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The permanence of Cupid's metamorphosis in the *Aeneid*.[1]

Abstract: Cupid morphs into Ascanius in *Aeneid* 1 and I argue that this transformation invests Ascanius with erotic qualities that are essential to understanding the boy's role in the *Aeneid*. Vergil deliberately blurs the distinction between Ascanius and Cupid, inviting the readers to draw a parallel between Aeneas' son and Aeneas' brother. Ascanius' Cupid-like features generically enrich Vergil's epic with the language and motifs of elegiac poetry. The intrusion of Cupid, the patron deity of Roman love elegy, into Vergil's epic opens an intriguing dialogue between two genres that are supposedly mutually exclusive.

Keywords: intergeneric discourse, epic vs. elegy, intertextuality, *recusatio*.

In *Aeneid* 1, Venus has Cupid morph into Ascanius and inflame Dido's passion. Meanwhile, she lulls Ascanius to sleep and hides him for away in the heights of Idalium (1.657–94). Commenting on this passage, Frederick Ahl notes: "Virgil never mentions the restoration of Ascanius, though scholars assume that he is restored after Aeneas leaves Carthage. Some later passages take on added interest if we don't assume so."[2] Taking Ahl's note as a point of departure, I shall examine a number of episodes which suggest that the assimilation of Ascanius to Cupid continues in the background. My main argument is that the presence of the boy is often accompanied by the introduction of elegiac language and motifs in Vergil's epic. Focusing on the elegiac *topoi* of the *Aeneid,* I shall also discuss Allecto's similarities with Venus and Cupid as well as the Fury's double generic identity as a

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2 Ahl 2007, 334; cf. Nelis 2001, 134, 295 n. 12.

power which engineers an epic war infused with the diction and the themes of Roman love elegy.

The prominence of Eros in Apollonius' *Argonautica* is the literary precedent of Vergil's Cupid. Denis Feeney points out that Eros is a figure un-Homeric and alien to heroic epic, a creature of lyric, epigram and other 'minor' genres.[3] His impact on the readers of the *Argonautica* is closely associated with his generic incongruity. Similarly, Vergil's Cupid intrudes into the *Aeneid* as a force that threatens to destabilize the epic program, and Roman readers could hardly have failed to see that Cupid is the patron deity of Roman love elegy.[4] Amor is not just incongruous with epic poetry, he is a god who forces poets to write elegy and deny epic. By introducing Cupid in the *Aeneid,* Vergil casts a divine power that constantly undermines epic poetry. Thus, Cupid's appearance in Vergil's epic is more striking than Apollonius' Eros because the winged god has a specifically anti-epic agenda in Roman elegy.[5]

Amor in the *Eclogues*

Vergil had already exploited Cupid's irruption into a genre other than elegy in the *Eclogues*.[6] In the last poem of his bucolic collection, Vergil introduces the love elegist Gallus into the pastoral world. Gian Biagio Conte argues that the interaction between the elegiac and the pastoral genre is the key to interpreting *Eclogue* 10.[7] For Conte, the Gallus of the tenth *Eclogue* is transformed from an elegiac poet to Daphnis the shepherd and

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3 Feeney 1991, 78.

4 Amor personified represents the elegiac genre; in Propertius 1.1.3–4, Amor imposes his feet on the poet, forcing him to write elegy. In Ovid, *Am.* 1.1, Cupid steels a foot, turning the poem from epic to elegy. Both passages pun on the meaning of *pes* as metrical foot.

5 Eros' power to inspire poetry is already attested in Euripides' *Stheneboea* (ποιητὴν δ᾽ ἄρα/Ἔρως διδάσκει, κἂν ἄμουσος ᾖ τὸ πρίν, fr. 663 Nauck); see also Agathon's speech in Plato, *Symp.* 196d and Theocritus, *SH* 566 (οἱ γὰρ Ἔρωτες ποιητὰς πολλοὺς ἐδίδαξαν τοὺς πρὶν ἀμούσους). In Roman elegy, Amor inspires elegy and frustrates the composition of epic (cf. Propertius, 2.10.25 ff; 2.13A; Ovid. *Am.* 1.1; 2.1; in *Ex Ponto* 3.3.31–2, the banished poet complains that Cupid did not let him rise in Homeric song or speak of the deeds of great leaders).

6 For the intergeneric dialogue between Vergil's *Eclogues* and Roman love elegy, see Fantazzi 1966; Martirosova 1999; Papanghelis 1999; Torlone (forthcoming).

7 Conte 1986, 100–29. Ross 1975, 86, notes that *Eclogue* 10 is concerned with Gallus as an elegist wanting to discover other genres, such as pastoral.

views himself as the object of pastoral poetry. Gallus, however, is a guest in the host genre of bucolic poetry and his presence adds an elegiac voice to Vergil's pastoral song. In the end of *Eclogue* 10, any possibility to resolve Gallus' elegiac infatuation in bucolic terms is excluded and the elegiac world of the city is separated from the bucolic countryside. Building on Conte, Stephen Harrison argues with fuller attention to detailed textual signals that the confrontation between the literary genres of pastoral and love elegy lies at the heart of *Eclogue* 10.[8] For Harrison, *sollicitos Galli dicamus amores* (*Eclogue* 10.6) has a metapoetical dimension: the poem will actually speak of the disruption of Gallus' love poetry by his determined attempt to be a pastoral poet; *amores* refers not only to Gallus' love affairs, but also to the *Amores,* the title of his four books of elegies.[9]

The presence of the god *Amor* in *Eclogue* 10 adds to the generic conflict between elegy and pastoral. Pan reminds Gallus that the god of elegy cannot be sated with tears (*Amor non talia curat, / nec lacrimis crudelis Amor nec gramina riuis / nec cytiso saturantur apes nec fronde capellae, Eclogue* 10.28–30). On the one hand Amor as a cause of endless tears points to the traditional association of elegy with lament; on the other hand Amor's indifference to streams, clover, and goats signals the distance of the elegiac god from the bucolic landscape.[10] Gallus' futile attempts to find a bucolic remedy for his elegiac passion finally fall apart: the god of love does not care about pastoral motifs (cf. *Eclogue* 10.60–3). The *siluae,* the poetic material of pastoral songs, yield to elegy[11] as Gallus withdraws from Vergil's *Eclogues* defeated by *Amor* (*omnia uincit Amor et nos cedamus Amori, Eclogue* 10.69). *Amor*'s incompatibility with pastoral poetry is also suggested in *Eclogue* 8. Theodore Papanghelis reads *Eclogue* 8.43 *(nunc scio quid sit Amor)* as a comment on the generic transposition of pastoral love. He further notes that *nec* <u>*generis*</u> *nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt* (*Eclogue* 8.45) alludes to the exclusion of elegiac love from the pastoral genre *(genus).*[12]

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8   Harrison 2007, 59–74.
9   Harrison 2007, 63; cf. Coleman 1977, 277.
10 See Harrison 2007, 65.
11 Cf. *ipsae rursus concedite siluae* (*Ecl.* 10.63). Hinds 1998, 11–14, argues that *silua* is used metapoetically in Latin to represent ὕλη, in the sense 'matter', 'mass of material'. In the case of the *Eclogues*, *silua* would refer specifically to the content and the themes of bucolic poetry.
12 See Papanghelis 1999, 52. For *genus* meaning genre, cf. Accius, fr. 8 (Didascalica) = Charisius, Gramm. 141.34 Keil (*nam quam uaria sint* <u>*genera poematorum*</u>*, Baebi. / quamque longe distincta alia ab alis, ⟨sis⟩, nosce …*).

Amor at Carthage

Given that Amor is involved in the intergeneric discourse of the *Eclogues*, let us turn to the *Aeneid* and focus on the elegiac aspect of Cupid's introduction into Vergil's epic. The case of the *Aeneid* seems more promising than that of the *Eclogues* because love elegy constantly pits itself against heroic epic. In fact, the juxtaposition between epic and elegy is implied in the beginning of Venus' wheedling speech to her son:

> 'nate, meae uires, mea magna potentia, solus,
> nate, <u>patris summi qui tela Typhoëa temnis,</u>
> ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco.
> *Aeneid* 1.664–6

> Son, my strength, my great power, you alone, son, scorn the Typhoean weapons of the supreme father, I resort to you and seek as a suppliant your divine sway.

The reference to Cupid's scorn for Jupiter's mighty weapons stresses the polarity between an epic Jupiter and an elegiac Cupid.[13] *Typhoëa tela* refers to Jupiter's battle with Typhoeus for universal dominion, a subject suitable for bombastic Gigantomachies and unsuitable for elegy. In his *recusatio* of epic, Propertius mentions that Jupiter's triumph against the giants has no place in Callimachus' elegiac agenda (*sed neque Phlegraeos Iouis Enceladique tumultus/intonat angusto pectore Callimachus,* 2.1.39–40), alluding to Callimachus' famous criticism of epic poetry (βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ Διός, *Aetia* fr. 1.20 Pf.). Propertius concludes 2.13A by asserting that he can endure Jupiter's enmity, should his girlfriend be kind to him (2.13A.15–16), a closure that contrasts with the might of Amor's shafts in the beginning of the poem. Ovid's attempt to compose a Gigantomachy is likewise thwarted by Cupid's power (*Amores* 2.1); Corinna's closed bolt renders Jupiter's thunderbolt useless (*Iuppiter, ignoscas; nil me tua tela iuuabant;/clausa tuo maius ianua fulmen habet. Amores* 2.1.19–20). Thus, Venus' reference to Cupid's contempt of Jupiter's epic weapons alludes to the elegiac *recusatio*[14] and implies that elegy is about to intrude into the *Aeneid*.

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13 Nelis 2001, 94, interprets *Aen.* 1.664–6 differently, arguing that Venus underlines Cupid's cosmic force, an idea that Vergil took from Apollonius. In my view, the Gallan echo in Vergil (*omnia uincit Amor, Ecl.* 10.69) suggests that Amor's universal dominion is a trope characteristic of Roman love elegy (cf. Keith 2002, 248). The ensuing juxtaposition between Jupiter and Amor as rulers of the universe leads to a generic contrast between epic and elegy.

14 The *recusatio* was particularly elegiac in association. See Lyne 1995, 37–8.

Cupid closely follows the orders of his mother; he morphs into Asca-
nius and kindles love in Dido (1.689–722). But does he follow her order to
assume the appearance of Ascanius for only one night (*noctem non amplius
unam, Aeneid* 1.683)? Book 4 begins with the dawn of a new day (4.6–7)
and the readers are invited to suppose that Cupid's transformation is no
longer effective. There are serious doubts, however, that this is the case. To
begin with, Vergil never mentions that Cupid's metamorphosis is undone
or that Ascanius is brought back. What is more, Ascanius' appearance in
Aeneid 4.82–5 is reminiscent of Cupid's treacherous approach to Dido in
Book 1. When the night falls, the besotted queen is sleepless and tries to
deceive her passion for Aeneas by taking Ascanius on her lap:

> sola domo <u>maeret</u> uacua stratisque relictis
> incubat. illum absens absentem auditque uidetque,
> aut <u>gremio</u> Ascanium genitoris imagine capta
> detinet, infandum si <u>fallere</u> possit <u>amorem.</u>
> *Aeneid* 4.82–5

> she grieves alone in an empty house and reclines in abandoned bedding.
> Though he is absent, she hears and sees the absent man, or holds Ascanius on
> her lap charmed by his father's image, hoping that she can delude love's inex-
> pressible passion.[15]

Sleeplessness is a common symptom of elegiac lovesickness,[16] while *maeret*
recalls the traditional association of elegy with lament. Vergil presents a
distinctly elegiac Dido[17] before the queen embraces Ascanius to forget her
love for Aeneas. But Dido does not realize that she is toying with a very
dangerous kid. The passage cited above recalls Cupid's sneaky intervention
in specific details. Dido took Ascanius on her lap before (*gremio fouet inscia
Dido,* 1.718), unaware that the boy was Cupid, who was executing the in-
sidious plan of his mother (cf. *cum te gremio accipiet laetissima Dido,* 1.685).
Dido's attempt to deceive her passion (*fallere … amorem,* 4.85) by caressing
Ascanius is highly ironic since Venus substituted Amor for Ascanius in
order to deceive the queen (cf. *falle dolo et notos pueri puer indue uultus,*

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15 "hoping that she can delude Love's inexpressible passion" is the translation in Ahl
    2007, which successfully maintains the ambiguity of the Latin.
16 For numerous examples of elegiac sleeplessness, see McKeown 1989, 34. Apollo-
    nius' Medea (an important model for Vergil's Dido) also suffers from sleeplessness
    (*Arg.* 3.751ff.). Vergil's use of Apollonius is enriched generically with the elegiac
    dimension of Dido's insomnia.
17 Cairns 1989, 129–50, argues that Dido's portrayal in *Aen.* 4 draws on specific *topoi*
    of Roman elegy. Harrison 2007, 208–14, examines the appropriation of elegiac
    language and themes in *Aen.* 4.1–5 (Dido) and 12.54–9 (Amata).

1.684; *fallasque ueneno,* 1.688). These thematic and verbal echoes suggest that Ascanius is still Cupid.[18] Dido is trying to beguile *Amor* by holding the treacherous boy on her lap.[19] She strives to escape from her elegiac persona by enfolding the patron deity of Roman elegy. As a result, the queen lapses into a state of elegiac inertia.[20] Her passion is the reason why the military training of the youth halts and the ramparts are not ready for war (*Aeneid* 4.86–8).[21] Dido's infatuation with Aeneas brings up the characteristic elegiac opposition between love and war or rather elegy and epic. The transformed Cupid has managed to thwart the warlike preparations of the epic program.

Cupid's surreptitious advances on Dido recall Eros' stealthy attack on Medea in *Argonautica* 3.275–98.[22] In Apollonius, Eros is unseen, although he travels through the clear air, before he shoots his arrow at Medea (τόφρα δ᾽Ἔρως πολιοῖο δι᾽ ἠέρος ἷξεν ἄφαντος, *Argonautica* 3.375).[23] Similarly, Dido is unable to recognize Cupid. When she touches and sees Ascanius, the god enfolds her completely without being noticed, and never leaves her. The line which describes Dido's futile attempt to deceive her passion (*detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem, Aeneid* 4.85*),* interestingly

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18   Juno's sarcastic words to Venus that it is a great feat that two gods (*tuque puer tuus,* 4.94) cunningly conquered a single woman (4.93–5) can be taken as a comment not only on *Aen.* 1.657–722, but also on 4.82–5, the passage which immediately precedes Juno's speech.

19   From a different perspective, Ascanius acts as Cupid because in the boy's face Dido sees not only Aeneas but also her fulfillment as a mother through an affair with Aeneas (at *Aen.* 4.328–9 the queen wishes she had a little Aeneas to console her loneliness). Ascanius inflames Dido's passion for Aeneas and thus effects Cupid's work. In the words of Walter Johnson: " … the rendering of Dido's infatuation is naturalistic because it is Ascanius' resemblance to his father, combined with his display of physical affection to her, that causes the infatuation" (Johnson 1976, 44). The grandson of Venus is somehow bound to display some of the goddess's seductive qualities and resemble her sons (not only Aeneas, but also Cupid). Venus alludes to Cupid's resemblance to Ascanius (cf. *pueri puer indue uultus, Aen.* 1.684).

20   Gale 1997, 84, notes that "the rejection of a respectable career in favour of the *vita iners* is intimately connected with the rejection of epic in favour of elegy. Both oppositions are encapsulated in the contrast between love and *militia.* "

21   Hardie 1998, 61–2, notes that it is an elegiac trait that Dido's infatuation paralyzes her city-building activity.

22   In Plato's *Symposium,* Agathon mentions that Eros can enter and leave one without being noticed (οὐ γὰρ ἂν οἷός τ᾽ ἦν πάντη περιπτύσσεσθαι οὐδὲ διὰ πάσης ψυχῆς καὶ εἰσιὼν τὸ πρῶτον λανθάνειν καὶ ἐξιών, εἰ σκληρὸς ἦν. 196a).

23   Hunter 1989 *ad loc.* comments: "πολιοῖο: 'clear' 'bright' cf. West on Hes. *WD* 477. In later poetry the word may describe concealing mist, but here the divine Eros can move unseen in conditions of excellent visibility."

recalls Apollonius' presentation of the unseen Eros (*Argonautica* 3.375); word order suggests a parallel between Ἔρως … ἄφαντος and *infandum … amorem,* while ἄφαντος and *infandum* are connected by means of sound play. Apollonius' invisible Eros has stolen into *Aeneid* 4.85 and remained undetected under the false appearance of Ascanius.

Later on Ascanius takes part in the hunt (4.156–9) and Vergil presents him right before the storm which results in Dido's affair with Aeneas in a cave (4.160–72). The ultimate quarry is Dido, who is compared with a hind wounded by an arrow at *Aeneid* 4.68–73. The blurring of the distinction between Ascanius and Cupid continues in the background. The boy appears right before the consummation of Dido's passion, suggesting that the god of love is actively present in the hunting scene. Damien Nelis notes that Ascanius is hoping to come across a boar (*spumantemque … aprum,* 4.158–9), a detail which recalls the disguised Venus whose companion is *spumantis apri cursum clamore prementem* (1.324).[24] The real hunting of Ascanius recalls the motif of the erotic hunt involving Venus and Cupid. Commenting on this episode, Francis Cairns argues that the lovers' hunt and the lovers' lovemaking in the open air are recurring elegiac motifs.[25] Moreover, Dido is cast as an elegiac lover after the consummation of her love when she calls her illicit affair with Aeneas marriage:

> *nec iam furtiuum Dido meditatur amorem:*
> *coniugium uocat, hoc praetexit nomine culpam*
> *Aeneid* 4.171–2

> she no longer considers her love illicit: she calls it a marriage, with this name she veils her sin.

Both *furtiuus amor* and *culpa* are terms which describe an elegiac love affair.[26] In the elegiac world, the liaisons are always extramarital and the social status of the *puella* makes the prospect of a marriage impossible. On the other hand, Roman love elegy often uses the lexicon of marriage to de-

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24 See Nelis 2001, 134.

25 Cairns 1989, 142–3. Cairns discusses a passage from Sulpicia ([Tibullus] 4.3.11–18), which combines hunting with lovemaking in the open air. For the interlinking of the motifs of hunting and sexual passion, see Davis 1983.

26 Cf. *furtiui foedera lecti*, Tibullus 1.5.7; *Nescio quid furtiuus Amor parat*, Tibullus 1.5.75; *Nota Venus furtiua mihi est*, Tibullus 1.8.57; *cur numquam reserata meos admittis amores,/nescia furtiuas reddere mota preces?* Propertius 1.16.20–1; *furtiua Veneris conscia signa dedi*? Ovid, *Am*. 2.8.8; *Utque uiro furtiua Venus sic grata puellae*, *Ars* 1.275; *Illum furtiuae iuuere Cupidinis artes/quas a me uellem non didicisset amor*, *Ex Ponto* 1.4.41. For *culpa* in elegy, see Pichon 1902, *s.v. culpa*. Cairns 1989, 143, points out the elegiac identity of Dido's *furtiuus amor* and *culpa*.

scribe nonmarital relationships. Sharon James argues that "[i]t is a rhetorical move typical of elegy to try to shore up fragile and unreliable relationships by dressing them in the language of marriage – a linguistic wedding dress, as it were – but even that lexical garment is transparently self-canceling, as sex, in the context of extramarital relationships in Rome, is no solid basis for a solemn pact like a *foedus*."[27] Tibullus' *furtiui foedera lecti* (1.5.7) frames the legal nature of a *foedus* by an illicit affair whose pact is based on extramarital sex *(furtiui … lecti)*. Similarly, Propertius declares that Cynthia will be both his girlfriend and his wife, although *amica* and *uxor* are mutually exclusive terms (*semper amica mihi, semper et uxor eris,* 2.6.42). Dido indulges exactly in this elegiac fantasy, treating her sexual relationship as more than physical and calling it a marriage.[28] Since marriage is never the outcome of an elegiac affair, Dido's employment of the specific motif suggests that her marriage with Aeneas is destined to remain a daydream.

The presence of Ascanius in an episode replete with elegiac *topoi* brings up his continuing assimilation to Cupid. His appearance is accompanied again by the introduction of elegiac motifs in Vergil's epic world. While in *Aeneid* 4.82–5 Dido's affectionate interaction with the boy precedes the cancellation of warlike preparations because of the queen's passion, in *Aeneid* 4.156–9, Dido's elegiac love is consummated after Ascanius' entry in the hunt. Thus, the boy signals the *Aeneid*'s generic enrichment with elegiac motifs, acting as Cupid, the god who turns epic into elegy. Dido covers her *furtiuus amor* under the name of marriage, but we are also invited to see the stealthy Cupid under the name of *furtiuus Amor*.

Amor in *Aeneid* 7

But we can take this further. I argue that Cupid's foray into Vergil's epic is not restricted to Dido's passion, but extends to the second, Iliadic half of the *Aeneid*. Vergil's invocation of the Muse Erato in the beginning of Book 7 (37–45) refers specifically to Apollonius' "proem in the middle"[29] (*Argonautica* 3.1–5), which anticipates the prominence of Eros in the second half of the *Argonautica*. Apollonius stresses Erato's etymology (τῷ καί τι

27   James 2003, 48. See also Pichon 1902, *s.v. coniungere*.
28   Cairns 1989, 65, notes that Dido's hopeful self deception has an elegiac flavor.
29   For the term "proem in the middle", see Conte 1992.

ἐπήρατον οὔνομ᾽ ἀνῆπται, *Arg.* 3.5) and her invocation at this point fore-
shadows the structural and thematic importance of Medea's passion in *Ar-
gonautica* 3–4. In his elegiac works, Ovid speaks of Erato's power to inspire
love poetry as well as of her etymological association with Eros/*Amor*
[*nunc mihi, si quando, puer et Cytherea, fauete:/nunc Erato, nam tu nomen Amo-
ris habes, Ars* 2.15–16; *sic ego. Sic Erato (mensis Cythereius illi/cessit, quod te-
neri nomen Amoris habet), Fasti* 4.195–6]. Erato, the only Muse invoked in
the *Ars Amatoria,* reappears as the poet's interlocutor in Book 4 (i.e. the
month of Venus) of the elegiac *Fasti*. On the contrary, Vergil invokes Erato
without mentioning at all the element of love: as the poet moves on to the
sphere of higher epic (*maius opus moueo, Aen.* 7.45), the Muse will help
him sing of kings and wars, not of love. The introduction of Erato, how-
ever, in the beginning of the Iliadic half of the *Aeneid* prefigures the erotic
background of the war and anticipates the generic enrichment of heroic
epic with the language and the motifs of love poetry. More to the point, by
invoking Erato Vergil invites the readers to look forward to Cupid's pres-
ence in the second half of the *Aeneid*. Cupid, however, does not appear
straightforwardly like Eros in the *Argonautica*. Still, Erato's relation to Eros
and Cupid's transformation to Ascanius should alert us to the continuing
presence of Amor in the Iliadic half of Vergil's epic.

In *Argonautica* 3, Hera and Athena ask Aphrodite's assistance and Aph-
rodite convinces Eros to shoot Medea and make her fall for Jason. In *Ae-
neid* 7, Juno deploys Allecto and the Fury triggers the war by directing As-
canius' arrow shot at Silvia's pet stag. An arrow shot in accordance with a
divine scheme causes the unfolding of the narrative in the second half of
Apollonius' and Vergil's epic. The narrative sequence which sets in mo-
tion the epic program of the *Argonautica* and the *Aeneid* can be sketched
out as follows: Erato (proem in the middle)- Hera and Athena- Aphro-
dite- Eros (*Argonautica* 3); Erato (proem in the middle)- Juno- Allecto- As-
canius (*Aeneid* 7). Vergil remakes the Aphrodite- Eros scene (which he
used in the first half of the *Aeneid*), casting Allecto and Ascanius in the
main roles.

Allecto is presented as Aphrodite's *Doppelgängerin* and the Fury's use of
uenenum (*Allecto infecta uenenis, Aen.* 7.341; *udo sublapsa ueneno, Aen.* 7.354)
recalls the etymological relation of *uenenum* to Venus.[30] In particular, Al-

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30 See Snyder, 1980, 106; Paschalis 1997, 255. Allecto's wet poison (*udo … ueneno,
    Aen.* 7.354) further alludes to the semantic relation of *amor* to *umor* (cf. Lucretius,
    DRN 4.1052–7, with Snyder 1980, 94). In Plato's *Symposium*, Eros is described as
    being ὑγρὸς τὸ εἶδος (196a).

lecto's *uenena* refer back to Venus' speech to Amor (*fallasque <u>ueneno</u>, Aen.* 1.688). The description of the snake, which the Fury throws at Amata's breast, also picks up Venus' words (*occultum <u>inspires</u> ignem <u>fallasque ueneno</u>, Aen.* 1.688; *<u>fallitque furentem/uiperam inspirans</u> animam, Aen.* 7.350–1); the serpent coils around Amata's neck,[31] just as Cupid embraces Dido (*colloque pependit, Aen.* 1.715; *fit tortile collo, Aen.* 7.351). The boy kindles Dido's fire and Allecto does exactly the same to Amata (*ossibus implicet ignem, Aen.* 1.660; *ossibus implicat ignem, Aen.* 7.355).[32] As a result of Amor's and Allecto's visitations both queens are described as *furentes* (*Aen.* 1.659; *Aen.* 7.350)[33] and commit suicide in the end. Cupid deceives Dido with his poison and Allecto's venomous attack on Amata (*Aen.* 7.354–6) alludes to Eros' shooting at Medea (*Arg.* 3.286–90).[34] Allecto's penchant for metamorphosis (*Aen.* 7.328–9) further recalls Cupid's transformation (cf. *Amor … alas …/exuit, Aen.* 1.689–90; *Allecto … furialia membra/exuit, Aen.* 415–6). Thus, Vergil draws a parallel between the two winged gods, the Fury and the boy.[35]

Despite her far reaching affinities with Venus and Amor, Allecto is primarily a goddess of epic poetry. She is dispatched by Juno in order to inspire war, and she actually does a very good job. The Fury is introduced as a specialist in *tristia bella* (*Aen.* 7.325), the very core of martial epic,[36] and *irae* (*Aen.* 7.326; 455), the Latin for μῆνις, which is the thematic backbone of the *Iliad*. Just as Erato inspires Vergil's *horrida bella* (*Aen.* 7.41), Allecto stirs up war while the erotic undertones of her characterization lurk in the background. Having prefigured a generic debate between military epic and love poetry by invoking Erato in the proem of Book 7, Vergil reworks elegiac themes for the epic context of the *Aeneid*. Oliver Lyne argues that Allecto's besieging of Amata's threshold (*obsedit limen Amatae, Aen.* 7.343) recalls the elegiac *exclusus amator* and the motif of *militia amoris*. Amata's

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31 In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (10.311–4), a Fury inspires Myrrha's incestuous passion with her snake and her firebrand. Ovid accurately reads the erotic dimension of Vergil's Allecto.

32 For verbal echoes between Allecto's attack and the Venus-Amor scene, see Moskalew 1982, 165.

33 For the figure of the besotted Dido as *furens*, see Ricottilli 2000, 81–106.

34 A parallel noted in Nelis 2001, 290.

35 For Allecto's similarities with Eros, see also Nelis 2001, 288–93. Moskalew 1982, 165, notes that Allecto, like Amor, makes no reply to Juno, but silently proceeds to carry out her task.

36 Cf. Horace's definition of epic (*res gestae regumque ducumque et <u>tristia bella</u>*, Horace *AP* 73)

speaking name suggests the siege of the beloved *(obsedit limen amatae)*.[37] Al-lecto's venom makes Amata roam insanely through the city like a spinning top *(Aeneid* 7.378–83), a simile which is also found in Tibullus 1.5.3–4. Robert Maltby acknowledges that the Vergil passage is close in wording to Tibullus, and suggests that both derive from a neoteric source.[38] However, we should not rule out that Vergil alludes directly to Tibullus, in order to imply that Amata is driven by the Fury just as a helpless elegiac lover is driven by Amor. Love and love poetry play a crucial part in Allecto's bel-ligerent agenda, setting up a generic interplay, which continues with the Fury's encounter with Turnus and culminates in Ascanius' involvement in her scheme.

Allecto drives her fiery torch deep into Turnus' chest *(Aen.* 7.456–7).[39] She uses her smoking brand *(taedae, Aen.* 7.457) in order to kindle war in Turnus' heart, and provokes him with inflammatory words to avenge the denial of his marriage; the Fury's *taedae* allude to Turnus' frustrated nuptial *taedae* since the war which is about to break out will be fought over Lavinia's hand. Turnus wakes up bathed in sweat and burning with an insane desire for war:

> arma *amens* fremit, arma *toro* tectisque requirit;
> *saeuit amor* ferri *et scelerata insania* belli,
> ira *super:*
> *Aeneid* 7.460–2

> Insanely he screams for arms, he seeks arms in his bed and his palace; love for the sword rages and criminal madness for war, anger above all;

Vergil grafts elegiac language into epic diction. The repetition of *arma* in a single line refers back to the first word of the *Aeneid,* while *ferrum* and *bel-lum* are the very material of martial epic and *ira* evokes the Iliadic μῆνις. At the same time, the above mentioned lines are imbued with unmistakably elegiac vocabulary. The lover/poet routinely suffers from madness; *amens* and *insania* are to be identified with the symptoms of an elegiac passion.[40]

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37 Lyne 1987, 13–17.

38 Maltby 2002, 242. Cf. *ceu quondam torto uolitans sub uerbere turbo,/quem pueri magno in gyro uacua atria circum/intenti ludo exercent*, *Aen.* 7.378–80; *namque agor ut per plana citus sola uerbere turben/quem celer assueta uersat ab arte puer.* Tib. 1.5.3–4. *Puer* alludes to Cupid, the kid who drives the lover's uncontrollable passion.

39 Allecto wields *faces* just like Cupid (cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.461). Her attack on Turnus is modeled on Eros' arrow shot at Medea (see Moskalew 1982, 160–1; Nelis, 2001, 289, 291–3).

40 See Pichon 1902, *s.v. amens, insania.*

Fierceness is also a characteristic attributed repeatedly to Amor; *saeuit amor*[41] brings up the winged god of love in the epic context of Turnus' warlike passion, and further recalls Dido's passion and wrath (*saeuit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu, Aeneid* 4.532).

Propertius' *saeuit amore dolor* (2.8.36) refers specifically to the Iliadic wrath of Achilles. Both Turnus' and Achilles' anger have an erotic background. Propertius, in a tendentiously elegiac reading of the *Iliad,* explains that Achilles withdrew from the battlefield because of his passion for Briseis (2.8.29–40), while Vergil has Turnus enter the battle because of Lavinia. Propertius sees the Homeric world through elegiac lenses. Achilles' passion stalls epic action and transforms the best of the Achaeans into an idle lover. On the contrary, Vergil has elegiac diction activate the epic program and the dialogue between the *Aeneid* and Propertius' elegies is not to be missed (cf. *cessare in tectis pertulit arma sua,* Propertius, 2.8.30; *arma toro tectisque requirit, Aeneid* 7.460).

The lovers' bed *(torus)* is another word emblematic of Roman love elegy.[42] In particular, *arma toro tectisqueque requirit* is echoed in Propertius (*si fas est, omnes pariter pereatis auari / et quisquis fido praetulit arma toro,* 3.12.5–6). The poet curses those who prefer weapons to lovemaking, drawing a dichotomy between an epic and an elegiac lifestyle. In Propertius 4.4, Tarpeia fancies that the war can be settled by her wedding with the enemy, imagining that her unfulfilled passion can turn into conjugal bliss, a typical fantasy of elegiac lovers (*credite: uestra meus molliet arma torus,* 4.4.62). Tarpeia wants to resolve the epic war in elegiac terms and Propertius juxtaposes the symbol of elegy *(torus)* with the symbol of epic *(arma),* creating a tension between love and war. Vergil appropriates this intergeneric discourse, but turns it upside down; Turnus madly seeks weapons on his *torus,* getting ready to fight a war over Lavinia's marital bed. Elegiac themes do not cancel, but rather promote the epic agenda of *Aeneid* 7–12.[43]

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41 Cf. *non uni saeuiet usque deus*, Tib. 1.2.90; *saeuus Amor …/saeuus Amor*, [Tib.] 3.4.65–6; *qui mihi nunc saeuit, sic tibi parcat Amor*, Ovid, *Her.* 4.148. For more examples, see Pichon 1902, *s.v. saeuus*. Allecto, like Amor, is also a *saeua dea* (*Aen.* 7.511).

42 See Pichon 1902, *s.v. torus*.

43 Ovid stresses the presence of elegiac beds in the *Aeneid* (*et tamen ille tuae felix Aeneidos auctor / contulit in Tyrios arma uirumque toros, Tristia* 2.534–5). The programmatic opening of the *Aeneid* (*arma uirumque*) is embedded in *Tyrios toros*.

Ascanius the Archer

Having established a metageneric debate between epic and elegy in the
Allecto-Amata and the Allecto-Turnus episodes,[44] Vergil has the Fury use
Ascanius for her plan. Allecto notices that the boy is hunting, and she in-
flicts madness on his hounds. The dogs pursue Silvia's pet stag and Iulus
shoots it, causing the outbreak of the war (*Aeneid* 7.475–510). In this epi-
sode, the boy features as an archer and thus Vergil deepens the similarities
between Aeneas' son and Aeneas' brother.[45] In *Argonautica* 3, Eros shoots
an arrow that sets in motion the plot of the poem and in *Aeneid* 7 a Cupid-
like archer plays a crucial part in activating the epic program of *Aeneid*
7–12. Ascanius' shot triggers the war and refers back to the hunting scene
in *Aeneid* 4; while the day of the hunt is described as *ille dies primus leti pri-
musque malorum/causa fuit* (4.169–70), Ascanius' hunting exploit is the
prima causa of the war (*prima laborum/causa fuit belloque animos accendit agres-
tis, Aen.* 7.481–2).[46] The wound in the groin of Silvia's stag (7.499) recalls
Dido's wound of love in the simile of the hind (4.68–73); both the hind of
the simile and Silvia's pet are wounded by an arrow (*uolatile ferrum, Aen.*
4.71; *harundo, Aen.* 4.73; *spicula, Aen.* 7.497; *harundo Aen.* 7.499) and the
nature of their wounds is similar since they do not die on the spot, but run
away. Dido is *saucia* (*Aen.* 4.1), suffering from the figurative wound of love,
while Silvia's stag is *saucius* (*Aen.* 7.500), suffering from a physical wound.[47]
Cupid is responsible for Dido's agony and *saucius* describes wounds in-
flicted by Cupid in Roman elegy (cf. Tibullus, 2.5.109; Ovid, *Amores*
2.1.7).[48] Moreover, Ascanius' hunting traps (*insidiis cursuque feras agitabat*

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44 Cairns 2006, 101–2, argues that Allecto's furious reaction to Turnus' condescend-
    ing speech (*talibus Allecto exarsit in iras, Aen.* 7.445) echoes Gallus' language (cf. Ser-
    vius *ad Aen.* 7.445, *est specialis Cornelii elocutio*). The diction of the elegist Gallus is
    appropriated in Vergil's epic.
45 Iulus, Ascanius' other name, was thought to be etymologically related to ἰοβόλος.
    See O'Hara 1996a, 121–2; Paschalis 1997, 52.
46 The hunting in Book 4 is also the *prima causa* of the war between Rome and Car-
    thage.
47 The stag's wound in the *ilia* (7.499) enhances the erotic connotations of *saucius*. For
    the erotic dimension of the stag's wound and its similarities with Dido's wound, see
    Pavlock 1992, 75–6.
48 Harrison 2007, 210–11, examines the thematic and verbal references to love elegy
    in *Aen.* 4.1–5. The wounds of love (*saucia*, 4.1; *uulnus*, 4.2), the erotic fire (*ignis*,
    4.2), the heartaches (*cura*, 4.1; 4.5), and the lover's sleeplessness (4.5) lend an elegiac
    color to the opening of Book 4. Vergil casts Dido as an elegiac lover. Note also that
    Ovid at *Am.* 2.1.8 (*agnoscat flammae conscia signa suae*) refers to Dido's speech to
    Anna (… *agnosco ueteris uestigia flammae*), while *saucius arcu* (*Am.* 2.1.7) falls into the

Iulus, Aen. 7.478) refer back to Cupid's insidious attack on Dido (*insidat quantus miserae deus,* 1.719).[49] While Cupid executes Venus' plan, Ascanius inadvertently becomes the instrument of Allecto's scheme (*Aen.* 7.475ff).[50]

The detailed description of Ascanius' arrow shot underpins the boy's assimilation to Cupid:

> *ipse etiam eximiae laudis succensus <u>amore</u>*
> <u>*Ascanius*</u> *curuo derexit spicula cornu;*
> *nec dextrae erranti <u>deus</u> afuit, actaque multo*
> *perque uterum sonitu perque ilia uenit <u>harundo.</u>*
> *Aeneid* 7.496–9

> Ascanius himself kindled by love of excessive glory aimed the shaft from his curved bow; the god did not let his right hand err, and the arrow, dispatched with a loud twang, passed through the belly and the groin.

Ascanius is burning with *amor* for high glory and word order suggests a close link between *amor/Amor* and *Ascanius.* The boy's archery is reminiscent of Eros' shot (*Argonautica* 3.278–9) and the pet's wound alludes to Medea's suffering from Eros' shaft (*Argonautica* 3.286–7). It is also significant that Ovid imitates *Aeneid* 7.497 at *Metamorphoses* 1.455 (*uiderat adducto flectentem cornua neruo*);[51] Ovid's Apollo encounters Cupid in an episode which revolves around the generic tension between epic and elegy. With this intertextual allusion Ovid draws attention to the similarities between Ascanius' and Cupid's archery; Ascanius' bow, not unlike Cupid's, suggests a juxtaposition between epic and elegiac weapons.

In the anthropomorphic presentation of Silvia's stag,[52] the wounded animal *(saucius)* bursts out in human lamentations (*gemens, questu, Aen.*

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same metrical position as *saucia cura* at *Aen.* 4.1 (see McKeown 1998, 9). Interestingly, *arcu* is an anagram of *cura* (see Califf). Ovid acknowledges the elegiac nature of Dido's passion; her wound was caused by Cupid. At the same time he generically restores the elegiac motifs of the *Aeneid* to elegy.

49 Both *insidat* and *insidiis* are placed at the head of the hexameter. Allecto, the other Cupid-like figure of the *Aeneid*, is also notorious for her *insidiae* (*Aen.* 7.326).

50 Allecto devises a new scheme (*arte noua, Aen.* 7.475), not unlike Venus (*nouas artes, Aen.* 1.657). See Nelis 2001, 294.

51 I am unaware of any commentator who has noticed the correspondence between *Aen.* 7.497 and *Met.* 1.455. Cf. also Ovid, *Am.* 1.1.23 (*lunauit genu sinuosum fortiter arcum*). Cupid fires an arrow that transforms Ovid's epic into elegy.

52 The toilette of the stag (*Aen.* 7.487–9) seems more appropriate to a girl than a pet. Later on, the wounded animal is *imploranti similis* (*Aen.* 7.502); the hind is compared to a human being, while Dido is compared to a stag. Putnam 1995, 107, comments on the human traits of the animal. Vance 1981, 127–8, suggests that the animal is treated like a young lover about to be married.

7.501).[53] The groaning and wailing caused by Ascanius' shaft interestingly evoke the lamentations of the elegiac poet who is wounded by Amor: *queror,* in particular, is used repeatedly by Propertius to describe his elegiac poems and further implies the traditional association of elegy with lament.[54] Following the stag's agonizing call for help, Silvia slaps her arms with her palms, a gesture indicating ritual mourning (*Siluia prima soror palmis percussa lacertos, Aen*.7.503). Interestingly, the line which describes Silvia's lamentation refers to the programmatic beginning of Propertius' *Monobiblos* (*Cynthia prima,* Propertius 1.1; *Siluia prima, Aen.* 7.503), signaling the presence of elegy in the texture and plot of heroic epic.

The unclear identity of the *deus* (7.498) who directs Ascanius' shot is worth noticing. It is generally assumed that the deity is Allecto, but the masculine form is puzzling and Vergil consistently uses *dea* elsewhere for Allecto (*Aeneid* 7.324; 346; 408; 511; 541). The poet creates a deliberate uncertainty about the name of the god, inviting the readers to think of Amor, a divine archer *par excellence* who is closely associated with Ascanius.[55] Cupid's accuracy of aim is a recurring motif in Roman elegy (cf. *certo puer sic concusserit arcu,* Propertius, 1.7.15; *quem tetigit iactu certus ad ossa deus,* Propertius 2.34.60; Tibullus, 2.1.70; Ovid, *Amores* 1.1.25; *Metamorphoses* 1.519), suggesting a further similarity between Amor and the god who makes sure that the arrow will hit the mark.

The blurring of Ascanius' and Cupid's identities suggests that a Cupid-like archer causes war. In *Aeneid* 10, Juno accuses Venus of using Cupid to foment war (*aut ego tela dedi fouiue Cupidine bella? Aeneid* 10.93). Juno might refer to Helen and Paris, the affair that caused the Trojan war, or to Cupid's role in Dido's passion, an episode which leads to the Punic wars via the curse of the jilted queen. Hence, Juno insinuates that Venus and her son stirred up war in the past and that their scheme in Carthage will cause war in the future. But the current war, for which Juno is responsible, is also at play. Juno's rhetorical question is highly ironic if we take into account that the answer can be 'yes': the close affinities of Allecto and Ascanius with Cupid suggest that the queen of the gods actually used erotic passion to instigate war between the Italians and the Trojans. Since Vergil never mentions the restoration of Ascanius, Juno seems to have used Cupid (via Allecto) to stir up war.

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53   For the 'human' lamentations of Silvia's stag, see Horsfall, 1999, 335–6.
54   Cf. Propertius 1.3.43; 1.4.28; 1.7.22; 1.18.1; 1.18.29; 2.4.1; 3.7.55; 4.3.31. For further examples, see Pichon 1902, *s.v. queri*. Horace traces the origins of elegy in lamentations (*uersibus impariter iunctis querimonia primum, AP* 75).
55   Amor is referred to simply as *deus* at *Aen.* 1.719.

The image of Cupid inspiring war is very intriguing, given the poetological role of the god in elegy. Roman love elegy defines itself in contradistinction to martial epic. At the same time, the Roman elegists appropriate the language of military epic for the context of love poetry. Cupid appears as a victorious warrior (cf. Propertius, 1.3–4; Ovid, *Amores* 1.2) and the motif of *militia amoris* is one of the clearest cases of turning epic action into an elegiac metaphor. Roman elegy both rejects and includes epic since epic motifs are reprocessed for elegiac purposes. Likewise, the introduction of elegiac language and themes in the Dido episode suggests an intergeneric debate inherent in Roman elegy, but now appearing in an epic context. Dido's passion for Aeneas has as a result the suspension of the warlike preparations in Carthage and the cessation of the youth's military training. The protracted sojourn of Aeneas in Carthage brings epic action to a standstill and divine intervention is required to reactivate the program of the *Aeneid*. In the Dido episode, Cupid is a deity that adds an elegiac dimension to the world of the *Aeneid*, but also threatens to destabilize the epic agenda. By contrast, the introduction of Cupid–like figures (Allecto, Ascanius) in the second half of the *Aeneid* involves a radical subversion of the elegiac appropriation of epic motifs; it is the host genre of epic which absorbs the guest genre of elegy now, not the other way around. The language and the themes of elegy do not disturb the warlike narrative of *Aeneid* 7–12, but rather activate it. Allecto's erotically charged attacks on Amata and Turnus put her belligerent plan into effect, and Ascanius' arrow shot makes war, not love. Vergil's *maius opus* beats elegy in its own game; the poet manipulates elegiac motifs for the purposes of martial epic.

Love elegy uses the language of martial epic on a metaphorical level (e.g. *militia amoris*), while Vergil assimilates love and its elegiac semiotics into his epic's primary discourse of heroic deeds, and restores the figurative use of epic imagery in elegy to the generic framework of wars and men. Thus, he sets in motion a strong interaction between two levels which elegy normally keeps distinct within an hierarchy of literal love versus metaphorical war. Such an interaction blurs their relative importance within the hierarchy established by elegy's discourse. In other words, a fusion between the primary and secondary fields of signification results in a destabilization of the hierarchy tenor-vehicle, which, in turn, affects Ascanius' figure.[56]

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56 This "game" is well pointed out in Hinds 1998, 10ff., although in the rather different context of "reflexivity" and its various tropes. I thank the anonymous reader for bringing this important point to my attention.

Apollo and Ascanius

I shall now turn to Book 9 and argue that the presence of Ascanius initiates one more time an intergeneric clash between epic and elegy. In *Aeneid* 9.621–37, Ascanius performs his first epic exploit and uses his bow in war, not in hunting. The boy kills Numanus, who has just delivered an invective against the Trojans. Numanus' tirade (9.590–620) is full of epic overtones. He is *uociferans tumidusque* (9.596), terms which allude to the kind of poetry that Callimachus attacks.[57] *Tumidus* in particular recalls Catullus' criticism of the epic poet Antimachus (*at populus tumido gaudeat Antimacho,* 95.10). Numanus, a puffed-up boaster of epic proportions (*ingentem sese clamore ferebat,* 9.597), accuses the Trojans of effeminacy and sloth (*desidiae cordis,* 9.615), vices stereotypically attributed to elegiac lovers, and concludes with a phrase which recalls the beginning of the *Aeneid* (*sinite <u>arma uiris</u> et cedite ferro,* 9.620). Vergil uses *cano* to describe his boastful speech (*canentem,* 9.621), a verb which also refers to the epic song of the *Aeneid* (*arma uirumque cano,* 1.1; *Vos, o Calliope, precor, aspirate canenti,* 9.525); Numanus, to be sure, sings of wars and men. His epicizing attack on the elegiac lifestyle of the Trojans enrages Ascanius, who enters the epic battle after praying to Jupiter (9.624–31). The boy puts an end to Numanus' swaggering, just as Cupid impedes the composition of epic poetry in Roman elegy.

Ascanius' prayer contrasts with Cupid's scorn for Jupiter's thunderbolts.[58] Now that the boy enters the epic battle and stretches his bow (*contendit telum,* 9.623), he asks for Jupiter's assistance and Jupiter thunders in assent (*audiit et caeli genitor de parte serena/<u>intonuit</u> laeuum, <u>sonat</u> una fatifer arcus,* 9.630–1). It is Jupiter's business to thunder in epic poetry and *intonuit* is a resonance of Callimachus' *recusatio* (βροντᾶν οὐκ ἐμὸν ἀλλὰ Διός, *Aetia* fr. 1.20 Pf.). The boy's presence in the epic world transforms him into a warrior. The beginning of Ascanius' prayer also has a poetological dimension: *audacibus adnue coeptis* (9.625) recalls the beginning of the *Georgics* (*da facilem cursum, atque audacibus adnue coeptis, Georg.* 1.40). Vergil's prayer to Augustus to support his daring poem is similar to Ascanius' prayer to Jupiter to favor his epic enterprise.

The epic universe has been invaded by a Cupid-like archer and then Apollo intervenes to restore the order:

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57   Cf. Asper 1997, 211–7.
58   Cf. Venus' address to Cupid (*nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoëa temnis, Aen.* 1.665).

> *'sit satis, Aenide, telis impune Numanum*
> *oppetiisse tuis. <u>primam</u> hanc tibi <u>magnus Apollo</u>*
> *concedit <u>laudem</u> et paribus non <u>inuidet</u> <u>armis</u>;*
> *cetera <u>parce</u>, puer, <u>bello</u>. '*
> Aeneid 9.653–6

"It should be enough, son of Aeneas, that you encountered Numanus safely. Great Apollo concedes you this first glory and does not begrudge similar weapons; from now on refrain, boy, from war."

Apollo, a god emblematic of the Callimachean program, orders Ascanius to withdraw for good from the battle (9.656). Philip Hardie, commenting on 9.654 *(paribus non inuidet armis)*, notes: "Praise and its opposite, envy … in a speech by Apollo urging against involvement in war comes curiously close to the terms of the *recusatio* and its Callimachean models (see 564 n.), esp. Call. *Hy.* 2.105–12;" In fact, Apollo's unique speaking appearance in the *Aeneid*[59] refers back to *Eclogues* 6.3–8, a passage modeled on the Cal–limachean epiphany of Apollo (*Aetia* fr. 1.22 Pf):

> *cum canerem <u>reges et proelia</u>, Cynthius aurem*
> *uellit et admonuit: 'pastorem, Tityre, pinguis*
> *pascere oportet ouis, deductum dicere carmen.'*
> *nunc ego (namque super tibi erunt qui dicere <u>laudes</u>,*
> *Vare, tuas cupiant et <u>tristia</u> condere <u>bella</u>)*
> *agrestem tenui meditabor harundine Musam:*
> Eclogues 6.3–8

while I was singing of kings and wars, Apollo pulled my ear and admonished me: 'Tityrus, a shepherd should feed a sheep to be fat, but should sing a slender song.' Now I shall practice the rural Muse with my thin reed (for you will have a surfeit of those who desire to tell your glories, Varus, and compose grim wars):

In the *Eclogues* Apollo stops Vergil's song of *reges et proelia,* while in the *Aeneid* the god of poetry stops Ascanius' foray into epic action. There is an intriguing parallel between Apollo asking the young Vergil to stop his epic and Apollo asking Ascanius to withdraw from the battles of the *Aeneid*. Still, while in the *Eclogues* the god prevents the composition of epic poetry, in the *Aeneid* he removes from the war a Cupid-like boy, a character in–congruous with the epic world of men and battles. Apollo's speech in *Aeneid* 9 brings up the long standing generic debate between elegy and epic.

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59   Although in the *Aeneid* Apollo's name, if we include the name Phoebus, occurs more often than that of any deity except Jupiter, he appears in the action only once (9.638–57), to withdraw Ascanius from combat (a point made in MacKay 1963, 158).

The Apollo of the *Aeneid* is an epic god who bestows glory (*laus/*
κλέος) upon Ascanius and temporarily grants weapons *(armis)* to the boy.
His epic appearance in *Aeneid* 9.653–6 is further implied by the epithet
magnus[60] and by the fact that his words actually recall those of the Homeric
Apollo at *Iliad* 16.707–9. In *Aeneid* 8, the god appears in the grand epic
scene of the battle of Actium (*Actius haec cernens arcum intendebat Apollo,*
8.704) and Propertius presents the Actian Apollo of the *Aeneid* as a god
particularly suitable to Vergil's epic (2.34.61) as opposed to his own elegiac
poetry.[61] After his advice to Ascanius in Book 9, the god disappears in a
slender breeze (*in <u>tenuem</u> ex oculis euanuit auram,* 9.658), and the blending
of his epic appearance with his Callimachean identity comes into light
since *tenuis* in Latin poetry often recalls Callimachus' slender Muse, who is
advertised by Apollo in the *Aetia* (fr. 1.24 Pf.).[62] Following Apollo's inter-
vention and Ascanius' compelled retreat, scenes of epic flavor and the
giants Pandarus and Bitias appear in the front of the narrative (9.663ff).
The epic program resumes after the boy's withdrawal. Vergil's *maius opus*[63]
is promoted by *magnus Apollo.*

As an archer Apollo is a god of epic poetry, but as a lyre-player he
comes closer to his Callimachean and anti-epic identity.[64] Propertius re-
states the opposition between heroic epic and love elegy in Apolline
terms, dismissing those who implicate Apollo in epic themes (*a ualeat,
Phoebum, quicumque moratur in armis,* 3.1.7).[65] The Apollo of elegy advises
the poet to abandon epic subjects (Propertius, 3.3.13–24; 4.1.73–4,
133–4) and the Apolline names of Gallus' Lycoris, Tibullus' Delia and
Propertius' Cynthia emphasize the importance of Callimachus' Apollo in
the poetics of Roman love elegy. On the contrary, Vergil brings Apollo's
epic dimension back to epic poetry in the *Aeneid,* activating a tension be-
tween the god's double generic identity. Vergil's Apollo stretches his bow

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60 For *magnus* as an epithet referring to anti-Callimachean epic poetry, see Thomas
    1978.
61 For the presence of the Actian Apollo in Vergil and Propertius and the ensuing
    generic interplay between the elegiac and the epic aspects of Apollo, see Miller
    2004.
62 Following Apollo's admonishment in the *Eclogues,* Vergil practices his rural Muse
    in a slender pipe (*agrestem <u>tenui</u> meditabor harundine Musam, Ecl.* 6.8).
63 Thomas 1986, 63, sees a reference to the μέγα βιβλίον of Callimachus (fr. 465 Pf.)
    in Vergil's *maius opus* (*Aen.* 7.44).
64 See Miller 2004, 76–84.
65 Miller 2004, 76 n. 8, suggests that Propertius' *quicumque* (3.1.7) might allude spe-
    cifically to Vergil.

in the battle of Actium, which is engraved in the shield of Aeneas. In the end of the Ascanius-Apollo scene, as the god disappears, the Trojans hear the sound made by the arrows in his quiver (*Aeneid* 9.659–60), while in Propertius' *recusatio* (3.3.13–15) the god plays his lyre when he appears to the poet. Propertius' Apollo plays the lyre and stops epic poetry, Vergil's Apollo wields his bow and endorses the epic program. In *Aeneid* 9, Apollo's encounter with Ascanius, a character reminiscent of the patron deity of Roman love elegy, invites us to read the scene as an interaction between Apollo's epic character and Ascanius' Cupid-like persona. At the same time, Apollo's epiphany is modeled on the elegiac *recusatio* since the god puts an end to Ascanius' epic career.

I shall now turn to the *Metamorphoses* and argue that Ovid read the episode of Ascanius and Apollo this way, i.e. taking into account its poetological dimensions and bearing in mind the close parallels between Ascanius and Cupid.[66] Servius sees a connection between Ascanius' first epic feat and Apollo's boyish exploit in shooting the Python (*nam ut Apollo puer occiso Pythone ultus est matris iniuriam, sic Ascanius occiso Numano Troianorum castra iniuriasque defendit*. Servius, *ad Aeneid* 9.655; *paribus non inuidet armis*). In fact, Ovid alludes to *Aeneid* 9.590–1 *(Tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam / dicitur ante feras solitus terrere fugacis)* in the account of Apollo's killing of the Python (*hunc deus arquitenens numquam letalibus armis / ante nisi in dammis capreisque fugacibus usus, Met.* 1.441–2), thus drawing a connection between the episodes.[67] Vergil's Numanus and Ovid's Python share the epithet *tumidus* (*Aen.* 9.596; *Met.* 1.460) and feature as fierce enemies defeated by Ascanius and Apollo respectively in their first epic deed.

But to establish a parallel between Ascanius' and Apollo's archery is to initiate a juxtaposition between elegiac and epic arms. After fulfilling the epic feat of slaying the Python, Apollo runs into Cupid and makes fun of his bow (*Metamorphoses* 1.452–62). The scene between Apollo and Cupid in *Metamorphoses* 1 evokes Apollo's encounter with Ascanius in *Aeneid* 9; from this perspective, we are invited to draw a parallel between Ascanius and Cupid. While in the *Aeneid* Apollo does not begrudge similar weapons *(paribus armis)*[68] and epic renown (*Apollo / concedit laudem,*

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66   For a comparison between Cupid and Iulus in Ovid, see *Am.*3.9.7–14.

67   Morgan 2003, 73–5, draws attention to the parallels between the Numanus-Ascanius-Apollo scene in *Aeneid* 9 and the Python-Apollo-Cupid episode in *Metamorphoses* 1. Morgan is interested in the juxtaposition between childhood and adulthood, and its importance in defining epic manhood.

68   *Paribus armis* refers to epic poetry; on the one hand *arma* is the very subject of epic and the first word of the *Aeneid*, on the other *par* might allude to hexameter poetry

9.654–5) to Ascanius, in the *Metamorphoses* Apollo mocks Cupid's use of strong arms (*"quid"que "tibi, lasciue puer cum fortibus armis?", Met.* 1.456) and denies him a share of his glory (*nec laudes adsere nostras, Met.* 1.462). The contest between elegiac and epic weapons begins.[69] After being derided, Ovid's Cupid shoots an arrow and transforms Apollo into an elegiac lover burning in love for Daphne (*Metamorphoses* 1.463–73). Cupid controls both poetry and the god of poetry. While Ascanius obeys Apollo and withdraws from the battle, as the epic action resumes in the *Aeneid*, Cupid attacks Apollo in the *Metamorphoses* and transforms epic action into an elegiac pursuit. Both the Vergilian and the Ovidian episode revolve around the poetics of epic vis-à-vis elegy. Vergil has Apollo restrain Ascanius and thus support the epic program, while Ovid in his own epic reverses the Vergilian order and restores the elegiac pattern: Apollo moves from epic to elegy as a disobedient Cupid deflates his epic pose.

Ovid has rightly been called "Vergil's best reader"[70] and the episode of Apollo and Cupid in *Metamorphoses* 1 sheds light on the interaction between Apollo and Ascanius in *Aeneid* 9. If we acknowledge that a metapoetic encounter between Apollo and Cupid is implied already in Vergil's epic, it is likely that Ovid modeled his Apollo-Cupid scene on *Aeneid* 9. It is also interesting that in the *Aeneid* Apollo is transformed into the old man Butes (*forma tum uertitur oris/antiquum in Butem,* 9.646–7) before he appears to Ascanius, while Cupid is transformed into Ascanius. On the contrary, in *Metamorphoses* 1 Apollo and Cupid appear untransformed. Thus, the episode of the *Metamorphoses* provides the key to interpreting the transformations of Apollo and Cupid in the *Aeneid*. In this case, it is Vergil, not Ovid, who is the poet of metamorphoses.

Apollo's only speaking appearance in the *Aeneid* is a peculiar case of *recusatio*. Vergil turns the elegiac disavowal of epic poetry on its head, by

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as opposed to the elegiac couplet. Ovid says that his second line was equal to the first (*par erat inferior uersus, Am.* 1.1.3), but Cupid stole a foot and transformed the second hexameter into a pentameter. Thus, the elegiac meter is *impar* (cf. Horace, *AP* 75; Ovid, *Am.* 2.17.21; 3.1.37; *Ars.* 1.264; *Tristia* 2.220; 3.1.56; *Ex Ponto* 4.5.3; 4.16.11; 4.16.36) and the epic is *par* (cf. *paribus bella tonare modis*, Martial 8.3.14). Apollo temporarily grants epic space to Ascanius/Cupid.

69   Nicoll 1980, 174–82 argues that the Apollo-Cupid episode in *Metamorphoses* 1 reworks the elegiac denial of epic- the *recusatio* based on the Callimachean theophany of the *Aetia* prologue. Knox 1986, 14–17, argues that the encounter between Cupid and Apollo evokes elegiac discourse; Keith 2002, 246–50, further examines the interplay between epic and elegy in *Met.* 1.452–582. See also Miller 2009.

70   O'Hara 1996b.

casting an epic Apollo who orders a Cupid-like boy to abandon for good the world of wars and men. Apollo stops a youthful aspiration to epic glory, but does not support an elegiac program. Vergil first presents the intrusion of a Cupid-like boy into epic and then has Apollo remove him from the battle. By reworking an elegiac motif in order to reestablish the epic character of the work, Vergil has Apollo guarantee the epic purity of the *Aeneid* through its generic multiformity.[71] The Apollo-Ascanius scene is an elegiac interlude to epic action; the episode is framed by Numanus' speech, which alludes repeatedly to epic poetics, and an epic battle, featuring the giants Bitias and Pandarus.[72] Thus, Ascanius stops Numanus' epic rhetoric, while epic action is restored after the boy's retreat.

Conclusion

Although Venus orders Amor to assume Ascanius' role for one night (1.683–4), Ascanius is never described as being brought back. This far from accidental omission creates a deliberate and persistent ambiguity between the identities of Ascanius and Cupid. As a result, the presence of the boy often negotiates space for elegiac motifs in the epic context of the *Aeneid*.[73] Ascanius (subtly though never expressly) is invested with erotic

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71 Just as Homer was considered the fountainhead of all later literature, the generic polyphony of the *Aeneid* echoes all literary genres. But, as Harrison 2007, 207, notes, Vergilian epic is the repository rather than the source of all other poetic traditions. On the generic multiformity of the *Aeneid*, see Hardie 1986, 22–5; 1998, 57–63; Harrison 2007, 207–40.

72 Ascanius enters the battle soon after Vergil invoked Calliope to help him sing of an *ingens bellum* (cf. *Aen*. 9.525–8). Battle narrative and scenes of high epic (*Aen*. 9.530–89) lead up to Ascanius' entry. The context of martial epic makes the boy's irruption into the world of wars and men all the more emphatic.

73 I do not claim that the presence of Ascanius always alludes to Cupid. However, Vergil occasionally reminds the readers of Cupid's metamorphosis; *pueroque puer dilectus Iulo* (*Aen*. 5.569) interestingly recalls Venus' request to Cupid (*pueri puer indue uultus*, *Aen*. 1.684). In *Aen*. 10.46–53, Venus asks Jupiter to let her remove Ascanius from war and transfer him to Amathus, Paphus, Cythera or Idalium. Venus wants to take the boy away from the dangers of epic glory earned on the battlefield (*positis inglorius armis/exigat hic aeuum, Aen*. 10.52–3). This is a peculiar request: firstly, Apollo has already removed Ascanius from war and secondly, Venus has already taken Ascanius to Idalium without asking Jupiter's permission, and, as far as we know, she never brought him back. Ahl 2007, 420, notes: "*license to rescue Ascanius*: Venus wants to take him where she has already transported him (1.691–4) after substituting Amor (Cupid). No mention has been made of his return."

functions and qualities beyond his formal substitution in Book 1. Allecto, the other Cupid-like character of Vergil's epic, also signals the generic enrichment of the *Aeneid* with elegiac *topoi*. Latin elegy defines itself in striking opposition to epic poetry in general and Vergil's *Aeneid* in particular.[74] But this intergeneric discourse is also reflected in Vergil's epic, which engages in a dialogue with contemporary love elegy. The presence of elegy in epic creates a unique generic tension since the cancellation of epic plans is inherent in the elegiac program. In fact, Dido's passion threatens to stall the narrative of the *Aeneid*. Still, there is a difference in the appropriation of elegiac language and motifs between the Odyssean and the Iliadic part of the *Aeneid*. In the culmination of his literary ascent (*Aeneid* 7–12), Vergil enlists elegy in the service of martial epic.

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74 Cf. Propertius 2.34.59–66. Propertius pits his elegies against Vergil's epic even before the publication of the *Aeneid*. In Ovid's *Am*. 1.1 Cupid thwarts the poet's attempt to compose epic and forces him to write elegy. *Arma graui numero* (*Am*. 1.1.1) refers specifically to the *Aeneid* since *Arma* is the first word and thus the alternative title of the *Aeneid*. The sequence of vowels in the first hemistich of *Am*. 1.1.1 corresponds almost exactly to the first hemistich of *Aen*. 1.1 (*Arma graui numero; Arma uirumque cano*). See McKeown 1989, 11–12.

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