specific cinematic frame. A systematic sequence of events with alternating verbal tempo programmatically unfolds to bring the course of action to a deterministic conclusion.

The tedious process of exploring the often sparse data in an effort to attain the proper attribution of the *Aeneid* cycles has nevertheless reaped some successful results for scholars who have exhausted all available

resources. Once these "Masters of the *Aeneid*" have been identified their *oeuvres* are examined for all possible incentives which spurred their interpretation of the epic whether they be moral, political, self-aggrandizing, or merely stemming from the love of the work and the desire to illustrate it.

Finally, the episode chosen for explication, the storm sequence, is interpreted by this author in the genre of abstract expressionism. This depiction adheres as closely as possible to Vergil's text in the tradition of the illustrations of Vrancx with his appended Dutch translations. In triptych format the panels attempt to mirror the cinematic flow of wind and sea culminating with the monosyllabic close of *aquae mons*. Consequently, the *Aeneid* further illustrates with compelling evidence the power of the poet's visual rhetoric to elicit pictorial responses and to fuel the creative spirit for artists of all future generations in their endeavor to perpetuate the essence of humanity and the moral values for which Vergil stood, an homage to the human condition and to the poet himself.

Notes

1. *Classical Journal*, 42 (1946) 97-101.
2. Viktor Pöschl, *Die Dichtkunst Virgils: Bild und Symbol in der Aeneis* (Innsbruck: M.F. Rohrer, 1950). Trans by Gerda Seligson as *The art of Vergil: image and symbol in the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962). Chapter I, "Basic themes," 24-33.
3. Roger A. Hornsby, *Patterns of action in the Aeneid* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1970). Chapter 1, "The world of nature: the elements," 19.
4. Rayford W. Shaw, "Ut pictura poesis: Vergil's Laocoön and beyond," *South African Journal of Art History*, 16 (2001) 20-33.
5. Roger A. Austin, ed *Aeneidos liber primus* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971) 51. Austin comments on the genesis of Vergil's storm. A balanced arrangement is achieved with its onset (81-101), and subsequently its effect (102-113). There is a shift from the divine plane to action involving mortals. The storm is highly reminiscent of *Od* 5. 291 ff.
6. Ibid 52. Also see Hornsby, op cit 19-20. Of significant interest is Hornsby's further commentary on the poet's first simile in the *Aeneid*: "The important point about the simile lies in the comparison of a natural phenomenon to a human activity. The comparison is made, however, in a deliberately restrained fashion. . .By hinting in the simile at the personification of the winds. . . Vergil emphasizes the disparity which exists between men and winds. . .Indeed, as the storm develops, it is clear that the winds are not themselves consciously aiming to destroy Aeneas; he is the chance victim of their undirected turbulence."
7. Austin 50. Anaphora originates from the lively dramatic mode of colloquial Latin which gives emotional emphasis to sentences with parallel structure. It serves consciously as the poet's stylistic ornament to render an artistic form of emphatic connective.
8. Cp the alliteration with the *t* in *Fit sonitus spumante salo; jamque arva tenebant* (ii.209), and the alliterative sibilants in (*horresco referens*) *immensis orbibus angues* (ii.204).
9. The word for black or dark, *ater*, occurs thirty-eight times in the first half of the *Aeneid* and thirty-four times in the second half. It is coupled with various words to bring forth an air of suffering, horror, and misery. See: Sister Mary Matthew Foley, "Color imagery in the *Aeneid*," *The Classical Outlook*, vol 41, no 2 (October, 1963) 13-14. The most frequent use in the first six books is with *nox*. Vergil first uses it in line 89. It is used again during the fall of Troy to emphasize the gloom and the horrible fate that had come to the city: *nox atra cava circumvolat umbra* (ii.360), (black night flies around in a hollow shade). Then the phrase is employed in both a descriptive and a symbolic sense when Mercury vanishes into a black night *nocti atrae* after having warned Aeneas of Dido's plot to keep him in Carthage (iv.570).
10. Kenneth Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid a critical description* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968). Chapter 3, "Structure: tempo of the narrative: tenses," 89.
11. This first speech of Aeneas recalls the hero's speech in *Od* 5 306. See Pöschl, 26.
12. In a comparison with the *Laocoön* passage Vergil made six references to the sea within seven lines. Confined to lines 203-209 they are: (1) *alta*, (2) *pelago*, (3) *fluctus*, (4) *undas*, (5) *pontum*, and (6) *salo*. In the storm sequence comprising lines 81-123 there are nineteen references to the sea, but with multiple usage of the same word in different case and number. Vergil's choice of words to depict the same subjects, as they are strategically placed throughout a passage, reflects his ability to achieve a sense of consistency and balance with a lack of repetition and monotony.
13. John N. Hough, "Monosyllabic verse endings in the *Aeneid*," *Classical Journal* 71 (1975) 16-24. Hough assesses the occurrence of monosyllabic endings in the *Aeneid* to be 138. About half of these (68) are formed by the word *est*. The remaining 70 examples he addresses in his study, but gives the highest marks to the following under the category of "best known" and the "best" in Vergil: i.105 *insequitur cumulo praeruptus aquae mons*; ii.250 *vertitur interea caelum et ruit Oceano nox*; v.481 *sternitur exanimisque tremens procumbit humi bos*.
14. cf vi.355 *tris Notus hibernas immensa per aequora noctes. Saxa latentia*. . .*saxa* can fall under the rubric of epianalepsis, according to Austin, op cit 59. It functions in an

ornamental capacity to "give lively emphasis to the apparently casual parenthesis."

15. Similar numerical words appear in the *Laocoön* passage which allude to the dual number: *gemini, pariter, uterque, and duorum*. The anaphoric *bis . . . bis* (ii.218) recalls the adverb *ter* (i.116).

16. The abundance of spondees in *Apparent rari nantes in gurgite vasto* (i.118) renders a vivid picture of items bobbing in the water.

17. Austin comments that there is a sparse verbal cataloguing of these events, but without specifying any rhetorical device employed.

18. The winds were the offsprings of Aurora (Eos). See Hesiod, *Theog* 378.

19. The hyperbaton is the dramatic highlight of Neptune's rebuke and remains the major source of visual representation from the episode.

20. T.C. Donatus, *Interpretationes Vergilianae*, 2 vols ed H. Georgius (Leipzig: Teubner, 1906) 36.

21. Servius *Commentarii*, edd Georg Thilo and Herman Hagen (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881-1887) 59.

22. Austin (66) states that aposiopesis is a figure employed essentially in animated, dramatic speech and is frequent in Comedy and in Cicero's letters.

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

24. Hornsby, 21.

25. Such design occurred in the *Laocoön* episode which opened with a reference to Neptune: *Laocoön, ductus Neptuno sorte sacerdos* (ii.201); it closed citing the shrine of Minerva where the serpents took refuge: *effugiunt saevaeque petunt Tritonidis arcem* (ii.226). Pöschl, 16, alludes to the same concept of design with reference to Jupiter and Juno. He states that the first unit of the *Aeneid* is framed by the appearance of these two major divinities whose divine will is opposite.

26. Jennifer Klein Morrison, "Apollonio di Giovanni's *Aeneid* cassoni and the Virgil commentators," *Yale University Art Gallery Bulletin* (1992) 26-44. This is the most thorough account of the artist's cassoni that I have found regarding the interpretive process by way of ancient and contemporary commentators of Vergil. Consequently, her article has been my major source in collaboration with the research based on the findings of Ellen Callmann. See n 28.

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

28. Ellen Callmann, *Apollonio di Giovanni* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974) 40.

29. Morrison, 27 ff.

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

31. Ibid 61.

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

33. Morrison, 14.

34. Fabius Planciades Fulgentius, *Expositio Virgilianae continentiae secundum philosophos morales*, in *Fulgentius, the mythographer*, ed and trans by Leslie George Whitbread (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1971) 127.

35. Bernardus Silvestris, *Commentum super sex libros Eneidos Virgilii*; translated as *The commentary on the first six books of the Aeneid commonly attributed to Bernardus Silvestris* by Earl G. Schreiber and Thomas E. Maresca (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979) 25-26.

36. Morrison, 37.

37. Ibid 38.

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

39. Morrison, 40.

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

41. Bernice Davidson, "The *Navigazione d'Enea* tapestries designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria," *The Art Bulletin*, v 72, (mar 1990) 35-50.
42. Ibid 38, n 19. Also see Davidson, "The *Furti di Giove* tapestries designed by Perino del Vaga for Andrea Doria," *The Art Bulletin*, v 70, (1998) 445-446.
43. See L. Nees, "Le quos ego de Marc-Antoine Raimondi. L'Adaptation d'une source par Raphael," *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, nos 40-41, (1978) 18 ff.
44. Davidson, "The *Navigazione d'Enea* tapestries," 36 and n 110.
45. Ibid 49, n 54. Speculation is that they could have vanished in 1849 at Rome during the siege involving the French and Garibaldi's forces.
46. Davidson comments that the Chatsworth sketch is more roughly drafted than the Hamburg drawing, indicating that the former was produced more rapidly and at the nascent stage of the design. Given the fact that the two drawings differ significantly in format, composition, and style, nevertheless they resemble the banquet of Dido and Aeneas in the lower right corner of Marcantonio's engraving. Whereas the Chatsworth drawing retains two characteristics of the engraving, a bearded and crowned Aeneas and a false Ascanius embracing the queen, the Hamburg drawing depicts a clean-shaven Aeneas wearing a Trojan cap while Ascanius simply kneels at the feet of Dido.
47. Based on the conjecture that the cartoons for the Neptune salon were not returned to the Dorias, they apparently were retained by the weavers who continued to produce the tapestries, sometimes with minor modifications. Davidson draws comparisons on the two tapestries, pointing out that both detail a bearded Aeneas, but both pieces also choose the kneeling Ascanius of the Hamburg drawing rather than the embracing figure of the Chatsworth version. The weavers have also embellished their design with the addition of a luxuriant landscape and decorative columns.
48. The seventh tapestry, discussed later, measures approximately 18 3/4 feet wide. Davidson, 41.
49. This is the third of three scenes in Marcantonio's engraving which renders the intervention of gods to determine the fate of Aeneas. The first appears in the *Quos ego* which dominates the print with its central placement. The second, already mentioned, occurs in the upper left corner of the engraving. If the seventh tapestry of the Spanish collection would be added to the Genoese group, the presence of Mercury in the roundel could be interpreted as a conflation of two incidents involving Jupiter: one, in his discourse with Venus concerning Aeneas' fate, and the other, with Mercury's reprimand of the hero's dalliance in Carthage.
50. Davidson, 45. The attribution of this tapestry to Perino is determined by a copy of a lost drawing of the scene with the designer's name inscribed on a step beneath the throne. The common practice to enlarge and embellish the model is evident in the widening of the steps and the stretching out of the middle section in the weaving of the tapestry. Another departure from the Louvre drawing and Vergil's text is that in the tapestry Ilioneus, who is the eldest of the crew, according to Vergil, and who sports a beard in the drawing, is portrayed as a beardless young man.
51. Davidson, 46. To explain the seventh tapestry in the Madrid collection one possibility is that Perino may have designed two sets of drawings and that the cartoons for both series could have been used for the Spanish group.
52. Davidson, 49, n 54.
53. Friedrich Winkler, "Der unbekannt Sebastian Vrancx," *Pantheon*, 22 (1964) 322-334.
54. Louisa W. Ruby, "Sabastiaen Vrancx as illustrator of Virgil's *Aeneid*," *Master Drawings*, 28 (Spring 1990) 54-73.
55. Brant's woodcuts for this edition of the works of Vergil that came out from the presses of Johann Gruninger, one of the best printers of Strasbourg around 1500, knew a considerable success and were reprinted several times, notably at Lyons and Venice between 1517 and 1552.
56. Ruby, 63. Ruby points out three occasions in which Hollar replicated the backgrounds in his etchings of Roman ruins after Vrancx. The first is taken from *Aeneas enters the underworld* and copied in Hollar's first print entitled the *Baths of Diocletian*; the second is the image of smoke rising out of a building and an arch through which Aeneas is about to enter, in Vrancx's *In the underworld* duplicated in Hollar's print after Vrancx, *The round building*; and last, the grotto in *Vulcan forging Aeneas' arms* apparently could be taken for duplication in Hollar's series. See G. Parthey, *Wenzel Hollar: Beschreibendes Verzeichniss seiner Kupferstiche*, Berlin (1853) nos 1103, 1104, 1110, and 1112.
57. F.J. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis der Antwerpsche Schilderschool*, Antwerp (1883) 469 ff.
58. Theodore Rabb, "Sebastian Brant and the first illustrated edition of Virgil," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 21, no 4 (Summer 1960) 196.
59. Erika Langmuir, "Arma virumque. . . Niccolò dell'Abatte's *Aeneid Gabinetto* for Scandiano," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 39 (1976) 151-170. Langmuir discusses dell'Abatte's cycle, stating that his twelve panels were so similar to scenes from Brant's cycle, that he must have had in his possession an immediate edition of Brant from which to work.
60. Hervé Oursel, "La chasse de Didon et Enée," *La Revue du Louvre et des Musées de France*, 43 (1993) 73-74. There appears to be a different calculation in the number of Brant's woodcuts. Ruby lists 137, Oursel counts 143 in his article.
61. E.K.J. Reznicek, *Nostra di Disegni Fiamminghi e Olandesi*, exh cat Florence (1964) 57 ff. Reznicek suggests that Rubens copied Vrancx's work, and he believes it to be copied from one of Vrancx's paintings in Hamburg. Ruby, 69.
62. The winds in Bk i and the serpents in Bk ii share the same pelagic venue, and both exemplify the pictorial rhetoric which has inspired my interpretation of the episodes in triptych design. Each event unfolds in three separate stages to reflect Vergil's narrative and to illustrate the cinematic nature of the poet's verse.

63. There surfaces in the "storm" and the "serpent" passages an underlying theme of concealment, *res latentes*, which becomes an *idée fixe* throughout the *Aeneid*. A review of this manifestation reveals their individual source: (1) Jupiter confines the winds in a mountain, and Aeolus, at the bid of Juno, unleashes the destructive forces to shipwreck Aeneas and his crew; (2) from their source of hiding the twin serpents suddenly embark from Neptune's sea, attack Laocoon engaged in a ritualistic sacrifice in honor of the god, perform their sanguineous deed, and seek refuge in the temple of Minerva. Subsequently, at their release by Sinon the Greek soldiers emerge from the wooden horse where they have been lying in ambush for the strategic attack on the Trojans.

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