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THE CYCLOPS SIMILES OF *AENEID* 3

Abstract. – The third book of Virgil's contains the fewest similes in the epic. Close study of the language and imagery employed to describe the Cyclopes reveals a web of intratextual allusions to other passages both in Book 3 and elsewhere in the epic, in particular with respect to the Augustan victory at Actium, the war in Latium, and Aeneas' slaying of Turnus.

Key words. – Virgil, *Aeneid*, Cyclops, Polyphemus, Actium.

Aeneid 3 contains the fewest similes of any book of Virgil's epic.¹ Strictly speaking, there is but one simile, namely the comparison of the Cyclopes to trees associated with sacred haunts of Jupiter and Diana:

cernimus adstantis nequiquam lumine torvo
Aetnaeos fratres, caelo capita alta ferentis,
concilium horrendum: quales cum vertice celso
aëriae quercus aut coniferae cyparissi
constiterunt, silva alta Iovis lucusve Dianae. (3.677-81)²

This eerie image comes as Aeneas and his men make their successful escape from the baleful monsters, having taken along a Greek castaway from Ulysses' own memorable experience with Polyphemus

¹ For passages from this book see especially R.D. Williams, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Tertius*, Oxford, 1962, P.V. Cova, *Virgilio: Il libro terzo dell'Eneide* (Biblioteca di Aevum Antiquum), Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1998 (seconda edizione), N.M. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 3*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006, S.J. Heyworth and J.H.W. Morwood, *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid 3*, Oxford, 2017, and G. Binder, *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis Ein Kommentar, Band 2: Kommentar zu Aeneis 1-6*, Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 2019, *ad loc.*

² Passages from Virgil's *Aeneid* are cited from G.B. Conte, ed., *Publius Vergilius Maro: Aeneis* (Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum), Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2019 (*editio altera*).

and his brothers.³ The comparison is made especially powerful by the apposition of the *silva alta* and the *lucus* with the trees (i.e., nominatives instead of an expression of place where): the Cyclopes are associated directly with the Jovian forest and Diana's grove, as if they were the forest or the grove.⁴ *Silva alta* at 3.681 forms a neat ring with 3.675 *at genus e silvis Cyclopum et montibus altis*;⁵ further, the reference to *lumine torvo* at 3.677 echoes 3.636 ... *torvo sub fronte* ..., of the brow of Polyphemus after he has been deprived of its *lumen*. It is a powerfully alliterative passage, with a striking number of gutturals (*cernimus – caelo – capita – concilium – cum – celso – coniferae – cyparissi – constiterunt*; also *quercus* and *lucus*) in sound echo of the subject of *Cyclopes*, and a visual element (*cernimus*) that reflects the passage's focus on the monocular monsters.

Alongside this simile, from the same narrative of the Trojan encounter with the Cyclopes we may note the briefer comparison of the eye of the monster Polyphemus to a shield or the sun/moon, in the scene where the blinding of the Cyclops is recalled by Ulysses' companion Achaemenides:⁶

... et telo lumen terebramus acuto
ingens, quod torva solum sub fronte latebat,
Argolici clipei aut Phoebeae lampadis instar (3.635-7)

The Cyclops' single eye is massive,⁷ like unto a manmade shield or the solar (or lunar) orb in the heavens.⁸

³ For how Aeneas sees the Cyclopean horde, in a change from Homer's account of Odysseus' experience, see D. Lowe, *Monsters and Monstrosity in Augustan Poetry*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2015, pp. 240-1. More generally note P. Murgatroyd, *Mythical Monsters in Classical Literature*, London: Bristol Classical Press, 2007.

⁴ For consideration of the arboreal image, note the sensitive reading of R. Monreal, *Aeneas als Held und Erzähler: Zur narrativen Gestaltung von Vergils Aeneis* (Hypomnemata, Band 214, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2023, pp. 341 ff.

⁵ Cf. 3.644-6, with mention of the *alti montes* and *silvae inter deserta ferarum* where the Cyclopes dwell.

⁶ Virgil's Polyphemus is a literary inheritance derived principally from Homer, *Odyssey* 9.105-566. See here R. Mondì, "The Homeric Cyclopes: Folktale, Tradition, and Theme," in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 113 (1983), pp. 17-38. While etymologically the Cyclopes make one think of the circular eye, Polyphemus' name evokes the image of many voices, or of that which is much related (and indeed, we may note that Polyphemus has a rich history in several genres). Interestingly, in the epic's final scene Virgil highlights the contrast between speech and vision, as Turnus makes a persuasive speech, but Aeneas' eyes lead him in another direction.

⁷ For the use of *ingens* in *refet* to indicate emphasis, see P. Dainotti, *Word Order and Expressiveness in the Aeneid*, Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015, p. 220.

⁸ On the language cf. here H. Jacobson, "Aeneid 3.635-7," in *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 58, No. 2 (Dec., 2008), pp. 698-9.

The focus of our study will be to consider these paired images closely, with an eye to the implications of the poet's introduction of references to the divine twins Apollo and Diana, as well as his allusions both to Juno's Argos and to Jupiter. Detailed examination of these similes will reveal a complex web of associations that serve to illustrate themes of major concern to the poet, not least with respect both to the closing scene of the epic and to the contemporary political milieu in the wake of the Augustan victory at Actium.

Our similes occur as a feature of the Achaemenides episode from Aeneas' account at Dido's banquet of the westward voyage of the Trojans.⁹ Specifically, both comparisons appear in connection to Polyphemus and his brother Cyclopes.¹⁰ Both stand out (especially the arboreal imagery) in part because of the absence of similes from elsewhere in the book. Both similes offer a pair of comparands. The second element of the first comparison references probably Phoebus, though possibly Phoebe (*Phoebeae lampadis instar*), and the second element of the second simile certainly mentions Apollo's divine twin Diana (*lucusve Dianae*).¹¹ The collocation *Phoebea lampas* does not occur before Virgil, and is imitated rarely in extant verse. *Lampas* is a feminine noun, which may make one think of Phoebe more than Phoebus; it is interesting that in two of the three uses of the circumlocution in argentine verse, the reference is lunar and not solar. It may be that Achaemenides' celestial comparison is deliberately ambiguous: either we think of the sun or the moon, and when we encounter the subsequent simile with Jupiter and Diana, we remember either the moon goddess, or her brother the sun, or (better) both.

⁹ On this episode note P.V. Cova, "Achemenide," in F. Della Corte, ed., *Enciclopedia virgiliana* I, Roma: Istituto della enciclopedia italiana, 1985, pp. 22-3, M. Carter, "Achaemenides," in R.F. Thomas and J.M. Ziolkowski, *The Virgil Encyclopedia, Volume I*, Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014, p. 5; note also A.G. McKay, "The Achaemenides Episode: Vergil, *Aeneid* III, 588-691," in *Vergilius*, No. 12 (1966), pp. 31-8, T.E. Kinsey, "The Achaemenides Episode in Virgil's *Aeneid* III," in *Latomus*, T. 38, Fasc. 1 (janvier-mars 1979), pp. 110-24, E.L. Harrison, "Achaemenides' Unfinished Account: Vergil *Aeneid* 3.588-691," in *Classical Philology*, Vol. 81, No. 2 (Apr., 1986), pp. 146-7, W. Moskalow, "The Cyclops, Achaemenides, and the Permutations of the Guest-Host Relationship in *Aeneid* 1-4," in *Vergilius*, Vol. 34 (1988), pp. 25-34, J. Ramminger, "Imitation and Allusion in the Achaemenides Scene (Vergil, *Aeneid* 3.588-691)," in *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 112, No. 1 (Spring, 1991), pp. 53-71, and J. Soerink, "'Homerus noemt mij niet': Achaemenides in Vergilius' *Aeneis* 3," in *Lampas*, Volume 50, Issue 1, Jan. 2017, pp. 75-94. Ovid resurrects the Achaemenides tale at *Metamorphoses* 14.154-222, on which see K.S. Myers, *Ovid, Metamorphoses Book XIV*, Cambridge, 2009, *ad loc.*

¹⁰ See further here J. Glenn, "Virgil's Polyphemus," in *Greece & Rome*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Apr., 1972), pp. 47-59.

¹¹ *Phoebea lampas* is (deliberately) ambiguous. Cf. Valerius Flaccus, *Arg.* 7.366, where *lampade Phoebe*s refers clearly to "Phoebe's lamp," i.e. to Diana's moon (so also Seneca, *Phoenissae* 87). Silius Italicus, *Pun.* 10.111 *Phoebea lampade* is of the sun.

The first element of the first simile – the Argive shield – is of complex association. In the second simile, the first element offers a straightforward reference to Jupiter (*silva alta Iovis*). In the first simile, *Argolici clipei* is of markedly rich and evocative import. Argos was associated in particular with Juno, a point that Virgil highlights already near the opening of his epic, as he recalls the goddess' mindful wrath in the wake of the war at Troy and the goddess' fondness for her dear Argives: *prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis* (1.24). Certainly any allusion to Argos recalls the struggle of the Greeks at Troy, and is appropriate in a passage that involves an encounter with a Greek fighter from the war (even if Achaemenides is not Argive; his name evokes the Achaeans, and he stands for all the Hellenes).¹² Naturally enough, Achaemenides describes Polyphemus' eye in imagery that reflects his ethnically Greek origins, imagery that he juxtaposes with a reference to the sun (or moon) that is known to all.

But there is also a deeper, more significant series of associations, recalling an earlier scene from Book 3. At 3.286–8 *aere clavo clipeus, magni gestamen Abantis, / postibus adversis figo et rem carmine signo: / AENEAS HAEC DE DANAIS VICTORIBUS ARMA*, Aeneas fixes a brazen shield on the doors of a temple at Actium. The shield is said to have been the property of one “Abas,” a name that is applied, it would seem, to three quite different characters in the *Aeneid* (a Trojan, a Greek, and an Etruscan).¹³ “Abas” (whichever of the three one considers) is one of those shadowy figures in the epic, of whom little is said.¹⁴ Certainly the shield reference is challenging to scholarly ingenuity. It comes amid a reminiscence of Aeneas' having escaped from the midst of enemy Argive cities: 3.282–3 ... *iuvat evasisse tot urbes / Argolicas mediosque fugam tenuisse per hostis*.¹⁵ We meet the Trojan Abas at 1.121, who is in peril during the Junonian/Aeolian tempest. While it would appear that Abas *Troianus* survives the storm, it is also the case that he is never mentioned again in the poem.¹⁶ The “second

¹² On the character's name note M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 140–1.

¹³ For an introduction to the problems posed by curious object see J.F. Miller, “The Shield of Argive Abas at *Aeneid* 3.286,” in *The Classical Quarterly* N.S. Vol. 43, No. 2 (1993), pp. 445–50.

¹⁴ S. Moorby, “Achates: Faithful Friend or Poetic Fraud?,” in *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 26 (2008), pp. 66–75 provides an excellent study of one such enigmatic character, with useful material on others.

¹⁵ On the motif of flight in this section of the epic note M. Schauer, *Aeneas dux in Vergils Aeneis: Eine literarische Fiktion in augusteischer Zeit*, München: Verlag C.H. Beck, 2007, pp. 203–4 n. 511.

¹⁶ Note that Janell's Teubner index considers the Abases of Books 1 and 3 to be the same man. Note also the allusion to storm image at 3.284–5 *interea magnum sol circumvolvitur annum / et glacialis hiems Aquilonibus asperat undas*, which may deliberately recall the scene from Book 1.

Abas” of the epic is the mysterious bearer of the shield that Aeneas dedicates, a shield “from the victorious Danaans” (*de Danais victoribus*). Thus Aeneas’ offering is that of a defeated man, who is presenting a shield taken from the winning side in the Trojan War; adding to the complication, Aeneas implicitly is depicted as if he were making an anachronistic dedication, in thanksgiving for the victory of Octavian at Actium.

The Abas of the shield reference is an Argive Abas, with connection to the story of the murderous daughters of Danaus – the name Danaus is echoed in *Danaïs*. There is thus another temporal distortion at play here: “Aeneas alludes anachronistically,” Sergio Casali notes, to Abas the Argive son of Lynceus.¹⁷ Lynceus (the husband of Hypermnestra)¹⁸ was the only survivor of the notorious Danaid nuptial bloodbath, in which the sons of Aegyptus were slain by their cousins. The myth of the Danaids was commemorated in a portico of the great Augustan temple of Apollo Palatinus that was dedicated in 28 B.C.; alongside the iconographic significance of the lore for Virgil’s contemporary political regime, the story figures in several passages of Augustan poetry.¹⁹

The mythographer Hyginus records the relevant story.²⁰ Lynceus’ life was spared by his merciful spouse; her father Danaus dies soon enough. Abas first brings the news to his father Lynceus, who seeks a gift for his son and sees the shield of the youthful Danaus, which the now dead king had dedicated to the goddess Juno in her temple at Argos. Lynceus gives the shield to Abas, who rededicates it and establishes quinquennial games. In Virgil, Actian games are established with a shield dedication in *Aeneid* 3 anachronistically, long in advance of the final victory of Octavian over Antony and Cleopatra. Later in the epic, we learn that the Arcadian Pallas’ *balteus* depicts the slaughter of the husbands of the Danaids (cf. 10.495-9); the young warrior dies like one of those doomed bridegrooms, one might think, as will the Rutulian Turnus in the closing scene of the poem.²¹ Turnus was like a Danaid as he slew Pallas, some might think (in which case

¹⁷ “Abas (1-3),” in Thomas and Ziolkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁸ Hypermnestra etymologically was “much-wooded,” like Virgil’s Lavinia.

¹⁹ Aeschylus’ *Suppliques* no doubt was a major source here, though we do well to remember that much literature has been lost to us, including the other plays from the relevant trilogy.

²⁰ *Fabulae* 170. On the question of the identification of the author of this work (possibly a later epitome of an original text of Gaius Julius Hyginus, the Augustan freedman), and the relationship to Virgil of both the *Fabulae* and the astronomy handbook ascribed to the same author, see L. Fratantuono, “Hyginus’ *De Astronomia* and Virgil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Lucida Intervalla* 51 (2022), pp. 153-68.

²¹ See further here S. Spence, “Cinching the Text: The Danaids and the End of the *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* Vol. 37 (1991), pp. 11-9; cf. M.C.J. Putnam, “Virgil’s Danaid Ekphrasis,” in *Illinois Classical Studies*, Vol. 19 (1994), pp. 171-89.

so is Aeneas when he slays his antagonist); we may note that his father “Daunus” name recalls that of Danaus.²²

Further extant lore sheds light on the relevance of the Danaid story to Virgil. According to Pausanias (2.19.3-4), Danaus challenged one Gelanor for the kingship of Argos. At dawn a portentous wolf fell on a herd of oxen, with a successful attack on the bull that was its leader. Danaus was hailed by the Argives as the wolf of the hour. He founded a sanctuary in honor of Apollo Lycius, in the belief that Apollo had brought the wolf.

Danaus’ successful winning of the kingship of Argos could be seen as a prefiguring of the Augustan triumph, in particular over Egypt’s Cleopatra.²³ Certainly one can see hints of the same theme in Aeneas’ slaying of Turnus, though we shall see that Virgil complicates matters for quite specific reasons, such that he eschews simple typological associations.²⁴

Turnus’ entrance in the catalogue of Italian heroes highlights his Argive pedigree.²⁵ Besides his Rutulian and other Italian contingents, Turnus is accompanied by *Argiva pubes* (7.794).²⁶ His shield is emphasized in the description of his advent, together with his crested helmet (7.785-92). Significantly, the helmet features the monstrous Chimaera, which breathes Aetnaean flames: 7.785-6 *cui triplici crinita iuba galea alta Chimaeram / sustinet, Aetnaeos efflantem faucibus ignis*. The Etna allusion directly echoes the mention of the Cyclopean *Aetnaeos fratres* of 3.678.²⁷

Turnus’ helmet has a chimaeric emblem, and his shield depicts his distant relative Io (a ravished victim of Jupiter, just like his sister Juturna).²⁸ As he makes his dramatic entry into the war, Turnus incarnates the Cyclopean threat that Aeneas and his men escaped in the shadow of Etna. Arguably, Turnus will experience his greatest battle successes in Book 9, in the absence of Aeneas. After the death of

²² C.C. Breen, “The Shield of Turnus, the Swordbelt of Pallas, and the Wolf: *Aeneid* 7.789-92, 9.59-66, 10.497-99,” in *Vergilius* 32 (1986), pp. 63-71 considers the connection of Turnus to the lore about Daunus and the wolf.

²³ Cf. A. Mastrocinque, “Danaus and Augustus,” in *Acta Antiqua* 55 (2015), pp. 179-84.

²⁴ Both Aeneas and Turnus, for example, are compared to predatory wolves (cf. 2.355-60 and 9.59-66/9.565-6).

²⁵ Cf. the analysis of W.F. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1975. On all aspects of the hero, see P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis*, Königstein: Verlag Anton Hain, 1984.

²⁶ For commentary on Turnus’ parade entrance see N.M. Horsfall, *Aeneid 7: A Commentary*, Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 2000, *ad loc.*

²⁷ Useful here is P.A. Johnston, “Under the Volcano: Volcanic Myth and Metaphor in Vergil’s *Aeneid*,” in *Vergilius* Vol. 42 (1996), pp. 55-65.

²⁸ M.R. Gale, “The Shield of Turnus (*Aeneid* 7.783-92),” in *the Greece & Rome*, Vol. 44, No. 2 (Oct., 1997), pp. 176-96.

Pallas in Book 10, he will add another significant artistic object to his armor: the aforementioned baldric of the doomed Arcadian youth, with its horrific and bloody nuptial imagery of the murderous daughters of Danaus.

What are we to make of this Danaid lore, and its implications for the end of the *Aeneid*? The fifty daughters of Danaus sought to escape marriage to the sons of his twin brother Aegyptus. They fled to Argos, and the sons of Aegyptus pursued them. Danaus allowed the marriages, but with the instruction to his daughters to kill their spouses. The notion of conflict between brothers recalls the fratricidal relationship of Romulus and Remus, and the perennial problem of internecine, civil strife in Roman history.²⁹ The fact that forty-nine of fifty sons of “Aegyptus” are slain may make one think of Augustus’ victory over Egypt.

Pallas wears a baldric that commemorates the murderous, impious action of the Danaids. If Turnus’ improper assumption of the ominous *balteus* in part implicitly depicts his slaying of Pallas as if the murderous Rutulian were akin to a Danaid, then one must ask what significance there was in the Arcadian’s original ownership and donning of the sword belt. Why does Pallas wear a work of art associated with the Danaid slaughter? It is important to remember that one must consider not only the implications for the reader of why a given character is associated with a particular myth like that of the Danaids, but also what the character thought the art meant for himself. If anything, the artwork is more fitting for Turnus to don in view of his Argive ancestry, than for the Arcadian.³⁰ Pallas did not assume the Danaid baldric so that scholars could point out that he is destined to be likened to a slaughtered, newlywed son of Aegyptus. If there was an intentional association behind the assumption of the Danaid belt, likelier it was in the case of Pallas than of Turnus.³¹ Presumably it was seen as an allegory for conquest, a reminiscence of the terrible yet effective means by which Danaus attained Argive supremacy.

Turnus may wear the baldric simply because it was Pallas’, with no consideration of the significance of the ominous artwork. Argive Turnus may have felt (rightly) that he had more claim to the baldric than Arcadian Pallas. The action of the Danaids led to the Argive reign of Danaus, and so for either man the *balteus* can serve as a symbol of aspirational power. Certainly the main problem for Turnus is that he

²⁹ The lupine element in Danaus’ securing of power at Argos accords also with the significance of the wolf in Roman foundation lore.

³⁰ C.J. Mackie, “Turnus and His Ancestors,” in *The Classical Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (1991), pp. 261-5; cf. B. Hannah, “Manufacturing Descent: Vergil’s Genealogical Engineering,” in *Arethusa*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 141-64.

³¹ R.N. Mitchell, “The Violence of Virginité in the *Aeneid*,” in *Arethusa*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Fall 1991), pp. 219-38.

should have dedicated the baldric of his slain foe (to Argive Juno, perhaps), not donned it.³² Turnus is not a bride slaying her spouse, and neither was Pallas in his exploits and aristeia before he was cut down. Fundamentally, the baldric evokes the image of civil war, indeed of the most intimate, intra-familial sort. Turnus and Pallas are both ethnically Greek. Aeneas wins his final victory as a Trojan slaying a Greek (i.e., in quasi-reversal of the outcome of the Trojan War), but the image of internecine strife endures in the sense that the Trojans are supposed to be mixed with the Ausonians (corporally, at least), as part of the settlement of the composition of the future realm of Rome.³³

Beyond the question of why someone would wear a given piece of armor or what they would think of it, there is also the poet's express authorial commentary on the object. In the case of the Danaid artwork, Virgil describes it as an *impressum nefas* (10.497).³⁴ The impious crime of these new brides is unspeakable; the artwork serves as silent yet eloquent testimony to the horror. And there is another element, one of incalculable significance for the resolution of the poem, and for the triangular relationship of Pallas, Turnus, and Aeneas.³⁵

The Danaid story implicitly introduces the notion of clemency or mercy, recalling as it does Hypermnestra's lone example in sparing Lynceus. Turnus does not spare Pallas, and Aeneas does not offer clemency to Daunus' son.³⁶ Hypermnestra's pity for Lynceus resulted in the birth of Abas, the man whose shield had originally been dedicated by his grandfather Danaus to Juno, the shield that Aeneas would set up at Actium. Pallas' baldric depicts the scene of nuptial bloodshed; it omits any mention of Hypermnestra's noteworthy act of mercy.³⁷

Aeneas does not spare Turnus, though he does ascribe the responsibility for the slaying to Pallas (12.948-9), perhaps with an

³² Put another way, Turnus fails to dedicate the *balteus* to Juno, in parallel to how Aeneas failed to dedicate the shield of Argive Abas to Juno. Camilla's experience with Chloereus offers something of a parallel case to Turnus' with Pallas.

³³ D.M. Pollio, *Reconcilable Differences: Greeks and Trojans in the Aeneid*, in *Vergilius* Vol. 52 (2006), pp. 96-107.

³⁴ Cf. the *infandi Cyclopes* of 3.644.

³⁵ D. O'Higgins, "The Emperor's New Clothes: Unseen Images on Pallas' Baldric," in *Hermathena*, Vol. 158 (Summer 1995), pp. 61-72.

³⁶ L. Shelfer, "Crime and Punishment in the *Aeneid*: The Danaids and the Legal Context of Turnus' Death," in *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 106, No. 3 (February-March 2011), pp. 295-319.

³⁷ This artistic detail is perhaps significant. The Aeneas who faces Turnus is haunted by two sets of injunctions from father figures, sc. Evander's wish at 11.175-81 that the Trojan would exact vengeance for Pallas' death, and the address of Anchises in the underworld to the Roman of the future about sparing one's enemies. When Aeneas sees the baldric on Turnus, he follows the path indicated by both Evander and the art engraved on Pallas' belt.

element of intended quasi-mitigation of culpability.³⁸ Scholars have debated the question of the Trojan hero's decision, not least with respect to the problem of *clementia*.³⁹ Achaemenides certainly received pity, even after the Trojan experience with the mendacious Sinon.⁴⁰ Admittedly, Achaemenides had not slain Aeneas' friend.

In *Aeneid* 3 we move from the mention of Abas' fateful Argive shield in connection with the memory of the glorious victory at Actium, to the *Argolicus clipeus* to which Polyphemus' eye is compared in the description of his blinding.⁴¹ The first of our two Cyclopean similes comes in the grim context of that act of violence, and the second is in reference to the frustrated Cyclopes in the aftermath of another successful heroic evasion of monstrous perils, this time without the need for violence or trickery (both of which methods had been deployed by Ulysses). Polyphemus is blinded while asleep and drunk on wine (cf. 3.630-3); we may compare the nocturnal assault on Rhamnes by Nisus and Euryalus at 9.324 ff. Aeneas, Achaemenides, and the others flee the Cyclopes, but war looms in Italy.

We may begin to dissect the shield imagery. The Trojan Aeneas sets up the shield of the Argive Abas as part of lustral rites in honor of Jupiter; Trojan games are celebrated on Actian shores: 3.279-80 *lustramurque Iovi votisque incendimus aras / Actiaque Iliacis celebramus litora ludis*). There are two noteworthy problems here. First, in the aftermath of this episode, the seer Helenus enjoins Aeneas to ensure that Juno was propitiated before any other deity (3.435-40). This injunction is ignored when Aeneas makes his first landing in Italy, where he prioritizes Pallas (i.e., Minerva) over Argive Juno (a point to which we shall turn momentarily). Helenus' advice about Juno would make sense simply in light of the goddess' anger with Troy, but it takes on special resonance in light of Aeneas' dedication of Abas' shield. That shield had been a Junonian offering, but at Actium Aeneas makes no mention of the goddess; only Jupiter is mentioned. There are thus two offenses or slights against the goddess in a relatively short span of verses, first at Actium, and then on first landing in Italy. We

³⁸ For a start to challenging problems, see J. Esposito, "Who Kills Turnus? "Pallas" and What Aeneas Sees, Says and Does in *Aeneid* 12.939-52," in *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 111, No. 4 (April-May 2016), pp. 463-81. There is insightful commentary on duties owed to friends and responsibility for vengeance in V. Pöschl, "Das Befremdende in der Aeneis," in V. Pöschl, ed., *2000 Jahre Vergil: Ein Symposium* (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen, Band 24), Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983, pp. 175-88.

³⁹ The question of *clementia* in the epic is studied at length by A.D. Poulsen, "Why No Mercy? A Study of Aeneas' Missing Virtue," in *Symbolae Osloenses*, Volume 87, Issue 1 (2013), pp. 95-133.

⁴⁰ D. Quint, *Virgil's Double Cross: Design and Meaning in the Aeneid*, Princeton, 2018, p. 53 compares the treatment of Ulysses' companion with Dido and others.

⁴¹ On the topos see C.A. Gibson, "Punitive Blinding in *Aeneid* 3," in *The Classical World*, Vol. 92, No. 4 (Mar.-Apr., 1999), pp. 359-66.

may note too that Apollo is also ignored in Aeneas' Actian rites. Augustus' Actian victory would be won under Apollonian auspices; while Aeneas does not know this, anachronism would have allowed for a mention of the god. Significantly, the first Cyclops simile associates Juno and Phoebus, the "ignored deities" of Aeneas' Actian sojourn.

Second, there is the interesting juxtaposition of "Actian" and "Ilian." This is Trojan Aeneas with Ilian games, on Actian shores. We may recall this scene when we read 12.820 ff., where Juno successfully pleads for what her sibling spouse grants in solemn and memorable language: *sermonem Ausonii patriumque moresque tenebunt, / utque est, nomen erit; commixti corpore tantum / subsident Teucri. morem ritusque sacrorum / adiciam faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos* (12.834-8). Aeneas' celebration of Actian games is anachronistic, and somewhat presumptuous.⁴² Trojan Aeneas honors Jupiter, and he ignores the goddess to whom Abas' shield had originally been dedicated (did he know of the original offering?); more than nine books later in the epic, the Argive Juno who was not successfully appeased by Aeneas at Actium (and who was not prioritized on Aeneas' first arrival in Italy) will secure a major victory: *subsident Teucri*.

Helenus repeatedly advised Aeneas to prioritize Juno (3.436-7 *praedicam et repetens iterumque iterumque monebo / Iunonis magnae primum prece numen adora*). Some might argue that Aeneas does just this, indeed with specific reference to the Argive goddess. But while Juno is supplicated, significantly it is the battle goddess Pallas who is venerated first (3.543-7 ... *tum numina sancta precamur / Palladis armisonae, quae prima accepit ovantis, / et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu, / praeceptisque Heleni, dederat quae maxima, rite / Iunoni Argivae iussos adolemus honores*). This passage emphasizes that Pallas was first to receive the triumphant Trojans; it recalls, however, that Juno was supposed to receive priority in invocation. Argive Juno is cited after the war goddess; ironically, war is what will await the Trojans in Italy (as Anchises foretells at 3.539-40 from the equine omen that confronts them). It is a carefully worded, subtle and deliberate detail. Soon enough there is a dark allusion to Juno, as the Lacinian goddess and the citadel of Caulon are referenced (3.552-3), followed by *navifragum Scylaceum*, and Etna (3.553-4).⁴³ The stage has been set for continuing trouble from the unappeased Juno. The horse omen led naturally enough to prayer to the battle goddess, but at the expense of prejudicing an invocation to Juno first of all.

⁴² See here especially S. Rebeggiani, "De Danais Victoribus: Virgil's Shield of Abas and the Conquest of Greece," in *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 1 (2013), pp. 82-106.

⁴³ In *Scylaceum* there may be an echo of "Scylla" (see here Paschalis, *op. cit.*, p. 147).

Several hundred verses after the mention of the Argive shield of Abas, we find the comparison of the eye of Polyphemus to an Argive shield, or to the Phoebean lamp that is the sun/moon. The Argive shield imagery here comes in a decidedly darker context, as we move from a reminiscence of the glorious site of Actium, to the blinding of the dread Cyclops. Achaemenides' simile of the blinding of Polyphemus comes as part of a reminiscence of a happy moment of vengeance for the Greeks: *et tandem laeti sociorum ulciscimur umbras* (3.638). In part it is a prefiguring of the last verses of the epic, where Aeneas will take vengeance on Turnus for the death of Pallas. The juxtaposition of Argos and Apollo recalls the lore of Danaus and Apollo in the struggle against Gelanor. Aeneas was happy at Actium, and the Greeks were happy to take vengeance on Polyphemus.

We may note here another important element of the Virgilian puzzle. Danaus was aided by a wolf that slew a flock – a normally baleful occurrence. Polyphemus and his brother Cyclopes are pastoral, the sort of creatures who would seek to protect their flocks from rapacious wolves. They are simultaneously also cannibalistic monsters, averse to guests. Polyphemus has a name and a developed character in the tradition; his brethren do not.⁴⁴ And yet to Ulysses' men (and to Aeneas'), they constitute a deadly peril, as if the Cyclopes were lupine and the heroes ovine.⁴⁵ The shepherds are to be fought or evaded; they are irenic only among themselves, and fiercely hostile to newcomers (i.e., they violate codes of hospitality). Virgil plays on this complex image in his narrative of the war in Latium, with reference to the reception of Aeneas and his men by the Latins.

Achaemenides had warned Aeneas about the terrible perils of the deceptively pastoral Cyclopes (3.643-4).⁴⁶ The former enemy provides useful advice: he is no liar.⁴⁷ Soon enough the blind Polyphemus appears; he is a *monstrum horrendum* (3.658). In his wake comes a parallel *concilium horrendum* (3.679), of the hundred other Cyclopes whom Achaemenides has evaded successfully thus far, notwithstanding his great privations and extreme anxiety.⁴⁸ And it is this council

⁴⁴ On the “solitary ogre” motif see further here H. Jacobson, “Cacus and the Cyclops,” in *Mnemosyne* 42.1-2 (1989), pp. 101-2; cf. D. Sansone, “Cacus and the Cyclops: An Addendum,” in *Mnemosyne* 44.1-2 (1991), p. 171.

⁴⁵ Cf. the Odyssean ruse of hiding amid the flocks.

⁴⁶ Cf. M. Aguirre and R. Buxton, *Cyclops: The Myth & Its Cultural History*, Oxford, 2020, p. 225, on “the pastoral cannibal *par excellence*.”

⁴⁷ See here Y. Syed, *Vergil's Aeneid and the Roman Self: Subject and Nation in Literary Discourse*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press 2022 (second edition of the 2005 original), p. 201.

⁴⁸ On how Achaemenides' plight is a reminder that Aeneas “has still been protected from the extremes of suffering, humiliation, and death,” see G. Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid*, Princeton, 1972, p. 107. For how Virgil's Achaemenides recalls some aspects of the Philoctetes of Accius, see S. Stabryła, *Latin Tragedy in Virgil's Poetry*,

of a hundred Cyclopes who are like oaks or cypresses, a dense Jovian forest or a grove of Diana. Jupiter had been associated with the shield of Abas that Aeneas had dedicated on Actian shores; now the supreme god is linked with the terrifying Cyclopes. The *Argolicus clipeus* from the first Cyclopean simile recalled Danaus' original dedication to Juno, as well as Aeneas' setting up of the same shield not to its original dedicatee Juno, but to Jupiter (and, as aforementioned, with disregard of Helenus' instructions about prioritizing the angry goddess soon to follow).

Four deities thus converge in the two Cyclopean similes: Apollo and Diana, and Jupiter and Juno (two sets of siblings). Juno is unnamed precisely because she is the goddess omitted in Aeneas' shield dedication, notwithstanding the fact that in its origins the shield was an offering to her. It is a question of setting up a shield of Juno without so much as a mention of the slighted divinity.⁴⁹ Thus we find a deliberately and perfectly balanced quadrilateral: the unnamed Juno, whose ultimate appeasement and reconciliation will come only in private colloquy with Jupiter toward the end of Book 12, and the divine twins, one of whom at least is not necessarily a Trojan partisan in the Italian war, at least not when her devotee Camilla is on the battlefield.

War in Italy is looming, just as Anchises foresaw. The cannibalistic Cyclopes are pastoral; in some regards they evoke the image of the Saturnian Golden Age in Italy, especially if we recall that Saturn was guilty of quasi-cannibalism in the matter of trying to consume his own offspring to forestall his overthrow. Richard Thomas argues that "... they have a strong utopian aspect, evocative of the Golden Age."⁵⁰ And in their own way, the threat of the Cyclopes stands forth as a prefiguring of the war in Italy. Aeneas and his retinue escape such a threat now, together with the rescued Greek castaway Achaemenides;⁵¹ in a future hour they will do battle in Latium, and with Greek allies. Both Aeneas and Pallas will face Turnus and his Aetnaean fire, a chimaeric horror that recalls the Aetnaean fraternity from *Aeneid* 3. Achaemenides, for his part, disappears from the narrative.⁵² The Cyclopean fraternity prefigures the Trojan foes in Italy; insofar as Jupiter and Diana are associated with them, we see first a foreshadowing of Jupiter's

Wrocław/Warszawa/Krakow: Akad. Nauk, 1970, p. 5; cf. U.C.G. Gebhardt, *Sermo Iuris: Rechtsprache und Recht in der augusteischen Dichtung*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2009, p. 269.

⁴⁹ Cf. here J. Rohman, *Le Héros et la Déesse: Personnages, stratégies narratives et effets de lecture dans l'Énéide de Virgile*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres 2022, pp. 413 ff.

⁵⁰ R.F. Thomas, "Cyclopes," in Thomas and Ziolkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 326.

⁵¹ For how Aeneas thereby surpasses Odysseus, see E. Dekel, *Virgil's Homeric Lens* (Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies), New York-London: Routledge, 2012, p. 108.

⁵² On this see K. F. B. Fletcher, *Finding Italy: Travel, Colonization, and Nation in Vergil's Aeneid*, Ann Arbor: The University of California Press, 2014, p. 137.

major concession to Juno regarding the fate of Troy and his assent to her powerful appeal at 12.828 *occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia* (to which he responds *do, quod vis* at 12.833). Second, we find a foreshadowing of Diana's patronage of Camilla, who will be the recipient of unique, signal favors in terms of the goddess' careful protection of her body *post mortem*. No enemy of Troy in the Latin war is treated with as much respect and honor.

The collocation of the Jovian oak and Diana's cypress refers in particular to the cultic sites of Jupiter Latiaris and Diana Nemorensis in the environs of the Alban hills.⁵³ These epithets relate to the divine protection of Latium (and the latter title with the pastoral character of the region). In the other words, the Cyclopean brethren from which Aeneas and his party make their successful escape is associated intimately with the religious and cultic practice of Latium. Polyphemus' eye was connected by Achaemenides with an Argive shield or with Apollo's sun. Whatever natural enough explanations may be easily adduced for these comparisons, there is no escaping the fact that the poet reserves his one formal simile of *Aeneid* 3 for an association of the pastoral yet violent Cyclopes to the great gods of central Italy, and in anticipation of the great war to come in which the Trojans will be winners in one sense, and losers in another.

Cypress and oak are the specific arboreal elements of the simile. The cypress has funereal associations.⁵⁴ Near the close of *Aeneid* 2, the cypress figures in connection to Ceres and the loss of Proserpina (2.713-5 *est urbe egressis tumulus templumque vetustum / desertae Cereris iuxtaque antiqua cupressus / religione patrum multos servata per annos*, where the transferred epithet *desertae* conveys both the abandoned state of the temple, and the goddess' loss of her daughter).⁵⁵ In Book 3, besides its place in the Cyclopes simile, the cypress figures in the requiem rites to appease the shade of Polydorus (3.64), and in Book 6 it appears in a similar connection with the Misenus obsequies (6.216). Thus we have two goddess references of ominous import (Ceres, Diana), and two requiems. In the *Georgics*, the sole mention of the cypress is as an arboreal accoutrement of the pastoral deity Silvanus (1.20), thus reinforcing a connection between the primitive pastoralism of the Cyclopes and the romanticized, idyllic world of Golden Age Italy.⁵⁶

⁵³ On this note especially J.H. Dyson, *King of the Wood: The Sacrificial Victor in Virgil's Aeneid*, Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2001, pp. 178-80.

⁵⁴ See further here especially C.C. "Seeing Cypresses in Virgil," in *The Classical Journal*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (Oct.-Nov., 1992), pp. 1-17.

⁵⁵ The doubled cypress references near the end of the respective books may point to the losses of Creüsa and Anchises.

⁵⁶ Aeneas will receive his shield in Silvanus' grove (8.600-2). On the god see F. Trisoglio in F. Della Corte, ed., *Enciclopedia virgiliana IV*, Roma: Istituto della enci-

The oak is mentioned far more often than the cypress in Virgil's works.⁵⁷ The *quercus* is the “common,” pedunculate oak (*Quercus robur*). Significantly, it recurs at 11.4-6, of the Mezentius *tropaeum* that Aeneas erects before he turns his attention to the funereal ceremonies for Pallas.⁵⁸ Aeneas himself is compared to a strong, aged *quercus* at 4.441, as he resists the importuning of Anna on behalf of her impassioned sister.

We may note that the allusion to the “Phoebean lamp” of Polyphemos' eye at 3.637 is echoed at 4.6-7 *postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras / umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram*; the parallel references constitute the only occurrences of the adjective *Phoebeus* in the epic (and in this use, the sun is the certain referent). This Book 4 dawn is a significant one, as Dido finds herself in insatiable longing for her Trojan guest. At this juncture we may note that the allusions to Apollo and his sister in the Cyclopean similes of Book 3 invite comparison of the developed similes that associate Dido with Diana (1.496-504) and Aeneas with Apollo (4.142-50). This seemingly problematic connection of the ill-fated lovers to the divine twins has been explained by highlighting the sibling incest practiced by the Ptolemaic royals.⁵⁹ Aeneas may be compared to the great Augustan patron Apollo, but not in a context where he has an affair with Dido-Diana. Mention of the divine twins in the *Aeneid* serves as a reminder of the victory Augustus would win over what amounts to a perversion of the Apollo-Diana relationship in the Ptolemaic custom of sibling unions.

In the *Aeneid*, Diana is not depicted as being a particular patroness of the Trojans, in contrast to the Homeric Artemis.⁶⁰ Her most significant appearance in the epic (the only time when she is featured as a character) comes in the *Camilliad*, in which she operates seemingly at

clopedia italiana, 1988, pp. 853-854, and R.G.M. Nisbet and N. Rudd, *A Commentary on Horace, Odes, Book III*, Oxford, 2004, p. 354.

⁵⁷ On the tree see especially R. Armstrong, *Vergil's Green Thoughts: Plants, Humans, and the Divine*, Oxford, 2019, pp. 115-31, G. Maggiulli, *Incipient silvae cum primum surgere: Mondo vegetale e nomenclatura della flora di Virgilio*, Roma: Gruppo Editore Internazionale 1995, pp. 420-4, E. Abbe, *The Plants of Virgil's Georgics*, Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press 1965, pp. 82-83, and J. Sargeant, *The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell 1920, pp. 107-10.

⁵⁸ For parallels between the Etruscan king and the Cyclopes see J. Glenn, “Mezentius and Polyphemos,” in *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 92, No. 2 (Apr., 1971), pp. 129-55, and T. Schmit-Neuerburg, *Vergils Aeneis und die antike Homerexegese: Untersuchungen zum Einfluss ethischer und kritischer Homerzeption auf Imitatio und Aemulatio Vergils*, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999, pp. 332-3.

⁵⁹ So P. Hardie, “Virgil's Ptolemaic Relations,” in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 96 (2006), pp. 25-41.

⁶⁰ See further here L. Fratantuono, “The Virgilian Metamorphosis of Homer's Artemis,” in *Athenaeum* Vol. CX.II (2022), pp. 429-43; cf. the same author's “Diana in the *Aeneid*,” in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica*, New Series, Vol. 83, No. 2 (2006), pp. 29-43.

variance with her brother: she is devoted insofar as possible to her favorite Camilla, while Apollo plays no small role in securing the downfall of the Volscian heroine (cf. 11.783–98). If anything, Virgil's Diana is associated with anti-Trojan forces: first with Dido (who ultimately will curse Aeneas and his Roman descendants), then with the Cyclopes whom Aeneas and his men evade, and finally with Turnus' ally Camilla, who inflicts such harm on Aeneas' men and their allies before she is finally brought down. The implicit conflict between Diana and Apollo in *Aeneid* 11 is emblematic of civil war. The incestuous undertones of the evocation of the union of the divine twins in the relationship of Dido and Aeneas in Books 1 and 4 reflects the impropriety of Ptolemaic sibling marriage, and the inappropriateness of the relationship of Mark Antony in particular with Cleopatra.⁶¹ The harmonious, indeed erotic interaction of Carthaginian Dido and Trojan Aeneas at the hunt in reality was a perversion of the chaste associations of Diana's sylvan avocation.⁶²

The Cyclopes of *Aeneid* 3 are linked to Jupiter and Diana. In Book 11, like Apollo, Jupiter is involved in the arrest of Camilla's aristeia (cf. 11.725 ff.), though his intervention is less direct than Apollo's (i.e., he stirs up the Etruscan commander Tarchon to rouse his forces against the foe, while Apollo aids Arruns specifically in his fatal javelin assault on the Volscian girl).

In Homer's *Iliad*, Apollo is a patron of Troy. The Greek Achaemenides compares the eye of Polyphemus to an Argive shield, or to either the moon or Phoebus' solar orb. The comparison merits close consideration. The Greeks in context were blinding the monocular Cyclopes. They were extinguishing the light of the eye, which is naturally enough reminiscent of the sun (and, to a lesser degree, the moon). Achaemenides recalls a god who was a partisan of Troy (the same holds true if Phoebe lurks in the passage), though he makes mention too of a Greek shield, probably with reference from his perspective simply to the immense size of the eye (the same point is true of the solar/lunar allusion). For the reader, however, we think of the implications of the mention of an Argive shield in the context of *Aeneid* 3.

Aeneas set up the Argive shield of Abas at Actium, as part of rites and games in honor of Jupiter. The dedication was premature in the sense that the great Actian victory of 31 B.C. was far in the future; that great naval victory would be won under the patronage of Actian

⁶¹ M.P. Wilhelm, "Venus, Diana, Dido, and Camilla in the *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* Vol. 33 (1987), pp. 43–8, offers a sound introduction.

⁶² The stage for this is set by Venus in her Diana masquerade at 1.314 ff. It is significant that we hear of no game slain in the Carthaginian hunt; the only animal struck down in the book is the deer of the simile that describes Aeneas' amatory wounding of the queen (4.68–73): the prey is hunted successfully before the hunt though with disastrous outcome.

Apollo, and it is fitting that the *Phoebea lampas* be remembered as we hear of the Argive shield that recalls Aeneas' Actian offering. Further, the offering was marred by the neglect of Juno, the original honoree of the shield. Subsequently Aeneas was warned to be careful to prioritize making homage to the goddess; this was not heeded. On encountering Achaemenides, Aeneas was reminded obliquely of the fateful Argive shield. Showing mercy to his onetime foe, Aeneas successfully evaded the Cyclopes, but even in his moment of flight, the monstrous, monocular shepherds are ominously invested with harbingers of the war in Italy.

Significantly, Aeneas' own special battle shield will be the work of Vulcan and his Cyclopean collaborators; the god of the forge interrupts them as they work on Jupiter's thunderbolts, Mars' chariot, and Minerva's aegis (8.424-53), and orders them to commence work on the fabulous arms that Venus has requested.⁶³ Virgil's Vulcanian Cyclopes are not found in the Homeric model of *Iliad* 18.368-617, where Hephaestus works alone on the arms of Achilles at Thetis' behest; in part the *Aeneid* 8 scene is indebted to a passage from Callimachus' Artemis hymn (46-86), in which the goddess commissions a Cretan bow for herself from the Cyclopes, who are interrupted while working on a horse trough for Poseidon.⁶⁴ These (ultimately Hesiodic) Cyclopes would seem to be distinct from Polyphemus and his pastoral fraternity, though we may note the important connection between the Argive shield to which Achaemenides compares the eye of the Cyclops, and the shield that the Cyclopes aid in forging for Aeneas. And the climactic image on the shield will be Augustus' future victory at Actium, his triumph over Cleopatra and Antony (8.675 ff.) – the victory that was pre-figured by Aeneas' shield dedication and games on Actian shores in *Aeneid* 3.⁶⁵

We may trace and summarize the significance of the sequence of Virgilian Cyclopean similes and related passages. 1) Aeneas dedicates the Argive, originally Junonian shield of Danaus' grandson Abas amid rites to Jupiter at Actium; he makes no mention of Juno (or, for that matter, of Actian Apollo). 2) Aeneas is urged by Helenus to be certain to prioritize propitiating Juno; instead, on first landing in Italy (and amid an equestrian portent of forthcoming war), he prioritizes

⁶³ Book 8, we may note, is the part of the epic in which besides receiving his divine shield, Aeneas also hears (at the Pallenteum of Pallas and Evander) of the story of another "solitary ogre," the monster Cacus slain by Hercules.

⁶⁴ Cf. also *Georgic* 4.170 ff., of the Cyclopean simile that compares the work of the bees to that of the tireless, master craftsmen.

⁶⁵ On the Book 8 passages note especially *ad loc.* P.T. Eden, *A Commentary on Virgil, Aeneid VIII*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975, K.W. Gransden, *Virgil Aeneid VIII*, Cambridge, 1976, and L.M. Fratantuono and R.A. Smith, *Virgil, Aeneid 8: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018.

honoring the goddess Pallas.⁶⁶ 3) Aeneas encounters Achaemenides, who recalls the blinding of Polyphemus, whose one eye was like an Argive shield or the orb of the sun/moon. 4) Aeneas escapes the Aetnaean Cyclopes, who are like Jovian oaks or Diana's cypresses, with implicit reference to the Latin precincts of both deities. 5) Aeneas receives a Cyclopean shield, which climactically depicts the Augustan victory at Actium; he is ignorant of the import of the images of what to him is future Roman history.⁶⁷ 6) War erupts in Italy; Argive Turnus (the son of Daunus) has a chimaeric emblem that breathes Aetnaean flames (in virtual incarnation of the Cyclopean peril). 7) Aeneas is aided by the Arcadian Pallas, who has a baldric depicting the Danaid slaughter. 8) Turnus slays Pallas, and fatefully assumes the Danaid belt that he fails to dedicate to his patroness Juno, choosing instead to don it. 9) Jupiter and Juno agree in private colloquy that the future Rome will be Ausonian in *sermo* and *mores*, not Trojan; all will be Latin (no mortal hero is made aware of the agreement). 10) Aeneas hesitates before slaying Turnus, only to see Pallas' ominous Danaid belt and to surrender not to *clementia*, but to fury and anger.

Thus we begin with a significant Argive shield, one that becomes associated with the victory at Actium. As we have noted, Danaus' grandson "Abas" has a name that Virgil deliberately accords to a Trojan, an Argive, and an Etruscan.⁶⁸ Significantly, the Etruscan Abas is described at 10.170-1 *una torvos Abas: huic totum insignibus armis agmen et aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis* with an adjective that reminds us of the Cyclops (cf. 3.636 *ingens quod torva solum sub fronte latebat*, and 3.677 *cernimus adstantis nequiquam lumine torvo*), and his naval vessel is explicitly Apollonian (*aurato ... Apolline*).⁶⁹ As Etruscan Abas sails forth, we are thus reminded both of Actium and of the Cyclopes scene. There is a further connection between Etruscan Abas and the Cyclopes: Abas is said to control Populonia and Ilva, an island "rich in the inexhaustible metals of the Chalybes": 10.172-4 *sescentos illi dederat Populonia mater / expertos belli iuvenes, ast Ilva trecentos, / insula inexhaustis Chalybum generosa metallis*. The Cyclopes of 8.421 work with *stricturae Chalybum* or "ingots of the Chalybes" as they carry out their labors at the forge. These reminiscences of Actium and the Cyclopes from Books 3 (shield dedicated at Actium and Cyclopes) and 8 (Cyclopes and the shield depicting Actium, closing an ABBA chiasmic pattern) create a formidable nexus of allusions.

⁶⁶ The portent of the four horses (3.537 ff.) is taken correctly by Anchises to presage the war in Latium, in which the only equestrian episode will be the *Camilliad*.

⁶⁷ Cf. 8.730.

⁶⁸ In short, the name "Abas" serves as an example of the varied peoples of the epic, peoples sometimes in alliance, and sometimes riven by civil strife.

⁶⁹ On the Book 10 passage see especially S.J. Harrison, *Vergil: Aeneid 10*, Oxford, 1991, *ad loc.*

This Etruscan Abas is slain by Lausus (10.426-8); we have noted how the Trojan Abas of 1.121 is not mentioned again after his troubles in the Junonian tempest. While he may survive the storm, he is inconsequential. Virgil does not make clear how Aeneas acquired the Argive shield of Abas; it was a noteworthy enough object to merit citation some time later, we may note, in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.⁷⁰ In the *Aeneid*, the shield is a fateful object. What emerges from Virgil's narrative in Book 3 is a failure on Aeneas' part to propitiate Juno, commencing with the dedication of the shield; certainly this failure will have particularly grim consequences in the outcome of Book 4, which closes with *Iuno omnipotens* (4.693) overseeing the death of Dido, a demise that in part will hasten the fulfillment of the queen's curse on the Trojans. Before the final reconciliation of Juno in Book 12, the devastating Latin war must be fought in central Italy. Before that war is concluded (and unbeknownst to Aeneas or his divine mother Venus), Juno will be appeased by Jupiter's aforementioned assurances about the ethnic and social composition of the future Rome. In the aftermath of that monumental accord, Aeneas will take his furious vengeance on Turnus, motivated in part by his glimpsing the belt with its Danaid *nefas*, as Argive art continues to be of paramount importance to the unfolding of the epic's plot and the development of Aeneas' character.

After his failures in appeasing Juno, Aeneas has his Odyssean moment, as he encounters the Cyclopes.⁷¹ There will be no trickery and no loss of life; there will be salvation even for an enemy, and safety in flight. Achaemenides will plead successfully for mercy, and both Greek and Trojan will escape the cannibalistic, Cyclopean horror. But this seemingly happy ending of the episode is marked by harbingers of looming perils. The pair of Cyclopean similes succinctly and elegantly evoke the wrath of Juno, the forthcoming war in Saturn's Latium and the attendant Aetnaean flames of Turnus and evocation of the Golden Age of yore, the role of Diana as patroness of one of the most formidable of Trojan foes, the impending loss of Anchises that is signaled by the goddess' sad cypress, and the implications of Apollo and Diana imagery in a Ptolemaic context of sibling incest. There are but two similes in *Aeneid* 3 (indeed, formally but one), but they are laden with densely layered implications for the unveiling of the poet's vision. At the very least, they remind the reader of how much history must transpire between Aeneas' time at Actium and the advent of Augustus.

⁷⁰ 15.163-4 *cognovi clipeum, laevae gestamina nostrae, / nuper Abanteis templo Iunonis in Argis!*

⁷¹ J. Farrell, *Juno's Aeneid: The Battle for Heroic Identity*, Princeton, 2021, pp. 87 ff. considers the implications of Aeneas' treading in Odyssean footsteps.

Danaus won Argos, and Augustus will win Rome. But there are dark lessons to be remembered, both from ancient history (the impious slaughter of the Danaids), and from all too contemporary and recent events (the Roman civil wars).⁷² Even apart from admonitions like that of the shade of Anchises to the Roman of the future about sparing one's enemies (cf. 6.851-3), a key element of the complete Danaid story (as opposed to the slaughter scene on the baldric) is the place of *clementia* and mercy. In the end, it is less problematic for Virgil to depict Aeneas with indulgence in fury and anger (12.946-7 ... *furiis accensus et ira / terribilis* ...), since he is Trojan and not Roman; the lessons he illustrates are safely distanced by his ethnicity. The Roman will have his own *mos*, and that custom will be the *pacis mos* of the irenic Age of Augustus that Virgil and his contemporaries celebrated, even as they may have worried that it would not last indefinitely.⁷³

⁷² Note too that at *Georgic* 1.471-4, Etna's eruptions (with mention of the *Cyclopum* ... *agros*) are part of the portents that warn of the assassination of Caesar.

⁷³ Crucial here are two related passages from almost exactly the same verses in the closing books of the epic's Odyssean and Iliadic halves. At 12.834 *sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt*, Jupiter makes his solemn promise to Juno about the language and *mores* of the Ausonians. After noting that the Teucrians will sink down, mingled with the Ausonian in body alone, the supreme god notes ... *morem ritusque sacrorum / adiciam faciamque omnis uno ore Latinos* (12.836-7): a decidedly and deliberately ambiguous formulation that may point to the "absorption of the Trojan Penates into Italian religious practice" (the language is of R. Tarrant, *Virgil, Aeneid Book XII*, Cambridge, 2012, *ad loc.*), or to the introduction of novel rites. But we may remember 6.851-3, where Anchises' shade addresses the Roman of the future. *Pacique imponere morem* (852) speaks of a *mos* imposed on peace; if we agree with Egil Kraggerud's reasonable suggestion of preferring to read *pacisque imponere mores*, then we have the imposition of *pacis mores* (one could also read *pacis morem*, with little difference in meaning). In either case, contextually it is a peculiarly Roman formulation, elaborated on and explicated by 853 *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*. Aeneas does not observe this *mos* because his *mos* is Trojan and not Roman. For summary of the textual questions see E. Kraggerud, *Vergiliana: Critical Studies on the Texts of Publius Vergilius Maro*, London-New York: Routledge, 2017, pp. 244-5, and the same author's *Critica: Textual Issues in Horace, Ennius, Vergil and Other Authors*, London-New York: Routledge, 2021, pp. 324-5. For another view (on the "still, frankly, deplorable") arguments in favor of *pacis*, see N.M. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 6*, Berlin-Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013, *ad loc.*

