PASTOR AENEAS: ON PASTORAL THEMES IN THE *AENEID*

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It is well known that Vergil's interest in pastoral and pastoral themes did not disappear with the completion of his *Eclogues*. The principal themes, deepened, recur in the *Georgics* and finally in the *Aeneid*.[1] As modern scholars have emphasized, pastoral simplicity and political innocence constitute a crucial value against which much of the action in the *Aeneid* is measured. To put it another way, a constant tension exists between the implicit goal of peaceful happiness and the harsh realities of politics which, in Aeneas' world, seem necessarily to underlie any hope of peace.[2] These pastoral themes have been discussed in terms of the phrase *Saturnia regna*, the role of Venus, the Arcadian world of Evander, and the connotations of *pastor*. They have not, however, been adequately related to the personality and inclinations of Aeneas from his last moments in Troy onward, despite the fact that Vergil has strongly implied the pastoral aspects of his hero. In this paper, then, I should like to start from a key passage in Book 2, which marks the beginning of Aeneas' involvement in the compromised world of political leadership, then follow out the chief themes associated with this passage up to the end of the epic. In the process, I hope to answer the question why, unlike Homer, Vergil never uses

[1] See, for example, the recent analysis of Venus' significance in the *Aeneid*: A. Wlosock, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis* (Heidelberg 1967), especially pp. 144 ff. Discussions of the phrase *Saturnia regna* necessarily connect all three poetic works of Vergil: e.g. my article, "Juno and Saturn in the *Aeneid*," *SP* 55 (1958) 519–32 and that of I. Ryberg, "Vergil's Golden Age," *TAPA* 89 (1958) 112–31. Now Roger A. Hornsby has discussed the Vergilian connotations of *pastor* in a paper to which I shall often hereafter refer, "The *Pastor* in the Poetry of Vergil," *CJ* 63 (1967–68) 145–52.

[2] See the stimulating analysis of Book 8 by M. J. Putnam, *The Poetry of the Aeneid* (Cambridge 1965) 105 ff.

the metaphorical phrase *pastor Aeneas*, why instead he prefers to compare his hero by similes, which point up differences as well as likenesses, with the simple shepherd. I begin with the key simile of 2.304 ff.

> excutior somno et summi fastigia tecti
> adscensu supero atque arrectis auribus adsto:
> in segetem veluti cum flamma furentibus austris
> incidit, aut rapidus montano flumine torrens
> sternit agros, sternit sata laeta boumque labores
> praecipitesque trahit silvas; stupet inscius alto
> accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor. (2.302–8)

The traditional way of dealing with this simile has been to link it with its "Homeric sources." Thus, Heyne set the fashion of citing five different similes from the *Iliad*: 2.455 ff. and 11.155 ff. (both concerning fires), 4.452 ff., 5.87 ff., and 11.492 ff. (involving mountain torrents).[3] Knauer, in his recent study of Homeric influence upon the *Aeneid*, cites the same five similes.[4] Heyne went on to praise Vergil for the way he worked poetic magic with the Homeric originals, in words which Austin quotes with approval in his comment on this passage.[5] Indeed, it was obvious to Vergil's near-contemporaries that he had not slavishly copied Homer. To balance Heyne's words of praise, one could report the somewhat simple-minded opinion of the critic in Macrobius who sneers at Vergil for his supposedly clumsy "adulteration" of two Homeric comparisons, fire and torrent.[6] Clearly, if one invokes Homer for discussion, one can go considerably farther in estimating the particular "changes" effected by Vergil in his "originals."

The five Homeric similes adduced for consideration with this Vergilian passage exhibit typical Homeric practices. Three of them simply liken a Greek, in a moment of great success in battle, to the overwhelming destructiveness of fire or torrent. Agamemnon slaughtering Trojans resembles a forest fire which races along, whipped by the wind, and fells the trees in its path (11.155 ff.). Victorious Diomedes rages

[3] Heyne's commentary of 1771 and 1787 is probably the most influential one of modern times.

[4] G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer = Hypomnemata* 7 (Göttingen 1964), in his catalogue of Homeric sources for Vergilian passages.

[5] R. G. Austin, in his excellent commentary on Book 2 (Oxford 1964): "dicendum simpliciter, poetam Homeri inventa egregie suis verbis reddidisse et ornasse."

[6] *Saturnalia* 5.13.12. The key pejorative term of the critic is the verb *temeravit*.

through the Trojans like a winter torrent which overflows its banks and causes widespread destruction in the fields (5.87 ff.). Ajax, too, charges into the enemy like a torrent, one which sweeps down the mountain into the plain with its load of uprooted trees (11.492 ff.). The other two similes suggest a likeness on two levels by talking about the distant impression of a group of warriors. The polished metal armor of the advancing Greeks, which reflects the sun, resembles the blaze of a fire consuming a mountain forest (2.455 ff.). The sound of battle between Greeks and Trojans is like the thunderous noise produced by two torrents flowing together in a valley and heard from a distance by a shepherd in the mountains (4.452 ff.). All five similes concentrate on the violence of battle with typical Homeric objectivity: the violence is real, a necessary aspect of the epic civilization and epic heroism. In the comparison of 2.455 ff., Homer does not bother to develop an analogue for the presumable Trojan spectator of the advancing, destructive army of the Greeks. In 4.452 ff., which, like Austin, I believe comes closest to our Vergilian passage, Homer mentions the shepherd as if by afterthought in the final line and does not elaborate. And after all, there is nothing, nobody specific in the context with which the shepherd may be paralleled. Although Homer does use a limited number of similes to establish his basic theme of war's violence, he does not view the violence from the perspective of the victim, nor does he ever attempt to set up an ideal which negates violence and can be expected to overcome it. The very fact that various heroic Greeks can be compared to fire or torrent shows that Homer recognizes the basic component of violence in the human personality even at its best.

After these observations of Homeric practices, when we turn back to Vergil's simile, what should immediately strike us is the completely inverted orientation of the comparison.[7] All the violence of war, which Homer registered so objectively, is now perceived through the feelings of Homer's neglected shepherd. And Vergil has given added emphasis to the shepherd because, dramatically speaking, the comparison originates in Aeneas' own sense of likeness to the pastoral figure.

[7] Forbiger, in his note on this passage, shows that as late as the nineteenth century commentators disagreed as to the relevance of the simile; to combat others, who preferred to force the comparison into a more "Homeric" mold, he positively asserted that Vergil concentrated on the parallel between listening shepherd and listening Aeneas.

Like the shepherd, on that last fatal night he occupied a lofty position, heard the sounds of destruction (and would see the effects in the fire at Ucalegon's house: cf. 310–12), felt stunned, and yet did not realize in the least the full horror of the situation or the extent to which he was now involved. As the narrator in Book 2, Aeneas has gained the sympathies of Dido and us (his literary audience) against the cruel, treacherous Greeks who are here anonymously compared to fire and torrent. Pathetic details such as "happy crops," the fire that "falls upon" the wheat, and the stunned shepherd constitute un-Homeric prejudicing of the simile against the perpetrators of war's normal violence. Finally, this simile fits into a symbolic pattern which Vergil has carefully established from the first scene of Book 1 to define the antithesis between order and disorder, political peace and civil or military violence, between reason and irrationality.

As Pöschl and his followers have brilliantly demonstrated, Vergil's similes share and promote the fundamental themes of the *Aeneid*. Thus, the first simile of the epic, concerning the statesman quelling the riot (1.148 ff.), is fully integrated with the themes developed in the description of angry Juno, of Aeolus' storm, of Aeneas' self-control when he encourages his men, and is finally epitomized in the allegory of *Furor impius* (1.293 ff.). Aeneas, ancestor of Augustus and founder of Rome, in his fundamental *pietas*, opposes the destructive purposes of *Furor impius*, whether they assume form in a storm, a war, or in his own irrational inclinations. Here in Book 2, as he is about to be involved in a ruinous battle which a hostile Minerva particularly promotes, Aeneas' situation parallels that at the opening of the epic in Book 1, when a hostile Juno overwhelmed him temporarily in a storm. The phrase which ends the first line of the simile, *furentibus austris*, repeats significantly the phrase in 1.51 which ends the first line describing the wild winds of Aeolus. That phrase, in which the key theme of *furor* first occurred, is repeated only here in 2.304. Here, the destruction of battle is likened to a fire whipped by raging winds; there, the destructive winds are interpreted by battle metaphors.[8] The Greeks break into Troy by the gates to begin their ravages (2.265–67) and form their ranks (*agmina*) just as the winds form ranks (*agmine facto* 1.82) and burst

[8] In addition to the initial metaphors to be cited, Vergil inserts martial imagery at the conclusion of his storm description: *vicit hiems* (1.122), *accipiunt inimicum imbrem* (123).

their way through the gate (*qua data porta* 1.83).[9] After the simile, Aeneas describes the scene with a line that closely echoes a line describing the effect of the winds: compare 2.313, *exoritur clamorque virum clangorque tubarum*, and 1.87, *insequitur clamorque virum stridorque rudentum*. By repeating his basic themes and integrating this simile of 2.304 ff. with them, Vergil makes clear that Aeneas is about to become victim again of Furor, this time the insanity of ruinous warfare for a doomed Troy.

We have not exhausted the simile, however, when we have noted its repetitions of established themes. There is a new element here, and that is the shepherd who is a confused spectator, stunned, not yet involved in the destruction. As we saw in discussing Vergil's debt to Homer, this same shepherd as the focus of the simile constitutes the most un-Homeric part of the comparison. Austin proposed an interpretation of the shepherd which would, in fact, align it with Homeric thought: namely, that Aeneas is, or will be, the "shepherd" of the Trojans.[10] Unfortunately, that does not seem to have been Vergil's main purpose in choosing the image. If so, he would presumably have used on other occasions some version of the common Homeric phrase, "shepherd of the people."[11] He did not; *pastor Aeneas*, my title, is a

[9] It is customary, I believe, to restrict the image of *porta* to refer to an exit. I suggest, however, that we are not barred from the military meaning I adduce: what is, in one sense, an escape-door for the winds is, in another, the gate by which they enter the world to commit hostile acts upon Aeneas' fleet.

[10] Austin (above, note 5) on 2.304 ff.: "He [Aeneas] is compared to a shepherd (as he is, of his Trojans)." The Homeric phrase *poimena/-i laôn* is a formula which may well antedate Homer by centuries, to judge from the economy with which it is employed. It comprises a dactyl + spondee, ideal for concluding a hexameter, and is used exclusively in that final position (in the *Iliad* 25 times accusative, 19 times dative). In the acc. and dat. sing., *poimên*, with one anomalous exception, has an exclusively metaphorical sense; in all other forms, it refers to a literal shepherd. Hornsby (above, note 1) 147–48 occupies a position close to Austin. Although he analyzes the simile much as I do, he senses an "ironic undertone," an indirect comment on Aeneas' failure to act the part of "shepherd" and lead the Trojans, his flock, immediately to safety. That might be a latent possibility of the image, but hardly its principal significance. Hornsby seems to argue *ex silentio* and to ignore the details selected by Vergil. Vergil describes a shepherd without sheep reacting to the sound of distant destruction: emphasis belongs on shepherd and destruction, *not* shepherd and sheep.

[11] I do not think it a sufficient answer to note the metrical problems inherent in an equivalent Latin phrase. Although *pastor Aeneas* is unmetrical, *Aeneas pastor* could easily fill the first hemistich. Had Vergil wished, he could have fitted the entire Latin equivalent, at least in the nominative, into the first hemistich: e.g. *tum pastor populi*. The

non-Vergilian phrase. Indeed, the whole picture fails to bring out the aspects of the shepherd which would be most analogous to those of a leader. No sheep are mentioned, no resolute action of the herdsman. Instead of taking steps to tend his flock, this shepherd merely stands in wonder listening to the frightening sounds in the distance. He is, at least momentarily, removed from the destruction (battle) and the duties incumbent upon a shepherd with his sheep (a leader with men to command).

I emphasize this special way of visualizing Aeneas because Vergil did; he obviously wished us to think of Aeneas as a dramatic character re-living a past experience and trying to interpret his earlier actions. Now, if this simile presents new, non-Homeric features, it certainly is not a total innovation in Greco-Roman thought. Pastoral poetry had for many years idealized the shepherd who enjoyed a vague, unlaborious existence far removed from the pressures of the City, politics, and Civil War. Vergil's *Eclogues* constantly focus on the shepherd's precarious life as he is threatened by the forces of war and, in some cases, falls victim to them. Another phase of poetry relevant here is the Epicurean tradition of Lucretius and Horace. The lofty position of uninvolvement is strenuously advocated by Lucretius, in a fortress secure from the armies embroiled on the plain below. Elsewhere, Lucretius seems to resort to a pastoral image when he talks of a site so far removed from maneuvering troops that their excited activity resolves itself into stability for the viewer.[12] Like Horace, then, who uses the shepherd in the fields as an image of the good life to busy, city-bound Maecenas, Vergil seems to let Aeneas look, with obvious regret, back to those last precious moments of uninvolvement, as though to an ideal existence from which he has been forcibly separated.[13] Aeneas feels profoundly

fact remains that neither Vergil nor any other Latin poet did try to imitate Homer in this respect. Andronicus' translation of the *Odyssey* does not survive at relevant places to indicate what he did, and the *Ilias Latina* abandons almost all epithets and formulae in order to race through the epic story. I am not sure how we should interpret a remark of Quintilian in this connection: "at ego in agendo nec 'pastorem populi' auctore Homero dixerim" (8.16.18). The context suggests that an orator should avoid poetic phrases altogether, even those dignified by the authority of Homer. But Quintilian might also imply that he would not *invent* such a phrase (for otherwise it is unknown in Latin literature).

[12] Lucretius 2.317 ff.

[13] See Horace, *C.* 3.29.33 ff.

the change which was produced in his life by the violent overthrow of Troy, and, as he recounts the events which produced this change, he effectively summarizes his lost happiness and freedom from terrible responsibility in this pastoral simile.

It is obvious that Vergil does not regard Aeneas as a simple bucolic hero, that Aeneas himself knows that he has left his splendid and desirable isolation symbolized here by the distant crag. But this is a moment in the narrative of Book 2 where Aeneas stands at the crossroads. Up to this point, he has been a face in the crowd, one of the masses included in the first person plural (25, 74, 105, 145 etc.), taking no leadership in decisive events. Now, as he wakes up to discover the Trojan disaster, he suddenly assumes control; the first person singular dominates the narrative from here on. In a moment, he will rush down from his high position as spectator and become a warrior, with a small band of Trojans prepared to die fighting. Seven years later, recounting these events in the luxurious banquet-scene at Carthage, Aeneas emphasizes the pathos of this critical juncture by attaching to the shepherd the epithet *inscius*. The shepherd does not understand this disaster of nature, why it happens or how far it affects him, and neither did Aeneas (he later realizes) grasp the full import for him of the fall of Troy. Irrationally propelled by fury and anger, he rushes out against the Greeks (314 ff.). Although that very night in a vivid dream Hector has already defined his duties as a leader to be quite different, Aeneas ignores them. Nor does he recognize the part the gods play in the end of Troy: Venus must reveal that to him.

Aeneas' sense of lost pastoral virtues is important to the whole epic, and Vergil sees to it that we are reminded of this fact. In terms of this simile, we may study three recurring motives: (1) *inscius Aeneas*, (2) Aeneas likened to a *pastor*, (3) Aeneas involved in the furious destruction of fire and torrents. Although the three themes rarely appear in complete isolation, their cumulative effect is to emphasize the bitter truth which Aeneas has already sensed even before his wretched affair with Dido: that his necessary responses to destructive Furor and his own role in the Trojan-Roman destiny have forever compromised the pastoral purity he once cherished.

Vergil frequently depicts his hero as acting without full awareness of the circumstances in which he finds himself, and it is particularly

ironic that here, the first time that the poet associates the epithet *inscius* with Aeneas, Aeneas himself employs it. Looking back on the seven years that separate him from the Fall of Troy, Aeneas can now appreciate with poignance how ignorant he then was. Since then, he has learned much, accepted a large part of his duties as victim of Furor and founder of a home that will hopefully control such madness. However, much remains beyond his comprehension. The same phrase *stupet inscius* in 10.249 will characterize his reaction to the miracle which has saved his ships from Turnus' fire and brought them as sea nymphs to him. As on that fatal first night at Troy, he will be plunged into battle, which accounts in part for his stupefaction, but he will enter the fight with a positive omen at least (10.250). Vergil again calls Aeneas *inscius* in 6.711 as the hero shivers with amazement watching the countless souls, like bees in summer, collect at Lethe. Anchises must explain this phenomenon to him and so encourage him to struggle on for the future which these souls will ultimately inherit through Aeneas' efforts. Parallel to this vision of the future is that in 8.730 when Aeneas, *ignarus rerum*, stares in wonder and uncomprehending pleasure at the events of Roman history depicted by Vulcan on his shield. In Book 8, however, Vergil does not concede Aeneas an explanation of these scenes. Thus, throughout the epic, the poet emphasizes the fact that his hero acts within human limits, unaware of his own potential significance, certainly unable to grasp the meaning of events in their full complexity. Perhaps the cruelest aspect of this "unconsciousness" inheres in Aeneas' inability to see or control the way he himself becomes compromised in his basic "pastoral" ideals. To hint at that, Vergil contrives another highly individual simile and describes Aeneas as *pastor nescius* (4.71–72), only a few days, chronologically speaking, after Aeneas, with this simile of 2.304 ff., has commented knowingly on his earlier lack of understanding.[14]

[14] The Homeric "prototype" cited by Knauer and others, *Iliad* 11.474 ff., is strikingly different. In Homer, a stag wounded by a man (not a shepherd) escapes; then, the wound starts to take effect, and jackals swarm to the kill; however, before they can finish off the stag, a lion appears and scatters them. These details apply to the wounded Odysseus whom Trojans surround until Ajax drives them off. Even if Homer liked to exploit pathos, he certainly would not have lavished such emotion on warrior Odysseus. And the lion is an intrusion which Vergil could not use, though it is fundamental to the entire Homeric context. Hornsby (above, note 1) 148 deals ably with Vergil's simile. Again, however, we disagree on its implications. He stresses the frivolity of Aeneas

uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur
urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,
quam procul incautam nemora inter Cressia fixit
pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum
nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos, haeret lateri letalis harundo. (4.68–73)

This simile attaches its pathos to Dido represented as a wounded deer, but it characterizes Aeneas as the careless shepherd with weapon in hand who has been shooting at an innocent deer rather than tending his sheep. Unaware that he has fatally wounded the poor animal, the shepherd goes blithely off; the deer, on the other hand, springs away in burning agony. It might seem odd that Vergil used the word *pastor* here rather than a noun like *venator*, for the shepherd shooting arrows is an unexpected image. However, the word-choice, I believe, is deliberate, designed to recall the simile of the shepherd in 2.304 ff. No longer the unwitting spectator and victim of fiery fury, Aeneas has now become the unwitting perpetrator of the same, the innocent agent of all that he abhors. Entirely against his will, half-ignorant to the very end, he destroys the woman he loves, leaving her to the agonies of the fury he has caused, ultimately to the suicide which is implied in this very simile. After he abandons Carthage and looks back from the sea at the flames that rise from the pyre, where she lies pierced by his own sword, he does not know the reason for the fire (*causa latet* 5.5), but he has heavy forebodings. How far he has moved into the bitter world of reality from that pastoral innocence! How little he understands the destructive consequences of his actions!

Three times Vergil employs similes in which he represents Aeneas as a shepherd, and in each case the shepherd appears without sheep or any of the paraphernalia of the herdsman, engaged in actions which are peripheral, if not opposed, to the normal practices of his life. In the above simile, the shepherd is a hunter, and the phrase *agens telis* has occurred before in 1.191, to describe Aeneas hunting deer just after

as *pastor*: "A shepherd of his flock he is not." I prefer to follow Vergil's text and ignore the flock, to stress instead the unwitting destructiveness of shepherd and Aeneas. To view Aeneas as a compromised shepherd agrees more closely, it seems to me, with the subsequent treatment of this theme and the cumulative characterization of Aeneas than to focus on the truant shepherd. In the end, following his thesis, Hornsby can only misinterpret the simile of 12.587 ff. See below.

landing in Africa.[15] He seems to be wandering through the forests of Crete instead of tending his flocks on the plains or in the hills, wielding his weapons for his own pleasure rather than to defend the sheep. There is, of course, a common set of Homeric similes in which we hear of lions or wolves attacking flocks and herds and the herdsmen using weapons to drive off the beasts. Vergil varies one of these in 11.809 ff. when he compares Arruns, who has just fatally shot Camilla, to a wolf which, having killed a shepherd, slinks away to avoid the arrows of other herdsmen. In this simile of Book 4, it is plain that Vergil was not attempting to be Homeric, but was emphasizing the carelessly cruel ways of his shepherd. The only thing that somewhat redeems him is the epithet *nescius*. When Vergil next likens Aeneas to a shepherd, that extenuating epithet has disappeared.

> inclusas veluti latebroso in pumice pastor
> vestigavit apes fumoque implevit amaro:
> illae intus trepidae rerum per cerea castra
> discurrunt magnisque acuunt stridoribus iras;
> volvitur ater odor tectis, tum murmure caeco
> intus saxa sonant, vacuas it fumus ad auras. (12.587–92)

The context here is one of violent military action. Unable to locate Turnus and force him to fight the duel he had agreed to, Aeneas has decided (as Venus suggested, 554) to attack Latinus' city and compel the Latins to ratify the treaty or else suffer destruction. His forces assault the walls, climbing ladders, shooting clouds of arrows, and employing fire as a weapon. The immediate result is confusion in the city: *exoritur trepidos inter discordia civis* (583). It is this successfully aggressive action which Vergil now interprets by means of the simile, comparing the general Aeneas to the shepherd, his assault weapons to acrid smoke, and lavishing most of his concern and all his pathos on the unfortunate bees (Latins) who are the victims. This simile has encouraged some one-sided interpretation of Aeneas' role, especially in recent literature, and it requires special study. What is Vergil trying to convey here about his hero?

[15] It is hardly necessary to emphasize the importance of the hunting-theme in Book 4. On the other hand, we should note that when Vergil deals with the tragedy of Turnus he does not confuse the hunting imagery by mentioning a shepherd. Cf. the similes in 12.4 ff. and 749 ff.

The negative implications emerge at first glance, and it is certainly true that Vergil, in the way he phrased his comparison, emphasized the negative effects of the shepherd's, hence also Aeneas', actions. Without specifying the reason for the shepherd's "attack" on the bees inside their rock home, he concentrates on the chaotic effects produced by the pungent smoke, the confused insects buzzing in the waxen "camp." Far from being *inscius*, this shepherd acts deliberately, and indeed his purpose might seem like wilful destruction. Whereas bees can be ideally invoked as an insect-parallel to the ordered purposes of men, this shepherd has produced the very opposite result, disorder, something closely approximating civil war on the insect level (*inter discordia civis* 583). Aeneas has been the victim of the *discordia* which Allecto and Juno produced shortly after his landing (7.545), and more recently he has vainly protested against the *discordia* contrived by Juturna and Juno (12.313). Why now must he deliberately create *discordia*? By the series of three similes in Books 2, 4, and 12, Vergil apparently indicates a degeneration in Aeneas, an ever-increasing loss of pastoral innocence, as he declines from the guiltless spectator of nature-caused destruction, to the unwitting cause of a poor deer's agony, and finally to the conscious and deliberate contriver of discord in the bee-city.

Hornsby, studying the connotations of *pastor* in Vergil, has arrived at a different interpretation of this simile with which I must take issue: "The shepherd shows his concern for his herds by removing the potential danger of a swarm of bees; his action is that of a shepherd whose primary responsibility is to his animals. Similarly Aeneas tries to act as the thoughtful shepherd not only of his own Trojans but also of the Latins.... The previous uses of the *pastor* motif in conjunction with Aeneas... prepare for this final use in which Aeneas appears as shepherd-of-his-people."[16] Such positive implications are not in the Latin text. As I have stated above, Vergil does not account for the shepherd's attack, but it is surely gratuitous and apiologically unlikely to construe the bees in their rock as a swarm potentially endangering sheep. There are no sheep in this simile, just as there were none in 2.304 ff. or 4.69 ff. It is the bees which, like Dido the deer, are in danger and emphatically victims. What the shepherd intends

[16] Hornsby (above, note 1) 150–51. See above, notes 10 and 14, for my comments on his treatment of the similes at 2.304 ff. and 4.69 ff.

with the smoke, I dare say Vergil implies, is to "subdue" the bees and then loot their hive of honey.[17] Still, if we remain objective and avoid guessing at why the shepherd smoked out the bees, the fact remains that this simile uses a pattern like that of 4.69 ff. and so should support an interpretation consistent with it. Aeneas is no more a shepherd-of-his-people here than in 4.69 ff., but quite as destructive and compromised. And his thoughtfulness for the Latins is most remote; as Vergil says, he aimed to confound them (*turbaret* 556), to compel their confession of defeat (568).

I would certainly agree with those who interpreted this simile as a sign of the extent to which Aeneas' pastoral ideals have become compromised by his political responsibilities. However, I do not agree with those who would restrict the significance to a representation of Aeneas as "destroyer of the pastoral world."[18] In the first place, the absence of any epithet for the *pastor* can be viewed in two ways: he is deliberate in action, but is the action cruel and destructive or intelligently masterful? Go back to the real situation. The Latins have failed to uphold the treaty. Aeneas, then, feels obliged to take charge and treat them as irresponsible beings who must be compelled to be rational. Secondly, although he does create discord for the moment, the end result is not the destruction of the city, but the duel with Turnus which settles the war. As soon as Turnus finally appears, Aeneas more than willingly breaks off his attack on the Latins (697 ff.). What in fact is the shepherd doing? Not destroying the "city" of the bees, but exploiting its honey; and that is traditionally the prerogative of man in relation to the bees. Vergil knew apiculture better than most of us modern city-dwellers, and he described without the least pathos in *Georgics* 4.228 ff. the bee-keeper's entirely legitimate gathering of honey twice a year from the hives. Using smoke on the bees helped to protect the bee-keeper from the angry bees, but it did

[17] The usual interpretation of the shepherd's action is that he makes smoke in order to drive the bees from their hive and honey. So Heyne: "accipiendum de fumigatione, qua, ut favos eximat mellarius, *expelluntur* alvearibus apum examina." So Sabbadini on 588: "per *farle uscire* ed estrarne poi il miele." Fr. Lawrence Bracelino, who has had considerable experience as a beekeeper, has informed me that smoke does *not* drive bees away. Instead, it stimulates the bees to gorge themselves on the honey until they become completely lethargic and so may be removed, even brushed away, with impunity.

[18] Cf. the interpretation of the simile by Putnam (above, note 2) 176–77.

not harm the bees; otherwise, they would not be able to assemble honey for a second "harvest" each year. So the pathos of this simile has its limits. Bees are pathetic as little beings like men, but in the end they are *only* bees, insects which are normally exploited for the more important purposes of human beings. The sequel (not Amata's irrational suicide, but the compulsion upon Turnus to act responsibly) proves that Aeneas' purposes were not basically destructive. It is his tragedy, to be sure, to become involved in situations where he must consciously resort to fire and smoke to achieve his divinely supported purposes, but that does not entitle us to seek a pejorative epithet for the *pastor* whom Vergil has left unqualified.[19] Aeneas the shepherd has apparently forgotten his sheep, his delightful shaded hills and isolation; it is too much to assert that he is destroying these very things when he merely seeks honey from a beehive.

Lastly, we may look briefly at the circumstances in which Aeneas becomes involved symbolically with fires and torrents. They are consistent with what we have already seen for the other themes of Book 2's simile: just as Aeneas' unconscious innocence and pastoral uninvolvement become compromised by his political responsibilities, so, too, is his absolute antipathy to and blissful distance from ruinous forces. The shepherd similes of 4.69 ff. and 12.587 ff. have already indicated this: the arrow-wound in the deer causes burning agony, and the bees are thrown into confusion by the effects of fire and smoke. Clearer evidence is provided in the battle of Book 10. During the early phase of the conflict, just after the landing of the Etruscan fleet, Aeneas fights and conquers his foes without difficulty or passion. However, when Pallas falls before Turnus, Aeneas becomes violent (10.513 ff.). Some ninety lines represent in stark detail a "wrath" which, though brief, parallels the murderous career of Achilles in the *Iliad*. Vergil ends this phase of the fight with a significant short simile.

[19] Anyone who reduces Aeneas to a destroyer on the strength of this simile in 12.587 ff. must face resultant problems arising from the simile of 10.405 ff., which represents Pallas as *pastor victor* firing fields in the summer and triumphantly watching the flames sweep over the plain. Does that simile spoil Pallas forever in our eyes, reducing him to a demonic destroyer of the Arcadian pastoral world from which he comes? I think not. The simile does show, however, that Vergil tended to place his shepherds in compromising situations. For a different interpretation of Pallas' simile, see Hornsby (above, note 1) 149–50. Again, he stresses a relevance to the "shepherd of the people" which I consider inapposite.

talia per campos edebat funera ductor
Dardanius, torrentis aquae vel turbinis atri
more furens. (602–4)

Aeneas, who once could represent himself watching the horrors of war as a shepherd viewing a torrent in amazement, has now become comparable to that raging torrent, an agent of Furor.

Once again, we must refrain from over-interpreting a simile, especially one so brief as this. Vergil no doubt expects his careful reader to catch the ironic reversal from Book 2, but he has not elaborated the simile so as to insist on the terrible destruction inflicted by torrent or storm. Moreover, it is important to note that Aeneas does not remain savagely unappeasable like Achilles. Except for one brief reference in 10.661–62, Vergil turns our attention away from the Trojan, to concentrate first on the inadequate behavior of Turnus, then on the valor of blasphemous Mezentius. When next we see him, he strides forward as *pius Aeneas* (783), ready to engage and defeat Mezentius. Lausus intervenes before he can finish off his wounded foe, and now Vergil uses a quite different kind of simile for this once-torrential Trojan: he resembles an innocent farmer overtaken by a painfully driving hail (803 ff.). His reverent treatment of Lausus' body is a paradigm of *pietas* that exposes by antithesis the mad folly of Turnus toward young Pallas. Thus, the torrent simile seems to represent a momentary extreme (considerably justified by the circumstances) from which Aeneas had the moral power and rational self-control to withdraw after brief indulgence.

Vergil inserts another such compromising simile in Book 12, once again in an extenuating context. As in Book 10, Aeneas' passions and behavior vary with the different phases of combat. Immediately after the violation of the treaty, combat rages without Aeneas, who has been wounded when unarmed he tried to stop the discord.[20] Then, when Venus has tended to the wound, he proceeds into battle, with obvious deliberation looking only for Turnus (466–67). His confident Trojans and Etruscan allies do start conquering, and their actions can be compared to those of a ruinous storm (451 ff.),[21] but

[20] While Aeneas is non-combatant, Vergil compares Turnus to bloody Mars himself, the very incarnation of war's cruel destructiveness (12.331 ff.).

[21] Here again Putnam's interpretation of the simile (above, note 2, p. 171) seems too limited.

Aeneas does not engage, let alone kill, anybody. However, the enemy finally forces Aeneas to fight in self-defense, and now, as he begins to kill, he becomes somewhat parallel to Turnus.[22] Vergil embraces them both in the following simile:

> ac veluti inmissi diversis partibus ignes
> arentem in silvam et virgulta sonantia lauro,
> aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis
> dant sonitum spumosi amnes et in aequora currunt,
> quisque suum populatus iter: non segnius ambo
> Aeneas Turnusque ruunt per proelia. (12.521–26)

At first glance, it might seem that Aeneas' pastoral purity has become utterly perverted and that this is the final ironic comment by Vergil on his hero. The Trojan who once could think of himself removed from battle like a shepherd hearing the distant thunder of a forest fire or mountain torrent has now become so integral a part of the destruction of battle that he resembles the very fire or torrent which ravages the pastoral world. The shepherd has disappeared, to be replaced by the agent of Furor. Put in that distorted form, the argument for regarding Aeneas as a destroyer seems difficult to confute. However, it should be rejected. This is a moment in the battle, to which Aeneas has been brought by definite stages, from which he will now be withdrawn in definite stages. Soon after this, as we have already noted, Aeneas will embrace the idea of attacking Latinus' city. There, he becomes distinguished again from Turnus wildly raging on the periphery of the combat, and a new simile represents him as the shepherd deliberately causing confusion, but not total destruction. Might this shepherd-simile not be a "correction" of the negative implications of the previous one in 12.521 ff.? The attack on the city has positive results: whereas the city is merely thrown into confusion, not seriously harmed, Turnus is compelled to return to engage in the promised duel. Here is another moment for Vergil to estimate Trojan and Rutulian by simile, and this time he differentiates them sharply. The unvaried associations of

[22] In the lines leading up to the similes, Vergil indicates differences between the two. Aeneas' conquests are conventional, undistinguished by barbarity or pathos. Turnus savagely cuts off a pair of heads to display them bleeding on his chariot (511 ff.), then slaughters the Arcadian Menoetes, an obvious "pastoral" type (517 ff.). That suggests that Turnus is now the foe of pastoral order.

mad destruction remain with Turnus, who bursts his way through the ranks toward the city and Aeneas like a boulder plunging ruinously down a mountain, the epitome of irrational fury (684 ff.). Aeneas, on the other hand, resembles a mountain rising above the immediate passions of the moment, confident and majestic (697 ff.). Whereas Turnus can be adequately summarized by a single simile, whether as wolf, lion, bird of prey, bloody Mars, forest fire, torrent, or boulder in an avalanche, no single simile catches the complex meaning of Aeneas. Compromised he is; perverted, not.

In conclusion, the pastoral themes of the *Aeneid* partake of the same meaningful ambiguity that enriches other major themes. It was a stroke of genius for Vergil to devise the simile of 2.304 ff. from Homeric, pastoral, and Epicurean motifs and to place it dramatically, as a kind of autobiographical confession, in the mouth of Aeneas. That simile is, chronologically speaking, the first simile used of the hero; hence, it represents the initial conditions from which he proceeds, stage by stage, to the last scene in Book 12. Aeneas fondly looked back on his life before the last cruel night in Troy as an idyllic one: he resembled an innocent shepherd. The Trojan disaster, however, made demands upon him to which he passionately responded. No reader honors the uninvolved shepherd of early Book 2 more than the warrior, patriot, and dedicated man of *pietas* at the end. There is pathos in the loss of values; there is grandeur in the new goals. Vergilian pathos often strikes us so poignantly that we forget or ignore the total design of the epic and erroneously indulge our emotions. So there is pathos in the fact that Aeneas deals with Dido's passions like a shepherd misusing his arrows for hunting and carelessly ignoring the damage he has done. But that is only one side of things: Dido is also responsible for her passions, and her suicide, pathetic though it be, is a confession of personal failure. It is above all in Book 12, where the various themes must reach their conclusion, that Vergil reminds us of the enviable pastoral condition from which his hero started. First, the shepherd once stunned by forest fire or torrent becomes the incarnation of those ruinous agents of destruction (521 ff.). Then, the unconscious, passive, removed shepherd turns into a shepherd deliberately causing discord among the citizens of a bee-city (587 ff.). Here, too, Vergilian pathos inclines us toward the victims of Aeneas. Nevertheless, the total

poetic context makes it obvious that these similes do not interpret the whole significance of Aeneas and further that they cannot be compressed into an exclusively negative meaning. *Pastor Aeneas* has perforce left his pastoral world, descending among the troubles of his people and compromising his abstract ideals in the process. However, within that compromised person lives an affection for pastoral values that makes the recapture of *Saturnia regna* at least a remote possibility. What he has experienced since the loss of innocence will make that goal far more meaningful than it was for the *inscius pastor*.