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*Nymphaeque sorores: Virgil's Sororities of Nymphs*

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**Abstract:** Nymphs appear frequently in the corpus of Virgilian poetry. Careful consideration of the place of nymphs in Virgil's *Eclogues* and (in particular) his *Georgics* reveals how the poet utilizes these quasi-divine figures as important elements of his exposition of both the nature of Roman identity and the demands incurred in composing his Homeric-Callimachean epic.

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In the pantheon of Virgilian divine and quasi-divine beings, nymphs hold a place of particular (if sometimes unappreciated) importance.<sup>1</sup> We shall endeavor to examine

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<sup>1</sup> For helpful introductions to the subject, see especially S. Fasce, "Ninfe," in F. Della Corte, ed., *Enciclopedia virgiliana* (hereafter *EV*) III, Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1987, pp. 731-736; E. Fantham, "Nymphs," in R. Thomas and J. Ziolkowski, eds., *The Virgil Encyclopedia* (hereafter *VE*), Volume II, Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014, pp. 921-922; also C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*, Oxford, 1935, pp. 34-37. On the "taxonomy" of nymphs, eminently useful is the work of J. Larson, *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore*, Oxford, 2001, pp. 3 ff. "Nymph" is an ambiguous term (it is connected etymologically with water, i.e., *nympha/lympha*; cf. Roscher III.1, pp. 500-502); for the purposes of this study, we shall consider appearances of Virgilian *nymphae*, *dryades* (i.e., tree nymphs), *hamadryades* (oak nymphs), *naiades* (water nymphs), *nerēides/oceanitides* (sea nymphs), and *oreades* (mountain nymphs). Virgil has *Oceanitides* at *G.* 4.341 ("das Patronymikon in dieser Form nur hier" – M. Erren, *P. Vergilius Maro Georgica, Band 2 Kommentar*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2003, *ad loc.*). There has been no comprehensive, systematic study of Virgilian "nymphs" in part because of the complex problem of setting parameters on a definition of *nympha* and the subsets thereof, and in part because the presence of nymphs is oftentimes dismissed as a mere poetic adornment in an already well-

closely all of the Virgilian references to these female spirits of water and wood, with a view to demonstrating how the poet utilizes these secondary deities in his epic *Aeneid* not simply as aesthetic ornament in the theological and pastoral landscape that unfolds in his verses, but more importantly as figures significant to his questions about both the ethnic and national identity of the Roman people, and the poetic nature of his Homeric-Callimachean epic. We shall see *en passant* how the allusions to nymphs in Virgil's earlier works – especially his *Georgics* – prepare his audience for the significance of these mysterious nature spirits in his epic *Aeneid*.

### Virgil's Pastoral Nymphs

Nymphs (in the plural) are referenced throughout the *Eclogues*, either collectively or (more rarely) by name.<sup>2</sup> Nymphs are invited to bring full baskets of lilies to Corydon's beloved Alexis (*E.* 2.45-46 *Huc ades, o formose puer: tibi lilia plenis / ecce ferunt Nymphae calathis*).<sup>3</sup> The reference is seemingly easy enough; the (generic) nymphs are responsible for the growth of flowers in their capacity as water-spirits, and so they are said to bring flowers to the lover.<sup>4</sup> From the generic, the poet moves to the specific: *candida Nais* prepares an elaborate floral bouquet for the beloved boy that consists of violets, poppies, narcissus, fennel, cassia and other herbs, the hyacinth and the marigold (*E.* II, 46-50).<sup>5</sup> “Nais” refers to a Naiad, a subclass, we might say, of nymphs whose particular

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populated divine landscape. Hermes' mother Maia is a “nymph” in the *Homeric Hymns*; in Virgil there is no such detail. This paper was much improved by the helpful suggestions of the anonymous referees. I am also grateful to Shannon Hill.

<sup>2</sup> All passages from Virgil's *Eclogues* and *Georgics* are quoted from S. Ottaviano and G. B. Conte, eds., *P. Vergilius Maro: Bucolica, Georgica*, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2013.

<sup>3</sup> In the Greek pastoral poem on which Virgil's second bucolic is based, Theocritus' Polyphemus (*Id.* 11.72-74) notes that it would have been more sensible to plait wicker baskets to fill with greenery for his lambs, than to pursue Galatea. Galatea – one of the Nereids – is invoked by Corydon (who is playing Polyphemus) in his amoebian competition with Thyrsis at *E.* 7.37-40, where he recalls his lovelorn lament from *E.* 2. Cf. *E.* 9.39-43. The name “Galatea” occurs also in the *E.* of Tityrus' irresponsible wife (*E.* 1.30-32), and of Damoetas' impish, apple-tossing girlfriend (*E.* 3.64-65; 3.72).

<sup>4</sup> So W. V. Clausen, *Virgil: Eclogues*, Oxford, 1994, *ad loc.*

<sup>5</sup> For the significance of the descriptor *candida* see especially A. Cucchiarelli, *Publio Virgilio Marone: Le Bucoliche, Introduzione e commento*, Roma: Carocci Editore, 2012, *ad loc.*; R. J. Edgeworth, *The Colors of the Aeneid*, New York: Peter Lang, 1992, pp. 114-116. “Nais” has been taken to be the “name” of the nymph, though it is better to interpret it as merely the “common” appellation “Naiad” (i.e., more specific than a “Nymph,” but not as well-defined as Aegle, Galatea,

provenance was the world of rivers.<sup>6</sup> Again, the beautiful Naiad is responsible for the floral radiance of riverbank and meadow, and so she is a suitable floral attendant. In Corydon's vision, the nymphs are agents in the pursuit of his homoerotic agenda with Alexis; theirs is an amatory function, and they are envisaged as being at the service of the lover in his quest for his *eromenos*.

The herdsman Damoetas also references nymphs in an erotic context. At *E.* 3.7-9, he notes that he is aware of who was with Menalcas, and in what shrine, when the goats were looking askance at the sexual misbehavior – but the complacent nymphs were laughing: *Parcius ista viris tamen obicienda memento: / novimus et qui te, transversa tuentibus hircis, / et quo – sed faciles Nymphae risere – sacello ...* The scene is complex. In the competitive song of the would-be poetic rivals, Damoetas makes a reference to passive homosexuality (cf. 3.7 *viris*), as he warns Menalcas not to insult “real men” – for Damoetas, after all, knows the identity of Menalcas' sexual partner, and where the transgression occurred as an act of desecration of some woodland shrine (3.9 *sacello*, with the last word reserving a shock for the end).<sup>7</sup> The exact nature of the sexual offense is left discreetly unspecified – but what is made clear is that while the goats kept a respectful custody of the eyes, the Nymphs of the locale were reduced to laughter at the shameful sight.<sup>8</sup>

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and other “named” nymphs of the *Eclogues*). See further here F. Jones, *Virgil's Garden: The Nature of Bucolic Space*, London: Bristol Classical Press, 2011, pp. 85-86, with detailed correspondences between the rivers and the nymphs.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. E. Fantham, “Naiads,” in *VE* II, p. 876 (“nymphs of meadows and pastures”), with no mention of the Naiads as spirits of the water (“Nome delle Ninfe delle acque (delle sorgenti, dei fiumi e dei laghi)” at “Naiadi” in *EV* III, p. 651). Cf. below on *E.* 6.21 and 10.10. Naiads are properly river-nymphs, though the appellation could be applied loosely to nymphs of any kind (vid. *OLD* s.v. 2). For Nais cf. Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.16; *Pae.* 2.1; fr. 156.2 Race; plural Naiades at *Dith.* 2.12. For Nais as a name for that “which seems to be a subcategory of Nymph” see T. Gantz, *Early Greek Myth*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993, p. 139. “There seem to be at least two basic categories [i.e., of Nymphs], the Nymphai of springs and the Nymphai of mountains; Nymphai inhabiting forests and meadows, and those connected with specific trees, may or may not be subcategories of the above.” (Gantz, *op. cit.*, p. 142). Naiads, then, and oreads; perhaps dryads and hamadryads may be considered subcategories of oreads, though it is unlikely that even the most assiduous ancient mythographer obsessed overmuch about the classifications (given the overlap) – still less the poets. This view admittedly might need revision were we to have access to Callimachus' lost treatise on nymphs.

<sup>7</sup> For the implications of 3.7 *viris* see further R. Coleman, *Vergil: Eclogues*, Cambridge, 1977, *ad loc.*

<sup>8</sup> “This was too much even for the lusty goats, but not for the ‘easy-going’ nymphs, who might have been expected to frown on such a desecration of the shrine.” (Coleman, *op. cit.*, *ad* 3.7-8). Cf.

The nymphs are now spectators – both willingly and with the pleasure of the enjoyment of the entertainment – at an erotic interaction that is disgraceful even to the point of the desecration of a sacred precinct.<sup>9</sup> For the reader of the second and third eclogues (nymphs make no appearances in the first or the fourth), the only association of these nature spirits is with sexuality, and indeed with a sexuality that raises questions in light of what we might identify as traditional Roman morality.

Strikingly different are the references to nymphs in the fifth eclogue, the celebrated Daphnis poem.<sup>10</sup> Here, nymphs are said to have mourned and lamented the dead Daphnis: 5.20-23 *Exstinctum Nymphae crudeli funere Daphnin / flebant (vos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis), / cum complexa sui corpus miserabile nati / atque deos atque astra vocat crudelia mater*. The nymphs weep for the death of Daphnis, because his mother was one of their number; Daphnis was the son of Hermes and an unnamed nymph.<sup>11</sup> What

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Theocritus, *Id.* 5.41 ff., with the commentary notes of K. Dover, *Theocritus: Select Poems*, London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1971, *ad loc.* Very different is the association of nymphs and goats at Homer, *Odyssey* 9.154, where the nymphs, the daughters of aegis-bearing Zeus, rouse up goats to serve as food for Odysseus and his men. The connection of goats and nymphs is also reflective of the close union of nymphs and half-man, half-goat Sileni. With Virgil's *faciles Nymphae* cf. Propertius, c. 2.34.76 *laudatur faciles inter Hamadryadas*, at the end of a sequence of verses that alludes to the Virgilian pastoral poems (indeed, the reference comes just after mention of Corydon and Alexis, where the elegist clearly remembered the “compliance” of the nymphs).

<sup>9</sup> For the locus of the illicit sexual congress as a *Nymphaeum*, a “grotto or cave” that affords privacy to the partners, see Clausen, *op. cit.*, ad 3.9. Cucchiarelli *ad loc.* compares the case of Atalanta and Hippomenes, transformed into lions of Cybele on account of the profanation of a holy place.

<sup>10</sup> The name of Daphnis at once brings to mind the *daphne* or laurel, a theme to which we shall return.

<sup>11</sup> For the mythographic tradition, cf. Parthenius, *Erot. Path.* 29, with the notes of J. L. Lightfoot, *Parthenius of Nicaea*, Oxford, 1999, *ad loc.* In Parthenius' version, Daphnis was warned by the nymph Echenais (who had fallen in love with him) not to have any association with women, on pain of blindness; a princess of Sicily tricked him into intercourse via the power of wine, and he was indeed deprived of his eyesight. Lightfoot observes that “There are several versions, though Daphnis is always connected with Sicily, is called the inventor of bucolic poetry, and is unhappy in love.” (p. 526). Cf. also Aelian, *Var. hist.* 10.18; Diodorus Siculus 4.84.2-4; Servius and Philargyrius on *E.* 5.20. Aelian says that some said that Daphnis was the *eromenos* of Hermes, others that he was the son; he acquired his name from birth near a laurel tree. He was involved with a nymph who threatened him with blindness should he ever be involved with another woman (cf. the myth of Rhoecus, another case of the association of nymphs with blindness). He became drunk and had his dalliance with a princess; his poetry reflected his misery in love once he was blinded. Diodorus tells essentially the same story, adding the detail that Daphnis was accustomed to hunt with Artemis.

emerges from the extant Daphnic tradition is an image of the veritable founder of pastoral poetry, a devotee of Artemis who even mocks Aphrodite in defiance as he goes to his death.<sup>12</sup> Virgil offers meager mythographic allusions and details regarding Daphnis in his fifth eclogue; there is no reference to the traditions of either erotic suffering (cf. the Gallus of *E.* 10, with whom Daphnis offers a contrasting pair), or of Aphrodite's part in the drama.<sup>13</sup>

Artfully, the nymphs who mourned for Daphnis are remembered also near the end of the eclogue, as Menalcas describes the rites that will honor Daphnis, for whom altars have been erected for the one who stands at the threshold of heaven. Honor will be paid in perpetuity to Daphnis, both when yearly vows are paid to the Nymphs, and when the fields undergo their lustration or purification rites: *haec tibi semper erunt, et cum sollemnia vota / reddemus Nymphis, et cum lustrabimus agros* (5.74-75). Daphnis, the son of a nymph, will be honored at the time when the Nymphs – his mother and aunts, as it were – receive their due homage. Indeed, the apotheosis of Daphnis engenders a special pleasure and delight among the divine denizens of forest and glade: *ergo alacris silvas et cetera rura voluptas / Panaque pastoresque tenet Dryadasque puellas* (*E.* 5.58-59). Dryads are wood nymphs; they rejoice as Daphnis is honored (fittingly enough, dryads attend to the honors of one named after the laurel tree).<sup>14</sup> The nymphs are associated with poetry, and, in a sense, with rebirth: Daphnis, the founder of pastoral, will find himself at the gate of heaven.<sup>15</sup> The fifth eclogue closes with a vision of a divinized poet that stands in sharp contrast to the Gallus eclogue with which the collection of pastorals will end.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Theocritus, *Id.* 1.64-145, with the annotations of R. Hunter, *Theocritus: A Selection ...*, Cambridge, 1999, *ad loc.*

<sup>13</sup> “Although the Theocritean picture of the handsome cattle-herd and musician doomed to untimely death is clearly one of the models for Mopsus’ lament, Vergil has erased all traces of the traditional erotic background to his suffering and of the Theocritean motif of hostility to Venus.” (Coleman, *op. cit.*, *ad* 5.20).

<sup>14</sup> Neither dryads nor hamadryads (oak nymphs) figure in the *Aeneid*. At *G.* 1.11 *ferre simul Faunisque pedem Dryadesque puellae* they are invoked along with other sylvan and rural deities, in language that recalls that of the Daphnis passage. Cf. *G.* 3.40-41 *Interea Dryadum silvas salutsque sequamur / intactos, tua, Maecenas, haud mollia iussa*; also *G.* 4.460-461 *at chorus aequalis Dryadum clamore supremos / implevit montes* (where the dryads are among those who mourn for the dead Eurydice). Hamadryads are referenced but once in Virgil, at *E.* 10.62-63 *iam neque Hamadryades rursus nec carmina nobis / ipsa placent ...*, where they feature in Gallus’ lament (cf. Propertius, c. 2.34.76).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. below on the role of the nymphs toward the end of the *Georgics*.

The second half of Virgil's book of pastorals opens with a reference to the poet's work in Sicilian song, that is, in the genre of song attributed to Daphnis, the world of bucolic verse (*E.* 6.1-2). In an act of poetic *hommage* to Callimachus, Virgil alludes to a desire to sing of kings and battles – in other words, to embark on an epic composition – only to be warned by Cynthian Apollo not to pursue the fancy.<sup>16</sup> The sixth eclogue proceeds to tell of the capture of the drunk, utterly fatigued Silenus by the youths Chromis and Mnasyllus, and the lengthy repertoire of songs the old goat-man offers as the price for his liberty. The young men are aided in their imprisonment of the god by Aegle, said to be the most beautiful of the Naiads: *addit se sociam timidisque supervenit Aegle, / Aegle Naiadum pulcherrima, iamque videnti / sanguineis frontem moris et tempora pingit.* (*E.* 6.20-22). Aegle – the “shining one” – playfully marks the forehead and temples of Silenus with the crimson of mulberries.<sup>17</sup> Aegle was one of the Hesperides, the daughters of Night; the name also occurs of one of the Heliades, the daughters of Sol and sisters of Phaëthon.<sup>18</sup> Both the Hesperides and the Heliades are relevant to the song of Silenus, who sings of both Atalanta and the arboreal metamorphosis of the sisters of the doomed boy of the sun (*E.* 6.61-63).<sup>19</sup> Fittingly enough for a daughter of both Nox and Sol, “Aegle” represents something of an omnibus command of the stories told by both night and day. The songs, however, are identified by Silenus as the reward for the youths Chromis and Mnasyllus; Aegle, the goat-man predicts, will have a different sort of reward: *carmina, quae vultis, cognoscite; carmina vobis, / huic aliud mercedis erit ...* (*E.* 6.25-26). The nymphs of the second and third eclogues were associated with love, but specifically with the loves of others; Aegle is threatened with illicit sexual congress.<sup>20</sup>

The actual rendition of Silenus' songs contains one explicit reference to nymphs, namely when the mad, lovesick Pasiphaë calls on Cretan nymphs to close the forest glades

<sup>16</sup> Cf. the prologue to the *Aetia*.

<sup>17</sup> For this trick see further G. Schmeling, *A Commentary on the Satyrical of Petronius*, Oxford, 2011, ad 22.1.

<sup>18</sup> For the Hesperis cf. Hyginus, *Fab. praef.* 1; D.Servius ad *Aen.* 4.484; for the Heliadis, Hyginus, *Fab.* 154, 156. Complete extant references in Latin literature to the name can be found at *TLL* 1.0.950.5 ff. “As a supernatural being she is able to give moral support to the boys' audacious plan” (Coleman, *op. cit.* ad 6.20).

<sup>19</sup> Regarding the name “Aegle” G. C. Trimble comments, “... here it seems chosen to emphasize the nymph's divine beauty ...” (*VEI*, p. 14).

<sup>20</sup> “Stuprum,” as Servius notes; cf. *OLD* s.v. 2, also Cucchiarelli, *op. cit.* ad loc. For the physical and metaphysical contrast of the diverse rewards, see M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Pastoral Art: Studies in the Eclogues*, Princeton, 1970, pp. 220-221.

so as to make it easier for her to track her taurine *objet d'amour*: ... 'claudite, *Nymphae*, / *Dictaeae Nymphae*, *nemorum iam claudite saltus*, / *si qua forte ferant oculis sese obvia nostris* / *errabunda bovis vestigia* ... (*E.* 6.55-58). Another amatory association for the nymphs, and again in a shameful, this time bestial context; the monstrous progeny of Pasiphaë and the bull would be the Minotaur. And not just any nymphs, but the nymphs associated with Mount Dicte, in other words, the nymphs associated with the rearing of the infant Zeus.<sup>21</sup> The Cretan locus of the Pasiphaë story makes the Dictaeon/Jovian association perhaps inevitable. But here, the nymphs are imagined as if they were huntresses; the hunt, however, is a perversion of the traditional association of the sylvan world with the chaste Artemis/Diana – these nymphs are called upon by Pasiphaë to serve as wardens of the quarry the mad woman seeks for the satisfaction of her perverse sexual desires.<sup>22</sup> The nymphs who had served in the nurturing of the supreme god are reduced by the crazed woman to a vile status – and we may think of Silenus' own reduction of Aegle to the status of sexual plaything at 6.25-26. In short, the nymphs of *E.* 6 are presented in rather less than a flattering light; they are associated with sexual objectification and with aid in procuring perversion.

The poet had wished to sing of kings and wars (that is, of the subject matter for his epic *Aeneid*). We shall see how the very different themes of the song of Silenus would serve in Virgil's hands as the building blocks of his martial, national epic of Rome, with the nymphs serving a prominent role in the poetic drama.

From Silenus' song we proceed to a mention of nymphs that evokes the connection of these nature goddesses with the Muses. At *E.* 7.21-24 *Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen, / quale meo Codro, concedite (proxima Phoebi / versibus ille facit); aut, si non possumus omnes, / hic arguta sacra pendebat fistula pinu*. If nymphs were associated with Diana as companions of her hunting, one might consider if they could be connected to the gift of song that was a major element of the divine repertoire of Diana's twin Apollo – though the presumption mandates critical caution.<sup>23</sup> The

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Callimachus, *Hym.* 1.46, with the notes of S. A. Stephens, *Callimachus: The Hymns*, Oxford, 2015, *ad loc.*

<sup>22</sup> For the hunting allusion see Clausen, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.* Coleman sees an allusion to the bull in whose guise Zeus seduced Europa. The point in part seems to be that the nymphs are serving as procurers, when all too usually (especially in Jovian contexts) they are the procured. But here, what they serve to procure is unspeakably perverse.

<sup>23</sup> We need not make much of the connection of the Nereides with Delos, the birthplace of the divine twins (cf. *A.* 3.73 ff.): "any island may be of delight to marine deities" (S. J. Heyworth and J. H. Morwood, *A Commentary on Vergil, Aeneid 3*, Oxford, 2017, *ad* 3.73-77). For the

*Libethrides* are referenced here only in extant Latin; the nymphs mentioned by Corydon as patronesses of song are localized. Leibethron refers to a mountain in Boeotia that was associated with the Heliconian Muses, as well as to a town near Mount Olympus.<sup>24</sup> The Libethrian nymphs are Corydon's love – *noster amor* – but they are his love precisely because they are the guardian deities of song, the Muses under whose inspiration the poet may dream of success in verse composition.<sup>25</sup>

This firmly expressed connection of the nymphs and verse continues in Virgil's Theocritean lament for Gallus near the start of his tenth and final eclogue, a poem in which Virgil from the start invokes a nymph, Arethusa.<sup>26</sup> In language that recalls Theocritus' similar mourning for Daphnis, Virgil asks where the Naidēs were when Gallus was perishing on account of love: *Quae nemora aut qui vos saltus habuere, puellae / Naidēs, indigno cum Gallus amore peribat.*<sup>27</sup> The Gallus poem – the *extremus labor* (*E.* 10.1) for the pastoral poet – recalls the appearance of Gallus at *E.* 6.63-65 *tum canit, errantem Permessi ad flumina Gallum / Aonas in montis ut duxerit una sororum, / utque viro Phoebi chorus adsurrexerit omnis*, where Silenus included the poet and disciple of Parthenius in his song.

The mournful Gallus has a plan, and it includes the Muses: *interea mixtis lustrabo Maenala Nymphis, / aut acris venabor apros. non me ulla vetabunt / frigora Parthenios*

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association of the nymphs with Artemis/Diana see J. Larson, “Handmaidens of Artemis?,” in *The Classical Journal* 92.3 (1997), pp. 249-257. Cf. also the sentiments of Columella, *De Re Rustica* 10.263 ff.

<sup>24</sup> On this learned, Hellenistic appellation note P. E. Knox, “Libethrides,” in *VE* II, p. 746; also N. Zito, *Maxime: Des initiatives*, Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2016, ad *Περὶ καταρχῶν* 141. A poetic fragment of the Hellenistic author Euphorion refers to Libethrian maidens (vid. J. L. Lightfoot, *Hellenistic Collection* (Loeb Classical Library 508), Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009, pp. 262-263 for convenient text and annotation). Mount Libethrius is noted by Pausanias (9.34.4), where Frazer notes in his commentary that “There was a cave of the Libethrian nymphs, said to have been consecrated by Thracians settlers” (citing Strabo 10.3.17).

<sup>25</sup> At *E.* 9.19 *quis caneret Nymphas?*, Lycidas asks who would sing of the Nymphs were Menalcas to have been torn away from mortal company – another association of the nymphs and poetry.

<sup>26</sup> She will recur in the last georgic as well, neatly balancing the last eclogue. See further here L. Rumpf, *Extremus labor: Vergils 10. Ekloge und die Poetik der Bucolica* (Hypomnemata Heft 122), Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996, pp. 73-74.

<sup>27</sup> *E.* 10.9-10; cf. Theocritus, *Id.* 1.66 ff. “The question here, as there, is an indignant reproach to the Muses for neglecting their favourite.” (Coleman, *op. cit.*, ad 10.10).



*canibus circumdare saltus* (*E.* 10.55-57). The depressed lover will hunt wild boar with the nymphs on Mount Maenalion, and he will not be deterred by chilly frost from girding Parthenian glades with his hunting hounds – a clear reference both to the geographical location of Mount Parthenium, and to the celebrated poet-mythographer Parthenius of Nicaea, Gallus' (and Virgil's) mentor. Gallus' farewell to love will not prove an enduring valediction, however. He envisions himself passing over rocks and resounding groves, enjoying fully the pleasure of shooting Cydonian shafts from his Parthian bow (*E.* 10.58 ff.).<sup>28</sup> But again, Hamadryads and even songs themselves have lost their appeal; the god cannot be changed – for in the end, *omnia vincit Amor* (69). The fate of the poet Gallus at the close of the second half of the *Eclogues* is very different indeed from that of Daphnis at the close of the first half.

We have come full circle in Virgil's pastoral poems from the viewpoint of the nymphs and the power of *amor*. From the amatory references of *E.* 2 and 3, we came to the role of the nymphs in the mourning for Daphnis in *E.* 5. The Daphnis poem gives way to the associations of the nymphs with song that figure in *E.* 6, 7, 9, and 10 – associations that reach their climax with the connection of the nymphs to Gallus (as before to Daphnis). There are ten references to *Nymphae* in the *Eclogues* (as opposed to *Naidēs*, *Dryades*, etc.); at *E.* 2.46 and 3.9, the references are amatory/sexualized; at 5.20-21 and 7.5, all are concerning Daphnis and his death/*post mortem* honors; at 6.55-56 (a double reference that recalls the similar pattern at 5.20-21), amatory/sexualized references recur (though in the context of song and the material thereof); at 7.21, again in association with the Muses; at 9.19, of the subject of song; and at 10.55, of Gallus' imagined hunting companions. A clear tension thus emerges between the erotic and the chaste, between a world where on the one hand nymphs are either compliant and *faciles* in the realm of the sexual, or threatened with illicit congress by randy satyrs, and on the other hand one where they are associated with the domain of the Muses and the hunting haunts of Diana in her pure sylvan abode.<sup>29</sup> It is this very tension, we shall see, which will serve as a key focal point in the unfolding drama of the poet's martial epic of Rome and Roman identity. Alongside this tension, we shall be able to discern more clearly the related juxtaposition of pastoral

<sup>28</sup> Cf. below on *A.* 12.857-858, where Jupiter's *Dira* is compared to an arrow fired by a Parthian or a Cydonian.

<sup>29</sup> This tension between the chaste world of the hunt and the perversion of eroticism by violent gods is a recurring topos in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. On this vast subject see especially G. Davis, *The Death of Procris: Amor and the Hunt in Ovid's Metamorphoses*, Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1983. For the same tension in the haunts of the nymphs cf. Columella, *De Re Rustica* 10.263 ff.

poetry and love elegy, of the related realms of Daphnis and of Gallus, worlds that are reconciled in uneasy union in the province of epic, a poetic labor referenced and prefigured in the song of Silenus.<sup>30</sup>

### Nymphs in the *Georgics*

The first mention of nymphs in the *Georgics* comes in the celebrated declaration of *G.* 2.493-494 *fortunatus et ille deos qui novit agrestis / Panaque Silvanumque senem Nymphasque sorores*, a challenging passage that refers clearly enough on the one hand to an idealized rustic world, a peaceful sylvan milieu, while on the other hand the exact referent of 2.493 *ille* is left mysterious.<sup>31</sup> What is clear is that the man who knows the nymphs and the other divine denizens of the forest world is blessed.

Nymphs play a significant part, too, in the drama of the climax of the fourth georgic, the story of Aristaeus, his bees, Orpheus and the lost Eurydice.<sup>32</sup> Elements of this sequence correlate with the binding of Silenus and his songs from the sixth eclogue, as well as the discourse on regeneration and reincarnation from the sixth *Aeneid*. Aristaeus is the son of the nereid Cyrene and the god Apollo; her name recalls the birthplace of

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<sup>30</sup> At the start of *E.* 6, Virgil offered his version of the Callimachean *recusatio* of epic; in the composition of his *Aeneid*, he would blend the Homeric and the Callimachean. The song of Silenus is a cosmological miniature epic of sorts, redolent of the spirit of Hesiod as well as of Lucretius. It is also reminiscent of the world of the Callimachean *Aetia*, and of that of love elegy. All of these diverse genres are found conjoined in the verses of the *Aeneid*, which present a tissue-like, tightly woven web of literary allusions that is symbolized by the weaving of Cyrene's nymphs.

<sup>31</sup> See further here R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics, Volume I, Books I-II*, Cambridge, 1988, *ad loc.* (with particular reference to the possible Lucretian allusion at *G.* 2.490 *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*. Are we to imagine that Virgil draws an association between Gallus the would-be companion of the nymphs and hunter-poet, and Orpheus? The former gives way to his obsessive love for Lycoris, and the latter to his grief for the lost Eurydice (with clear parallelism between the close of the tenth eclogue and the Orpheus-Eurydice epyllion of the fourth georgic). The blessed man of *G.* 2.493-494 is like Gallus before he surrendered yet again to the seemingly omnipotent lure of Amor. On the association of the nymphs and other deities of this passage with a specific literary genre (i.e., pastoral), see R. A. B. Mynors, *Virgil: Georgics*, Oxford, 1990, *ad loc.* There are strong parallels between Orpheus' wife Eurydice and Aeneas' spouse Creüsa.

<sup>32</sup> In short, the nymphs are the key divine figures in the mythological drama with which Virgil brings the *Georgics* to a close. Proteus may provide information to Aristaeus, but it is the nymph Cyrene who shows the way to redemption. For the connection of the Cyrene/nymph scene to the catalogue of rivers at *G.* 4.363-373, see P. J. Jones, *Reading Rivers in Roman Literature and Culture*, Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2005, pp. 85-88.

Callimachus in Libya. Cyrene advises her son to seek out the shape-shifter Proteus, whose restraining recalls that of Silenus.<sup>33</sup> Cyrene is surrounded by her nymph attendants, goddesses who are seen spinning wool as Aristaeus draws near to their abode.<sup>34</sup> Twelve nymphs are named in a miniature catalogue, with Cyrene and Clymene as “framing” nymphs after a fashion (the two names sufficiently similar to aid in the parallelism).<sup>35</sup> The scene at *G.* 4.333 ff. has storied literary antecedents, not least the lament of Achilles to his (nymph) mother Thetis after the catalogue of nymphs at Homer, *Iliad* 18.34-147.<sup>36</sup> Yet not a single one of Virgil's dozen nymphs correspond either to Homeric or, for that matter, to Hesiodic nymphs.<sup>37</sup> Drymo and Phyllodoce do not appear in extant Greek; they bear arboreal names. Xantho and Ligea can be found as names in Philodemus and Lycophron.<sup>38</sup> Cydippe makes one think of Callimachus' Cydippe from the Acontius and Cydippe epyllion (she was not, admittedly, a nymph); Lycorias recalls Gallus' Lycoris, while Clío

<sup>33</sup> The contexts are opposite; the playful world of *E.* 6 gives way to the darker shadows of *G.* 4 and the loss of the bees. Virgil's Cyrene is in part modeled on Homer's Eidothea (*Odyssey* 4.363-460).

<sup>34</sup> The Cyrene of Pindar, *Pyth.* 9.19 is a huntress and unconcerned with weaving; we shall return to this significant change below.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. twelve books of the *Aeneid*. “Merely to hear the list [i.e., of names] is to be abstracted from the trials of the moment to enter an exotic, romantic yet immediate world of divinity distinct from our workaday existence and, in particular, to perceive by myth what continuity and grace lie inside the functioning of nature but beyond ordinary comprehension” (M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Poem of the Earth: Studies in the Georgics*, Princeton, 1979, p. 278). For the “aura of serene detachment” that characterizes Cyrene's abode, see G. B. Miles, *Virgil's Georgics: A New Interpretation*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London: The University of California Press, 1980, p. 262. Verse 338 is an interpolation from *A.* 5.826 that is omitted in M, P, and R. For general analysis of the whole passage, note R. F. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and His Texts: Studies in Intertextuality*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1999.

<sup>36</sup> For the influence of the Hesiodic catalogue of the Oceanids, see L. Morgan, *Patterns of Redemption in Virgil's Georgics*, Cambridge, 1999, pp. 36-37.

<sup>37</sup> See here R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics, Volume 2, Books III-IV*, Cambridge, 1989, *ad loc.* Clymene – the final nymph mentioned in the whole drama – is both Homeric and Hesiodic.

<sup>38</sup> For Ligea see S. Hornblower, *Lycophron: Alexandra*, Oxford, 2015, *ad* 726, where she is the “Sweet-sounding” Siren. For Deiopea cf. Pausanias 1.14.1; also Ps.-Aristotle, *Mirab.* 843b, where she is connected with the lore of Triptolemus (i.e., with a story of rebirth and renewal): while the Athenians were constructing the celebrated temple of Demeter at Eleusis, they found an inscription marking the grave of Deiopea, who was either the wife of the poet Musaeus or the mother of Triptolemus. A name of rich associations, then, for the poet's active concerns.

shares a name with the muse of epic verse.<sup>39</sup> Beroe is “a complete mystery” (so Richard Thomas), though the name will recur in the *Aeneid*, as do those of Opis and Deiopeia. Ephyre is also named – and, last of all and most importantly, Arethusa recurs from *E.* 10.1.<sup>40</sup> Arethusa was one of the goddesses who sought to console the Theocritean Daphnis;<sup>41</sup> she is elevated in Virgil to a signal role in both the Gallus bucolic and the drama of Aristaeus and his bees. She is referenced by name by Aeneas at *A.* 3.694-696, where we find an allusion to the myth of the pursuit of the nymph by the River Alpheus.<sup>42</sup> The names of four of the twelve nymphs will thus recur in the *Aeneid*, in Book 1 and the “penultimate” Books 5 and 11 (if we are to imagine the epic as being divided into two halves).

Cyrene's retinue of nymphs is engaged in the eminently Roman, traditional act of wool-working. We are far removed here from the world of nymphs in flight from satyrs or lustful gods. Arethusa is depicted as a swift huntress who has put aside her arrows (*G.* 4.344 *et tandem positis velox Arethusa sagittis*), where the language (*tandem*) alludes to a long career in forest pursuits. Cyrene's nymphs, in short, have been domesticated. The nymphs are spinning wool; Clymene is telling tales of the loves of the gods, indeed of such scandalous episodes as the affair of Ares and Aphrodite (*G.* 4.345-347).<sup>43</sup> It is a comprehensive tale that is cast in a cosmological context: *aque Chao densos divum numerabat amores* (347). We are reminded of the world of Hesiod's *Theogony*, of

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<sup>39</sup> Lycorias has been associated with Lycoreia, a town near Delphi and the resultant Callimachean epithet “Lycorean” for Apollo. Putnam 1979, p. 278 notes the animal associations of the names Cydippe (horse) and Lycorias (wolf), a theme to which we shall return.

<sup>40</sup> Ephyre is cited at Pausanias 2.1.1 as a daughter of Oceanus, citing a history of Corinth ascribed to the epic poet Eumelus; she was said to be the first to live in Corinth, which was thus called Ephyra in her honor. See further P. E. Knox in *VEI*, p. 435, and cf. *G.* 2.464. As with the other nymphs of Virgil's catalogue, we have no way of knowing what Callimachus might have done with the scraps of extant lore we have for some of these shadowy figures.

<sup>41</sup> *Id.* 1.117.

<sup>42</sup> Significantly, at *A.* 3.698 Aeneas refers to orders to reverence the local deities (i.e., including Arethusa); since antiquity there has been dispute over just who is referenced by 698 *iussi*. The passage balances the reverencing of the nymphs at the locus of Polydorus' grave; in the present instance, the homage to Arethusa comes shortly before the report of the death of Anchises – more baleful nymphic associations. Book 3 of the *Aeneid* is thus framed by references to nymphs in dark contexts that look to the end of Troy (Polydorus; Anchises).

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *E.* 10.6 ... *sollicitos Galli dicamus amores*. For the illicit loves of gods and the rendition thereof, we may cf. Ovid's Arachne and her tapestry (*Metamorphoses* 6.103-128).

Homer's song of Demodocus from *Odyssey* 8.266-366, indeed of the song of Silenus from *E.* 6; Cyrene's coterie of nymphs is not at risk of lustful divine advances; for them, the world of illicit love and furtive affairs is the stuff of song, a musical accompaniment to the chaste work with which they wile away their hours. They have been captured indeed – but by the strains of verse (348 *carmine ... captae*). They are safe from the harassment and predations of satyrs and amorous gods; they are quasi-Roman *matronae* and servants thereof.

If Cyrene evoked the world of Callimachus via the connection of her name with the poet's birthplace, Clymene recalls the world of Homer, and not only by virtue of her song of Ares and Aphrodite. Clymene is the only nymph in the fourth georgic whose name does occur in Homer, where she is listed as one of the companions of Thetis (*Iliad* 18.43).<sup>44</sup>

Aegle had mockingly and teasingly painted the face of Silenus with mulberry juice as Chromis and Mnasyllus bound the caprine singer of songs; Cyrene vows to lead her son Aristaeus to the haunt of Proteus, the sea god to whom the nymphs pay reverence (*G.* 4.391 ... *hunc et Nymphae veneramur ...*). Cyrene escorts her son to the god's abode; she positions him in ambush, while she herself remains apart, cloaked in mist (*G.* 4.423-424 *hic iuvenem in latebris aversum a lumine Nympha / collocat, ipsa procul nebulis obscura resistit*). The ruse of the sixth eclogue is revisited in rural song. Cyrene needs no song – her nymphs are more than capable of producing verse – what is needed is information.

The nymph's trick is successful; Proteus is ensnared. He reveals the reason for Aristaeus' plight: Eurydice had fallen prey to a venomous serpent while she was in headlong flight from the amorous beekeeper (*G.* 4.453 ff.). Eurydice was lamented by her dryad companions (4.460-461 *at chorus aequalis Dryadum clamore supremos / implevit montis*). Eurydice was a friend and sister of the nymphs, and it was the nymphs who were responsible for Aristaeus' punishment. This ascription of responsibility is announced by Cyrene as soon as the long tale of Proteus draws to its close: *haec omnis morbi causa, hinc*

<sup>44</sup> See further S. Nelsen in *VEI*, p. 276. Clymene is Homeric and also Hesiodic. Nelsen takes Clymene as the thirteenth nymph in a catalogue of "otherwise non-Homeric, non-Hesiodic nymphs"; cf. Thomas' introductory note to *G.* 4.333-386 (catalogue of a dozen nymphs). The catalogue and mention of the other nymphs is elegantly balanced; first we learn of Cyrene, and then we are introduced to her fellow nymphs. Verse 336 offers a Homeric style group of four. Cydippe and Lycorias then balance Clio and Beroe (verses 339-340 and 341-342, with two lines to describe each pair). Then Ephyre, Opis, Deiopea and Arethusa fill another two lines (343-344). Among these (345 *inter quas*), Clymene is telling her story of the loves of the gods. She is thus a part of the assembly (as is her framing sister Cyrene), though an actor in the drama and not a mere name in a catalogue.

*miserabile Nymphae, / cum quibus illa choros lucis agitabat in altis, / exitium misere apibus ...* (*G.* 4.532-534). Veneration is thus owed to the Napaeian maidens, that is, to the nymphs of the valley.<sup>45</sup> The language with which Cyrene frames her admonitory injunction repays close study: ... *tu munera supplex / tende petens pacem, et facilis venerare Napaeas; / namque dabunt veniam votis, irasque remittent* (*G.* 4.534-536). Nymphs, in short, must be revered as part of the expiation for the loss of Eurydice.<sup>46</sup> We might recall here the *faciles Nymphae* of *E.* 3.9; there the nymphs were tolerant of the profanation of a rustic shrine, while here – with the proper acts of religious veneration to appease them – they are willing to forgive Aristaeus for his part in the loss of Eurydice. The elaborate process of expiation will include, too, the regeneration of Aristaeus' bees; they will be reborn in the mysterious rituals of the Bugonia (*G.* 4.537 ff.). The idea that a hive could be regenerated from the decaying carcass of an ox is first mentioned in Virgil's poem at *G.* 4.281 ff., where the *Arcadius magister* (i.e., Aristaeus) is credited as the inventor of the practice.<sup>47</sup> By the end of the fourth georgic, we learn that it was actually Cyrene – Aristaeus' nymph mother – who instructed her son in the ritual (*G.* 4.537 *sed modus orandi qui sit prius ordine dicam*). She will describe the order of supplication, and it begins with the selection of four bulls from the heights of Lycaeus, the venerable Arcadian mount. The commentators note that Aristaeus is in Thessaly, not Arcadia; but he is, after all, the Arcadian master, and Virgil's Bugonia is the stuff of unreality.<sup>48</sup> Four bulls must be chosen, and four altars erected for them; they are to be sacrificed, and their bodies left in the grove. On the ninth dawn, offerings will be made to Orpheus; poppies and a black ewe will be the substance of the propitiatory rite. With Eurydice appeased (*G.* 4.547 *placatam Eurydicen*), a calf will be slain in addition in her honor. Needless to say, when the ninth dawn comes, the bees will have been reborn (*G.* 4.554 ff.). Nymphs were responsible for the death of the hive, and a nymph merits the credit for aid in the rejuvenation of the swarm.<sup>49</sup>

At this juncture we may summarize the depiction of nymphs in early Virgil, before proceeding to consider the appearances of these goddesses in the poet's *Aeneid*. In

<sup>45</sup> The Napaeae cannot be cited in any extant Greek source; see further R. F. Thomas in *VE* II, p. 881 (with speculation that perhaps referred to them in his lost treatise on nymphs). Cf. Columella, *De Re Rustica* 10.264.

<sup>46</sup> Again, we may consider here the associations of Eurydice and Creüsa.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *G.* 4.315 *Quis deus hanc, Musae, quis nobis extudit artem?*

<sup>48</sup> See further here Thomas' annotations *ad G.* 4.539.

<sup>49</sup> It comes as no surprise that nymphs feature so prominently in the Aristaeus/Orpheus episodes, given this is the major mythological element of the poem.

the world of the *Eclogues*, nymphs are associated with both the often playful, sexualized world of field and forest and the power of poetry (i.e., the realm of the Muses). A clear tension can be discerned between what we might crudely label the spheres of Venus and of Diana, the world in which nymphs consort more or less compliantly with amorous gods and demigods, and the realm of the hunt and the serene haunts of the Muses (who are associated with Diana's twin brother Apollo). In the theological drama of the *Aeneid*, Venus will be associated with her son Aeneas and her beloved Trojans, while Diana will be linked to the Italian side by virtue of her patronage of Camilla. There is the world of the hunt, and the world of the domestic arts; the nymphs are at home in either, consummate women as they are.

In the *Georgics*, nymphs are most prominently associated with the lore of Aristaeus, Orpheus, and Eurydice. Aristaeus amorously pursued Eurydice, the companion of the tree nymphs; her death came in direct consequence of his attempted seduction. Nymphs punished Aristaeus for his role in Eurydice's death; they were willing and compliant, however, in the matter of his atonement and expiation. Once again, too, the nymphs are associated with the power of verse, indeed explicitly with the great Homer and the storied Callimachus.<sup>50</sup> And, in a new twist, nymphs are connected to the lore of regeneration and rebirth implicit in the mysterious unreality that is the Bugonia. As we take our leave of Virgil's song of the earth, we are left with an image of the nymphs as proto-Roman matrons; of nymphs with a capacity for vengeance; and of nymphs with a connection to the world of rebirth and resurrection.

### Virgil's Epic Nymphs

Taking our leave of the strange, mystical rites of the Bugonia, we may proceed to Virgil's epic of war.<sup>51</sup> Nymphs are referenced early in the *Aeneid*, as Juno makes her appeal to Aeolus to interfere with the Trojan voyage westward to Hesperia/Italy. Juno seeks to bribe Aeolus for his help with the promise of marriage to the most beautiful of her fourteen nymphs (*A.* 1.71-75 *sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore Nymphae, / quarum quae forma pulcherrima Deiopea, / conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo, / omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos / exigat et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.*

The passage is redolent with the spirit of the Aristaeus/Cyrene episode from near the close of the fourth georgic. Juno has fourteen nymphs; there were fourteen nymphs in

<sup>50</sup> Via the persons of Clymene and Cyrene.

<sup>51</sup> All passages from the *Aeneid* are quoted from G. B. Conte, ed., *P. Vergilius Maro Aeneis*, Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009.

the complete array from Cyrene to Clymene in *Georgics* 4. Deiopeia is the most beautiful of the Junonian nymphs; she was mentioned as one of the fourteen in the *Georgics*. Especially for one turning the page, as it were, from the close of Virgil's second poetic work to his crowning third, we are struck by the deliberate reminiscence of the earlier passage. The nymphs of the *Georgics* had been spinning wool as if traditional Roman matrons; now Juno – a goddess associated with marriage – acts as if she were arranging some Roman nuptial contract.<sup>52</sup> In the *Georgics*, Deiopeia is described as *Asia*, which may make us think of Troy; here she is noted only for her outstanding loveliness, and for the children who will be born to her union with Aeolus.<sup>53</sup> Again, the whole scene is eminently Roman.<sup>54</sup> And, we might note, in *Aeneid* 1 Juno acts as marriage broker for a beautiful nymph; in *Aeneid* 12 we shall be reminded more than once of how Jupiter stole the virginity of another nymph – Turnus' melancholy sister Juturna.

Aeolus cooperates with Juno's demands; the Trojans are shipwrecked on the coast of Libya. The first landing of Aeneas' weary men (*A.* 1.157 *Defessi Aeneadae*) is associated with the nymphs; they find a beautiful natural harbor, a place of refuge that is explicitly identified as the home of nymphs, a *Nympharum domus* (1.168).<sup>55</sup>

Not long after his arrival in north Africa, Aeneas is visited by his mother Venus, who chooses – for her own capricious reasons, we might say – to disguise herself as a huntress (*A.* 1.305 ff.). The passage is complex and replete with important allusions and connections to other scenes in the epic. Aeneas is certain that he is meeting either the goddess Diana or one of the nymphs (1.329 *an Phoebi soror? an Nympharum sanguinis una?*).<sup>56</sup> Venus is essentially engaging in a mockery of the chaste world of Diana and her

<sup>52</sup> For the technical language of Roman marriage employed by Juno here, see R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Primus*, Oxford, 1971, ad73.

<sup>53</sup> On the reference to her physical appearance, see further P. Heuzé, *L'image du corps dans l'œuvre de Virgile*, Roma: École Française de Rome, 1985, pp. 282-283.

<sup>54</sup> For the connection of the name Deiopeia with hostility and vengeance, see M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names*, Oxford, 1997, pp. 37-38.

<sup>55</sup> The number seven – a significant one for Virgil – recurs in this passage as well; Juno had twice-seven nymphs, and Aeneas recovers seven ships at the home of the Nymphs.

<sup>56</sup> Indeed, he promises to perform the due rites of religion in her honor (*A.* 1.334 *multa tibi ante aras nostra cadet hostia dextra*). Venus at once lies that she is not worthy of such divine honors. Aeneas will be similarly reverent regarding suspected nymphs at *A.* 3.34 *multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestis*, where he seeks to propitiate the local, rustic nymphs in the wake of the Polydorus portent (see further here N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 3, A Commentary*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2006, ad loc.).



retinue of nymphs; the goddess of love and sexuality adopts a guise associated with the virginal goddess of the hunt.<sup>57</sup> Venus' purpose in the whole game is to provide her son with the background story of the Carthaginian Dido, the queen she wishes to see absolutely enamored of the Trojan exile.

Marriage under Junonian auspices, and the desire to see Aeneas on good terms with Dido: these themes recur in the famous storm sequence of *A.* 4.160, where Trojan and Carthaginian see the consummation of their ill-fated union in a cavernous realm quite different from the *antrum* at the safe harbor that welcomed Aeneas' vessels. Dido and Aeneas will indeed be joined, and Juno will be the *pronuba* (4.166) – she has reasons quite different from those of Venus for witnessing this alleged marriage. The nymphs are present, too – and they have their own reaction: ... *summoque ulularunt vertice Nymphae* (4.168). The nymphs howl, in evident horror at the sight; the verb has ritual associations, to be sure, but it conveys the particular dread and apprehension with which the local nymphs view this would-be nuptial alliance.<sup>58</sup> We are very far indeed from the world of the *faciles Nymphae* of the third eclogue, who were willing to laugh at sexual transgressions.

Coincidentally, one of the principal complainants regarding Dido's union with Aeneas is himself the son of a nymph – her suitor Iarbas, the offspring of Jupiter-Ammon and a violated Garamantian nymph (*A.* 4.198 ... *Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha*). Iarbas' complaints about Aeneas are steeped in ethnographic rhetoric; the Trojans are effeminate, wife-stealing Easterners who have no business invading north Africa.<sup>59</sup> We shall be reminded of the case of Iarbas and the assault on his mother when we encounter Turnus and the similar case of the nymph Juturna in *Aeneid* 12. The observant reader of Virgil may recall also that *Garamantes* was identified by the singer Damon with Tmaros and Rhodope as a candidate for the birthplace of the god Amor (*E.* 8.43-45). Amor, in other words, is not of our race or our blood (45 *nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis ...*); his origins lie perhaps in the Sahara, in the remote south of the known world. Amor played a significant role in the development of the relationship between Dido and

<sup>57</sup> Aeneas' salutation *virgo* (*A.* 1.327) is especially pointed in context. The scene is modeled in part on that in the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, where Anchises wonders if the disguised Aphrodite is actually a nymph, perhaps even the nymph Ida herself.

<sup>58</sup> On the force of the verb see the commentary notes of R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, Oxford, 1955; also C. Buscaroli, *Virgilio: Il libro di Didone*, Milano: Società Anonima Editrice Dante Alighieri, 1932; and especially A. S. Pease, *Publi Vergili Maronis Aeneidos Liber Quartus*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935.

<sup>59</sup> At *A.* 2.419, Aeneas compares the early stages of the Greek invasion of Troy to a storm, with mention of Nereus, the father of the Nereids.

Aeneas;<sup>60</sup> the spurned lover Iarbas will make his successful appeal to his divine father to end the relationship (*A.* 4.203 ff.).<sup>61</sup>

It is no surprise that nymphs – specifically the Nereides – should be mentioned in the context of the ship race of *Aeneid* 5, where they join other marine gods in aiding the boat of the pious Cloanthus.<sup>62</sup> Of perhaps greater interest is the fact that in *Aeneid* 7 Virgil introduces a second “son of a nymph,” the king Latinus.<sup>63</sup> Latinus is identified as the son of the god Faunus and the nymph Marica (*A.* 7.47-48 *hunc Fauno et nymphæ genitum Laurente Marica / accipimus ...*). Like Iarbas, Latinus is the child of a nymph; Laurentine Marica was associated with the river Liris.<sup>64</sup> “Laurens” is thus not, strictly speaking, geographically accurate – but Virgil associates Latinus’ mother with Laurentum/the signal laurel of *A.* 7.59 ff.<sup>65</sup> Latinus is the son of Circe at (Ps.?-Hesiod, *Theogony* 1011, and efforts were made from antiquity to equate Marica and Circe.<sup>66</sup> The laurel is associated with Apollo because of his involvement with the nymph Daphne; we may recall the poetic hero Daphnis from the *Eclogues*.

Aeneas venerates the local nymphs of Latium at *A.* 7.135 ff., in an action reminiscent of his similar veneration of the nymphs in Thrace and in Sicily, and a prelude to his invocation at the Tiber’s bank at 8.66 ff. (which we shall consider below). One might wonder here at the relationship of the local nymphs to the Trojan hero. They have been associated thus far in the epic with Aeneas’ inveterate divine opponent Juno; with the

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<sup>60</sup> *A.* 1.657 ff.

<sup>61</sup> “Aeneas does not hear these words of Iarbas, but (as Virgil immediately tells the reader) they are heard by Jupiter. It is Aeneas as perceived by Iarbas, as well as Aeneas the Trojan leader, the man chosen by destiny and promised by his mother Venus (*IV.228*) who is addressed by Jupiter through the mouth of Mercury, with stern reminder that he should be thinking of his son Ascanius and of the Roman future.” (E. Henry, *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Virgil's Aeneid*, Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1989, p. 11).

<sup>62</sup> *A.* 5.239 ff. Sea creatures also accompany the departure of Aeneas from Sicily, in a balancing passage at 5.822-826, where the last marine goddess named, Cymodoce, will be recalled in Book 10 when we encounter the nymph Cymodocea.

<sup>63</sup> For semantic connections between the mentions of Latinus and Iarbas, see Paschalis, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

<sup>64</sup> On Latinus’ familial connections see C. Balk, *Die Gestalt des Latinus in Vergils Aeneis*, Heidelberg, 1968, pp. 8 ff.

<sup>65</sup> See further here E. Fantham and J. M. Ziolkowski, “Marica,” in *VE II*, p. 790.

<sup>66</sup> On this vid. especially N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 7: A Commentary*, Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000, ad 47.

inauspicious landing in Thrace; with the ill-omened cavernous nuptials to Dido; with Iarbas; with Latinus. In the catalogue of Italian heroes with which Book 7 reaches its climax, nymphs are mentioned in connection with two warriors. Oebalus is said to be the son of Telon and the nymph Sebethis (7.733 ff.). The Neapolitan river Sebethus is thus associated with the Campanian hero. Oebalus does not figure in the action of the war in Italy; he is mentioned only in the catalogue.<sup>67</sup>

More significant is the case of Virbius, the son of Hippolytus/Virbius (*A.* 7.761 ff.). The resurrected Hippolytus was given sanctuary in the grove of the nymph Egeria, who was worshipped at Aricia in Latium, a place celebrated for its sanctuary of Diana.<sup>68</sup> Egeria is a highly significant figure in early Roman history, identified as the consort of the king Numa Pompilius.<sup>69</sup> In the action of the *Aeneid*, Egeria will take no part; she is mentioned only in the context of the catalogue description of Hippolytus' son Virbius.<sup>70</sup> The introduction of Hippolytus' son Virbius comes as the first in the final triad of figures in the catalogue: Virbius, Turnus, Camilla.<sup>71</sup> Virbius and Camilla have explicit associations with Diana; in the latter case, we shall learn of the goddess' involvement with the heroine only in Book 11 (there is no mention of it in Book 7). For now, we can observe that a nymph of great importance to the early history of Rome is closely linked to one of Aeneas' Italian opponents. Hippolytus/Virbius and Camilla are both associated with Diana; the story of the former has resurrection as its hallmark.

Deiopea; Garamantis; Marica; Sebethis; Egeria: of the named nymphs of the first seven books of Virgil's epic, the first four are connected directly with either marriage to a god or as the mothers of figures in the poem. Egeria alone is left aloof from all this; she is identified solely as the patroness of the grove where Hippolytus/Virbius is safely ensconced.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> On the question of Virgilian invention in the story of Oebalus, see especially W. P. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*, Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1975, pp. 145-146.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. *A.* 7.763-764; 774 ff.

<sup>69</sup> Cf. *inter al.* Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1.21.3; Ovid, *Fasti* 3.273-299.

<sup>70</sup> See further Paschalis, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-273 for connections of the name "Egeria" with both the raising of Hippolytus from the dead and the rousing of Virbius to war.

<sup>71</sup> Both Hippolytus and Camilla will spend time in the obscure, peaceful world of forest haunts before coming to battle. Like Oebalus, there is no further mention of Virbius beyond the catalogue; he is here solely to provide a connection for Egeria with the list of Italian warriors, and as a preface/prolegomenon to Camilla.

<sup>72</sup> This is fitting, given the associations of both nymph and hero with Diana; we shall see a similar case with Diana's nymph Opis in Book 11.

Latinus' mother Marica was identified as a Laurentine nymph, and Aeneas invokes the nymphs of Laurentum as he stands on the bank of the Tiber and makes his prayer in the wake of of river god's visitation and revelations (*A.* 8.71-73 '*Nymphae, Laurentes Nymphae, genus amnibus unde est, / tuque, o Thybri tuo genitor cum flumine sancto, / accipite Aenean et tandem arcete periclis.*'). Tiberinus had told Aeneas to pray to Juno (8.59-61); in imitation of Odysseus' prayer to the naiads of Ithaca, Aeneas addresses the local nymphs.<sup>73</sup> The Arcadian Evander notes to Aeneas that nymphs and fauns were the indigenous inhabitants of Latium (8.314 *haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant*).<sup>74</sup> Evander is himself another son of a nymph, the prophetic Carmentis/Carmenta, who in concert with Apollo was responsible for the arrival of the Arcadian exiles in central Italy (8.333-336 *me pulsum patria pelagique extrema sequentem / Fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum / his posuere locis, matrisque egere tremenda / Carmentis nymphae monita et deus auctor Apollo.*). Carmentis thus plays a significant role in the proto-history of the foundation in Latium; she first made the announcement that the sons of Aeneas would be great (8.339-341 *... nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem, / vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros / Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.*).<sup>75</sup> Carmentis is thus a *vates*, a bardic figure of prophetic song; she is one of the relatively few figures in the epic to be accorded this appellation.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Homer, *Odyssey* 13.329 ff. By the end of the epic we shall meet one of these nymphs, Turnus' sister Juturna; she will prove to be less than receptive to Aeneas' intercessory prayer. It can be argued that all of Aeneas' invocations of the nymphs all end in failure.

<sup>74</sup> For the fauns cf. *E.* 6.27-28. Virgil may have been inspired here by Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* 4.572 ff. For Lucretius, the fauns and nymphs are examples of creatures who were invented by men to escape the unbearable idea that human beings might, after all, be alone.

<sup>75</sup> On this nymph note S. Fasce in *EVI*, p. 666-668; B. W. Breed in *VEI*, pp. 233-234; L. M. Fratantuono and R. A. Smith, *Virgil: Aeneid 8, Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018, ad 336. Her name is clearly derived from *carmen* (Paschalis, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-283). At Ovid, *Fasti* 2.509-514 Carmentis invokes the favor of the local gods of Italy, with intertextual reference to Aeneas' similar invocation at *A.* 7.135-138.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. here M. Massenzio in *EVV*, pp. 456-458. The others are Calchas; Cassandra; Celaeno; Allecto in the guise of Calybe; Deiphobe and Musaeus – a striking number with names beginning with the same letter as *carmen*. With the vatic Carmentis we may compare *fatidica Manto* from *A.* 10.199 (*fatidica* also of Carmentis at 8.340); Manto was the daughter of Tiresias and wife of the Tiber. See further M. Davies, *The Theban Epics*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2014, pp. 112-113.

Books 7 and 8 of the epic are deeply invested in the lore of the primitive foundations in Italy; nymphs are a key element of the divine landscape. Through the Carmentis passage, nymphs present an ambiguous image from the Trojan perspective; they are associated more than once with enemies of Troy. Strikingly different is the magical, otherworldly character of the episode of the transformation of the Trojan ships into nymphs at *A.* 9.107 ff.<sup>77</sup> The metamorphosis of the Trojan fleet into virgin marine goddess (cf. 9.120, 122 *virgineae / facies*) presents a powerful portent to the Rutulian hero Turnus, a clear indication that he is dealing with an enemy under divine protection. The action of the transformation was set into motion by the pleas of the Berecynthian mother, the Trojan Great Goddess Cybele. These are “Trojan” nymphs, born from trees that were felled on the sacred Mount Ida in the Troad. As such, they stand in clear contrast to the Laurentine nymphs of Books 7-8; these nymphs have been transported, as it were, via the sailing of the Trojans to their new home in the distant west.<sup>78</sup>

Virgil emphasizes the connection of these nymphs to Aeneas when he describes the dramatic scene of their epiphany to the hero as he advances from Tuscan shores to his destiny in Latium: *A.* 10.219-223 *atque illi medio in spatio chorus, ecce, suarum / occurrit comitum: nymphae, quas alma Cybebe / numen habere maris nymphasque e navibus esse / iusserat, innabant pariter fluctusque secabant, / quot prius aeratae steterant ad litora prorae*. These are “his own” companions (*suarum*), the nymphs of his native land, as it were. They have the power to recognize their king from afar (10.224 *agnoscunt longe regem*). The most eloquent of their number is Cymodocea. The name is reminiscent of the Cymodoce of 5.826, where Virgil identifies the last of the sea goddesses who escorted Aeneas’ vessels as they took their leave of Acestes’ Sicily.<sup>79</sup> Cymodoce – “she who receives the waves” – is identified by Silius Italicus as *Nympharum maxima natu / Italicum (Punica 7.428-249)*, i.e., as the oldest of the Italian nymphs.<sup>80</sup> Stephen Harrison draws a connection between the description of Cymodocea as “most eloquent” of her retinue and Juno’s mention of the exceptional loveliness of Deiopea at 1.72.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>77</sup> For commentary here see J. Dingel, *Kommentar zum 9. Buch der Aeneis Vergils*, Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Carl Winter, 1997; also P. Hardie, *Virgil: Aeneid Book IX*, Cambridge, 1994.

<sup>78</sup> The whole matter is a source of predictable outrage from Juno; cf. *A.* 10.83 *et potes in totidem classem convertere nymphas*.

<sup>79</sup> Elaine Fantham notes that they “can hardly be the same” (*VEI*, p. 328).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Homer, *Iliad* 18.39; also Hesiod, *Theogony* 252.

<sup>81</sup> See *Virgil: Aeneid 10*, Oxford, 1991, ad 10.225, with a reminder of T. E. Page’s charming observation that the new nymphs were not yet very comfortable with speaking.

A conventional enough name, then, for a nymph – and one that recalls a similar nymphic escort for the Trojan captain. Cymodocea informs Aeneas of what happened to his ships. She announces the peril in the Trojan camp, and orders Aeneas to advance to the rescue of his son Ascanius and engagement with Turnus (*A.* 10.228-245).<sup>82</sup> She expertly drives on Aeneas' ship, and it flees forward, swifter than a javelin or an arrow that equals the winds (10.247-248 ... *figit illa per undas / ocior et iaculo et ventos aequante sagitta*); the language is evocative of the world of the hunt. Aeneas makes a prayer to Cybele (10.252-255); interestingly, he does not invoke the nymphs.<sup>83</sup> The new Trojan nymphs are strangers in Italy, like Aeneas; there is no further need for Trojan ships, and the mercreatures can be assumed to return, as it were, to Phrygian waters.

In terms of the appearances of and references to nymphs in the books of the second half of the *Aeneid*, we may discern a certain balance. In Books 7-8, the nymphs who are mentioned lack Trojan connection (except insofar as the Arcadian Carmentis foretells the future greatness of the sons of Aeneas – though here, *Aeneadae* likely refers to Rome and not Troy *per se*). In Books 9-10, the nymphs are Trojan, with the exception of Manto, who is an Etruscan nymph whose son Ocnus is an ally of Aeneas. But in Books 11-12, we move to a decidedly hostile realm of nymphs (from the Trojan vantage point, that is): the world of Diana's avatar Opis, and Juno's agent Juturna.

Opis was mentioned just before Deiopea at *G.* 4.343. In Callimachus, "Oupis" is a Hyperborean girl who assisted at the nativity of Apollo and Diana.<sup>84</sup> "Oupis" appears also in Callimachus as a cult title of the goddess Artemis.<sup>85</sup> In Virgil, Opis appears at *A.* 11.532 ff. as a devoted nymph of Diana, a Thracian, we eventually learn (858). We may recall the prayer of Aeneas to the local nymphs in Thrace at 3.34; Opis is the only nymph associated with Thrace to be named in the poem. Opis is another nymph who takes a direct role in the epic action; she serves as the avenger of the Volscian heroine Camilla and the slayer of the Etruscan Arruns.<sup>86</sup> We are far removed here from the world of the wool-

<sup>82</sup> The nymphs are Trojan, and they address the Trojan hero. But even now, the Trojan is being transformed into the Roman; for the connection of the language of the opening of Cymodocea's speech and the ritual summons to the *rex sacrorum* by the Vestals, see G. Hight, *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 105-106.

<sup>83</sup> Would prayer to his own ships seem strange? And yet cf. his previous addresses to local nymphs in veneration.

<sup>84</sup> *Hymn to Delos* 292.

<sup>85</sup> *Hymn to Artemis* 204, 240. Macrobius discusses the whole matter of the association of the name Opis with Diana at length at *Saturnalia* 5.22.

<sup>86</sup> The Arruns-Camilla episode has been read as a reworking of certain elements of Callimachus' Acontius-Cydippe story (vid. further here L. M. Fratantuono and M. F. McOsker, "Camilla and Cydippe: A Note on *Aeneid* 11, 581-582," in *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 96.3 (2010), pp.

working nymphs of Cyrene's coterie. Indeed, we may recall that Virgil introduced Camilla as a battle heroine, as one who was not accustomed to the domestic arts of Minerva (7.803-807).<sup>87</sup> Opis is one of the virgin companions of the goddess of the hunt (11.533-534); she listens to Diana's lengthy account of the history of the doomed Camilla. She is charged with the task of avenging the favorite of the goddess; she descends to earth in a black whirlwind (595-596).<sup>88</sup> Opis disappears from the narrative of the great equestrian battle of *Aeneid* 11, until we learn that she has been watching the whole scene – unafraid – from her lofty vantage point (836 ff.). We are far distant not only from the world of the fourth georgic, it would seem, but also from the pastoral frolics of the *Eclogues*; Opis is a serious participant in the deadly works of war. She laments the death of Camilla and the heroine's departure from the safe and secure world of Diana's sylvan haunts, and she speaks in calm assurance both of Camilla's renown and of the ignoble "fame" of the death of her killer, who will be famous precisely because of the glory of his victim (841-849). Next she sees Camilla's slayer Arruns vaunting over his victory, preening in his arrogant pride; she at once speaks in words of taunt and insult as she prepares to fire her fatal arrow shot (855 ff.); as she takes up her arrow, we learn in passing the significant detail that she is Thracian (858).<sup>89</sup> She slays the boastful killer and wings her way to ethereal Olympus (867) – one of the exceedingly rare occasions in the epic where a divine figure is directly responsible for a death. No one on the mortal plane of the poem is aware of Opis' action.

Parallel to Opis is Turnus' sister Juturna, in some ways the single most important nymph in the *Aeneid* (she is certainly the most prominent character in the epic from the world of the nymphs).<sup>90</sup> She appears for the first time quite late in the poem, at *A.* 12.134

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111-116. Cydippe was one of the nymphs in Cyrene's retinue, where she was paired with Lycorias. Like Camilla, Cydippe is a virgin, while Lycorias is said to have felt the first pangs of Lucina (*G.* IV, 340 *altera tum primos Lucinae experta labores*), a detail that is mysterious in its import and provenance. If Michael Putnam and others are correct to see a connection between Lycorias and animals (i.e., a wolf), and L. M. Fratantuono is correct in his association of Camilla with the Romulean she-wolf (vid. here "Chiastic Doom in the *Aeneid*" in *Latomus* 68.2 (2009), pp. 393-401), then we may read the Cydippe/Lycorias pairing as a highly allusive foreshadowing of Camilla (note also the association of Lucina with Diana as a patroness of childbirth).

<sup>87</sup> On the complex connections between Camilla and Minerva, see L. Fratantuono, "*Pallasne exurere classem: Minerva in the Aeneid*," in *Arctos* 51 (2017), pp. 63-88, especially pp. 83 ff.

<sup>88</sup> The color of clear enough ominous associations.

<sup>89</sup> Thrace was associated with the world of war and that of Mars; Opis the avenger is fittingly connected to a realm typified by love of violence.

<sup>90</sup> "She is the most fully developed personality among Italian nymphs" (E. Fantham in *VE* II, p. 700). Cf. G. S. West, "Giuturna," in *EV* II, pp. 764-767; L. Fratantuono, "*Decus Fluviorum: Juturna in the Aeneid*," in *Athenaeum* 99.1 (2011), pp. 27-39.

ff., where Juno makes an address to her before the Trojans and Latins ratify a truce.<sup>91</sup> Juturna was a victim of Jovian assault (140-141); she had been compensated (after a fashion) for her stolen virginity by her divine status as a local river goddess.<sup>92</sup> While Opis was noted for her virginity as a companion of Diana, the virginity of Juturna was stolen by Jupiter.

Juno flatters Juturna as being her favorite among the Latins who have had carnal congress with Jupiter (143-145); the goddess even ascribes Juturna's place in heaven to her pleasure (145 ... *caelique libens in parte locarim*).<sup>93</sup> Juno is at the end of her active involvement in attempting to alter the course of destiny; she opines that Juturna may be able to do something in addition – and, significantly, announces that perhaps better things will follow those who are miserable (153 ... *forsan miseros meliora sequentur*). As it happens, we shall see soon enough, Juno is correct.<sup>94</sup>

Juturna follows the advice of Juno; at 12.222 ff., she assumes the form of the Rutulian Camers as she rouses Turnus' followers to reject an accommodation with Aeneas and the Trojans. Aeneas pursues and presumably slays an enemy of the same name at

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<sup>91</sup> Vid. here A. Traina, *Virgilio: L'utopia e la storia, Il libro XII dell'Eneide e antologia delle opere*, Bologna: Patrón Editore, 2017, and R. Tarrant, *Virgil: Aeneid, Book XII*, Cambridge, 2012, *ad loc.*

<sup>92</sup> Her name recalls those of both Juno and Turnus, i.e., of the anti-Trojan immortal goddess and the anti-Trojan mortal hero; Juturna in some sense bridges the immortal and mortal planes. And, of course etymologically her name indicates that she is the ultimate helpful sister. With Juturna cf. Iarbas' Garamantian mother. The connection between Juturna and Juno is very evident at A. 10.439, where the *soror alma* who warns Turnus to go to the aid of Lausus is perhaps Juno (the mention of her comes immediately after detail about Jupiter, her brother) – but we might also think of Juturna, Turnus' own *alma soror*. See further here J. K. Newman and F. S. Newman, *Troy's Children: Lost Generations in Virgil's Aeneid* (Spudasmata Band 101), Hildesheim-Zürich-New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 2005, p. 204, where a connection is also posited between Juturna-Thetis and the image of Turnus as the new Achilles. It is significant, too, to note that Juturna has no offspring. Her virginity is violated, but she is no mother (Newman and Newman, *op. cit.*, pp. 205-206, see this fact as key to the theme of "childlessness" they see present in Virgil's epic).

<sup>93</sup> The point seems to be that Jupiter provided the grant of immortality, and his (usually jealous) wife gave her approbation. Juturna is unique among the victims of Jovian assault in being accorded special favor from the notoriously jealous Juno. Juturna – like Allecto before her – is an avatar of the goddess, linked onomastically to Juno, as well as in resentment of Jupiter.

<sup>94</sup> We may recall here the sentiments of A. 1.203 ... *forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit*, where Aeneas sought to console his men after the shipwreck in north Africa. There, he announced that they were en route to Latium, where Troy would rise again (1.206 ... *illic fas regna resurgere Troiae*); in point of fact, the Trojan hero is incorrect in his declaration.



10.562-564; Juturna's action is, after all, in some sense doomed to failure.<sup>95</sup> Juturna / Camers addresses the Rutulians, but even the Laurentes and Latins are stirred to action in favor of Turnus (12.240 *ipsi Laurentes mutata ipsique Latini*). Juturna offers a bird portent that adds further confidence to the changed mindset of the Italian assembly (12.251 *arrexere animos Itali*).<sup>96</sup> Soon enough the augur Tolumnius is the first to break the truce (12.257 ff.).

But Juturna is no Allecto; she is not dismissed at once from the scene (the time for that will come later). Battle rages, and Aeneas is wounded; the identity of the assailant is left unspecified, though the wound is serious enough to require the intervention of the hero's mother Aeneas. The scene is not unlike that of Arruns with Opis; Aeneas is vaunting that the sacred rites of the truce that was ratified mean that Turnus is owed to him (12.317 ... *Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra*). Mid-word (318 *has inter voces, media inter talia verba*) an arrow shot strikes Aeneas. Virgil's language here is suitably mysterious: *ecce viro stridens alis adlapsa sagitta est, / incertum qua pulsa manu, quo turbine adacta, / quis tantam Rutulis laudem, casusne deusne, / attulerit; pressa est insignis gloria facti, / nec sese Aeneae iactavit vulnere quisquam* (12.319-323).

Was Juturna responsible for the attack on Aeneas? Is she to be imagined as the *deus* who brought such glory to the Rutulians? Jupiter makes reference to Aeneas' wounding in his address to Juno at *A.* 12.797, where he asks if it was fitting for a mortal to be able to wound a god (*mortalin decuit violari vulnere divum?*).<sup>97</sup> Aeneas, in other words, is destined to be a god – Jupiter speaks somewhat proleptically here – and somehow it was possible for a mortal to wound him. The presumption may well be that a goddess (Juno? Juturna?) was responsible for the ability of some Rutulian to inflict a wound – and the divine action behind the attack would contribute to an understanding of why the wound was so serious that it required Venus' intervention to heal her son.

Aeneas is cured, and he returns to the fray; Juturna first before all the Latins hears the sound of his approach (divine auditory sense is presumably more acute than mortal), and she flees in terror (*A.* 12.448-449 ... *prima ante omnis Juturna Latinos / audit*

<sup>95</sup> For the (assumed) death of Camers – which is not narrated by the poet – see Harrison, *op. cit.*, *ad loc.*; the Camers of Book X is recalled by the Camers of Book XII, but they are not necessarily the same hero.

<sup>96</sup> See further here B. Grassmann-Fischer, *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis*, München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1966, pp. 96-99. Cf. also the complex avian simile at 12.473-480, where Juturna (as charioteer) is compared to a black swallow as she seeks to keep her brother away from Aeneas.

<sup>97</sup> On this passage note P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis*, Königstein: Verlag Anton Hain, 1984, p. 34.

*agnovitque sonum et tremefacta refugit*). In order to stir the Rutulians to renewed war, the goddess had assumed the form of Camers; she takes on no disguise in the present moment of crisis, but deposes Turnus' charioteer Metiscus from his post and assumes the reins of her brother's car (468 ff.; the fact that she assumes the guise of Metiscus is made explicit at 472 and reinforced at 623-624). Turnus is thus frustrated in his desire to face Aeneas in combat; his sister is aware that such an encounter will mean his death. Unlike Aeneas in the presence of his disguised mother, Turnus reveals that he knows all too well who has assumed control of his chariot (632 *o soror, et dudum agnovi* ...). Turnus soon enough abandons chariot and sister; Juturna returns to the narrative after her brother's mortal sword snaps when it meets Aeneas' divinely wrought, Vulcanian arms. Turnus had taken up the sword of Metiscus in haste, having forgotten his father Daunus' sword; the "Daunian goddess" Juturna restores the sword, once again assuming the form of Metiscus (783-785).

Venus is enraged that the audacious nymph should be allowed to interfere in the battle in such a way (12.786 *quod Venus audaci nymphae indignata licere*). As we have observed, Jupiter looks askance at the whole matter; he upbraids his wife in particular for the wounding of Aeneas and the restoring of the sword to Turnus (797-799). Juno admits that she advised Juturna to aid her brother (813-814); she observes, however, that she did not counsel her to bend the bow.<sup>98</sup> Juno pledges to abstain from further interference in the battle; she abandons the scene of combat, she notes, in a state of utter hatred (818 *et nunc cedo equidem pugnasque exosa relinquo*). She does, however, make a successful request of her brother and husband – namely that the Latins not be commanded to change their name, or to become Trojan (820-828). Her language is strong, as she notes that Troy has fallen. Let it fall, she begs, together with its name (828 *occidit, occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia*).

Jupiter assents to his wife's wish (12.829 ff.); Juno is, of course, happy as she takes her leave (841 *laetata*). Having settled the matter of the future relationship between Troy and Rome on the divine plane, in an action to which his daughter Venus is no party or witness (we might well imagine that she would have objections to the notion of the suppression of Troy), Jupiter turns to the matter of Juturna, his *quondam* lover (843-844). Juturna had been associated with two bird images (the portent she sent before the breaking of the truce, and the simile of the swallow); now Jupiter sends down one of the winged Dirae as an omen to ward off Juturna from the defense of her brother (845 ff.; cf. the

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<sup>98</sup> A. 12.815 *non ut tela tamen, non ut contenderet arcum* plays once again with the idea that Juturna was somehow involved in the wounding of Aeneas.

transformation of the Dira into a bird that is described at 862 ff.).<sup>99</sup> The Dira is compared to an arrow that a Parthian or a Cydonian might fire (856-859). Virgil here effectively links the end of the *Aeneid* and the close of the *Eclogues*, as we recall that Gallus was depicted as taking pleasure in firing Parthian arrows from a Cydonian bow (*E.* 10.59-60). The imagery is not complimentary to the Dira; she is here associated both with Rome's notorious eastern bogey, and with the pederasty associated with Crete.<sup>100</sup> And Gallus had almost certainly fallen into disgrace by the time of the composition of the end of the *Aeneid*.<sup>101</sup> Juturna will indeed be driven from the battlefield by Jupiter's Dira, and her brother will be killed – but the recently concluded divine colloquy between Jupiter and Juno has revealed that it is Troy that is ultimately finished, and that the Latins are, in an important sense, the victors in the war in central Italy.

<sup>99</sup> The Dira also foreshadows what has been called the *Erinys Pallantis* of *A.* 12.945 ff.; on this theme see C. Renger, *Aeneas und Turnus: Analyse einer Feindschaft*, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985, pp. 96-98.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. the homosexual Cydon who is almost slain by Aeneas at 10.324-332), *pace* the problem of the initial vowel quantities in Cydon/Cydonius (on all this see further Harrison, *op. cit.*, ad 324-325; Tarrant notes *ad* 12.858 “Although the Cydon mentioned in 10.325 ... is unrelated ... it is hard to believe that recurrence of mannered word order and erotic content in that passage is coincidental”). Cf. Jupiter and Ganymede; sexual relations with boys of citizen status were not permitted in Rome. The Parthians are mentioned elsewhere in the epic only at 7.606 (in connection with the recovery of the standards of Crassus). “Cydonian” occurs only here and in the Gallus passage of the tenth eclogue. Chloereus fires Gortynian arrows from a Lycian bow (11.773; cf. Camilla's Lycian Lycian quiver at 7.816); Pasiphaë's beloved bull occupies a Gortynian stable at *E.* 6.60 (Minotaur and labyrinth imagery is also proper to Crete). In the complex array of geographical adjectives, we can say with certainty that “Parthian” has negative associations. Crete is connected with Jove, but also with pederasty; the island was also famous for its production of equipment for archers (pederasty was among Juno's complaints at *A.* 1.28 ... *rapti Ganymedis honores*). Chloereus is an effeminate Trojan archer; his accoutrements are fitting. The language of *A.* 12.857-858 bears close study; the anadiplosis of *Parthus / Parthus sive Cydon* almost seems to apologize for the mention of the famed enemy of Rome, and of course the repetition aids in drawing attention to the references. The key to appreciating the significance of the Parthian comparison of the Dira may lie in the fact that in light of the future disposition of Rome as Latin/Italian and not Trojan, the attack on Juturna – a native goddess of the region – is an affront that one might expect from an enemy like a Parthian. Since the Dira attend the throne of Jupiter (12.849-850), it is not surprising that they should also have a Cretan appellation.

<sup>101</sup> “The inheritor of all transformative poetry in *E.* 6, Gallus is here {i.e., at the close of the tenth eclogue] the persona for the ultimate failure of poetic imagination” (D. O. Ross in *VE* II, p. 520).

The Dira is, needless to say, successful in her mission: Juturna will be removed from the scene (12.869 ff.). Her final words include a rebuke of Jupiter, whom she insults for his apparent reward for her stolen virginity. She had been granted immortality as a boon in exchange for her assault; now she wishes that she were mortal, that she were able to end her life and not know the grief attendant on the loss of her brother. Our last glimpse of the divine nymph is as she veils her head in a mantle of gray and plunges into the depths of the river (885-886 *tantum effata caput glauco contextit amictu / multa gemens et se fluvio dea condidit alto*).

Books 11 and 12 of the epic thus present two nymphs of decidedly anti-Trojan tendencies, at least in terms of a more or less crude dichotomy of rival sides in the war in Latium. The Thracian Opis serves to intervene in the slaying of Arruns; the Italian Juturna is interested in the defense of her brother.<sup>102</sup>

The world of the nymphs is one fraught with the peculiar tension between the idyllic world of pastoral peace and the threat of invasion and rapine from violent, predatory male gods. The theme of such predatory invasion is present, too, in the association of the Trojan Aeneas with his notorious countryman Paris. The last two books of Virgil's poem present two powerfully drawn characterizations of nymphs who serve actively as protestors against the apparent Trojan destiny of rebirth in central Italy, the one an agent of Diana, the other of Juno.<sup>103</sup> Their side achieves victory in the final disposition of ethnic affairs in Latium.

At this juncture we may consider how the dozen nymphs of Cyrene prefigure certain key themes in the *Aeneid*.<sup>104</sup> The nymphs were spinning fleeces of Miletus (*G.* 4.333-335), the luxurious fleeces of that city of southwest Asia Minor, an area associated with Troy. Drymo is first; her name means "oak" and we are reminded of the traditions of the birth of men from oak trees.<sup>105</sup> Xantho is next; a figure known for her lovely songs

<sup>102</sup> To the degree that there are parallels between Arruns and Aeneas, the connection is more pointed. On this theme see especially L. R. Kepple, "Arruns and the Death of Aeneas," in *The American Journal of Philology* 97.4 (1976), pp. 344-360.

<sup>103</sup> We have observed that Juturna's situation is akin to that of the Garamantian mother of Iarbas (whose relationship with Aeneas prefigures that of Aeneas and Turnus). Like Opis, the nymph Egeria is associated with Diana, namely by virtue of her connection to the goddess' shrine at Aricia.

<sup>104</sup> On how the last book of the *Aeneid* in particular echoes certain themes of the fourth georgic, see J. Thomas, *Structures de l'imaginaire dans l'Énéide*, Paris: Société d'Édition «Les Belles Lettres», 1981, p. 173.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. *A.* 8.315; 321; also the Hesiodic traditions of the origins of Bronze Age men from ash trees (*Op.* 145).

from Philodemus' epigrams,<sup>106</sup> she also recalls the Trojan river Xanthus. Ligea is one of the Sirens in Lycophron, while Phyllodoce (i.e., "Leaf-Receiver"), serves with Drymo to provide an arboreal frame for the "poetic" nymphs Xantho and Ligea.<sup>107</sup> All four – the first "set" of nymphs – are noted for lovely locks of hair (4.337). Next come the pair Cydippe and Lycorias, who have animal associations (horse, wolf), the first a virgin, the second a mother but once.<sup>108</sup> The ocean nymphs Clio and Beroe follow (two sea creatures after two nymphs associated with land animals); the former evokes the world of epic, while the latter recurs in the *Aeneid* as the Trojan matron in whose guise Juno's divine agent Iris urges the burning of the Trojan ships (*A.* 5.618-222).<sup>109</sup> Clio and Beroe are both dressed as huntresses in gold.<sup>110</sup> Next come Ephyre, Opis, Deiopea and Arethusa. The middle two appear in the *Aeneid* as referenced "characters"; the framing pair includes Arethusa, whose story is mentioned in the epic even if she herself does not occur as a "character"; as for Ephyre, the name is deeply invested in the myth-history of Corinth, and *G.* 4.343 thus presents the balance of Europe and Asia in references to the Corinthian Ephre and Asian Deiopea, with Opis – identified as Thracian in the *Aeneid* – as intermediary – a clear progression from west to east. The final detail in the catalogue is that Arethusa has at last put aside her arrows (4.344); she was a huntress, we must conclude, but now she has devoted herself to the arts of weaving with the rest of the dozen nymphs.<sup>111</sup> Clio and Beroe were dressed as huntresses – Arethusa has put aside the accoutrements of the chase. She is the Arcadian nymph who for Virgil served in part to associate Arcadia with Sicily.<sup>112</sup> And

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<sup>106</sup> Cf. *AP*9.570.

<sup>107</sup> It may not be a stretch of interpretation to associate Xantho and Ligea with the two Homeric epics.

<sup>108</sup> We may think again of the Romulean she-wolf.

<sup>109</sup> The surviving Trojan ships, as we have seen, are miraculously transformed into sea nymphs in Book 9; these nymphs visit Aeneas in Book 10. The use of the name "Beroe" during the ship-burning sequence of Book 5 thus offers another nymphic reference with regard to the ships; the crazed Trojan women seek to do that which Turnus also wishes to achieve in Book 9. We may see a balanced connection, too, between the first element of Cydippe's name and the epic spirit evoked by Clio.

<sup>110</sup> A bit jarring, we might think; the ocean nymphs are dressed as if they were terrestrial huntresses. The oddity serves only to highlight the nymphs' significant attire.

<sup>111</sup> Cf. again the image of Camilla as Minerva in her battle aspect, but not in her association with the domestic arts.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. here Heyworth and Morwood, *op. cit.*, ad 692-696, with sensitive metapoetic reading of the Arethusa passages of Virgil's three works.

she closes the catalogue of a dozen nymphs, just as she figures in the last eclogue and in a key scene of the great drama of Aristaeus, Orpheus, and Eurydice with which the last georgic reaches its climax.

Clymene sings of the love of Ares and Aphrodite (*G.* 4.345) in the midst of this assembly – a story that does no credit to the divine mother of Aeneas. At *A.* 8.404 ff., Vulcan rises from sleep to tend to the arms of Aeneas that were commissioned by Venus; the time of his awakening is associated with the hour when those who pursue the arts of Minerva – the world of the distaff – rise up to commence their labors. It is a domestic image that stands in stark contrast to the world of Venus; it is a recollection of the scene of Cyrene and her coterie of spinning nymphs. Proteus revealed that the destruction and death that was sent to Aristaeus' bees was the doing of the nymphs; domestic associations aside, the nymphs are also linked to violence and retribution (we may think of the equally consummate goddess Minerva, renowned for arts both domestic and martial). In the *Aeneid*, it will be the nymph Opis who exacts vengeance for the death of the huntress Camilla; the nymph Juturna, for her part, takes an active role in battle (from which Opis, like her mistress Diana, also stays aloof except for the singular instance of killing Arruns).<sup>113</sup> Both Opis and Juturna fight – albeit in different capacities – against Aeneas and his allies.

The ultimate resolution of the conflict of the *Aeneid* between Troy and Italy comes in the private world of the colloquy of Jupiter and Juno.<sup>114</sup> That divine discussion made definitive announcement of the suppression of Trojan *sermo* and *mores* and the preservation of the Italian, Latin heritage in central Italy. This settlement constitutes a victory of the local culture, and a rejection of the invading element; it is defeat for the dream of a revived Troy, and a significant consolatory solace and concession for the seemingly defeated side of Turnus, Camilla, and Juturna. Prominent among the deities and quasi-divine beings associated with a place are the nymphs of the local rivers, mountains, and other elements of the natural landscape. In the theology of the *Aeneid*, the nymphs are almost unanimously united in opposition to the forces of Aeneas and his allies; they embody the rejection of the Trojan cultural element in Italy.<sup>115</sup> Hippolytus/Virbius would

<sup>113</sup> Virgil is fond of associating characters with names that begin and end with the same letter; we may compare Aristaeus, Arruns, and Aeneas – all of whom suffer some form of discomfiture at the hands of nymphs.

<sup>114</sup> *A.* 12.791 ff.

<sup>115</sup> Significantly, the sole exception to this comes with the “new” nymphs created from the Trojan ships; there is no place for these nymphs in Italy, as it were – they are sacred to Cybele and Ida, whence the wood of the vessels came.

experience resurrection and careful guardianship under Egeria; the swarm of bees of Aristaeus, too, would find its rebirth and renewal through the aid and assistance of nymphs. But in the resurrection lore of the *Aeneid*, there would be no place for a *Troia rediviva*, and no triumph of Troy in the landscape of Italy.

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