Artémis de Versailles, copie romaine d'un original grec daté v. 330 av. n.è., moulage, tirage intégral (n°A-191), fin XIX^e s., atelier du Louvre, © Musée des Moulages – UPVM3

VITA LATINA

Nº 201 Anno MMXXI

A Landscape of Control? *Aeneid* 8 and Environmental Agency

Aaron M. Seider
College of the Holy Cross – USA

Résumé :

Dans cet article, je m'inspire des travaux du champ de l'**écocritique** pour examiner comment ***Énéide* 8** soulève des questions sur l'organisation de l'**environnement**. Trois groupes de passages mettent en évidence la relation des personnages avec le monde qu'ils habitent : la défaite d'**Hercule** contre **Cacus** ; deux présages naturels livrés à **Énée** ; et la visite de **Pallantée** par **Évandre**. Dans chacun de ces cas, l'engagement des humains dans leur environnement montre comment ils tentent de le contrôler à la fois physiquement et mentalement. Ici, je soutiens qu'*Énéide* 8 met simultanément en évidence ces aspirations de maîtrise tout en révélant la futilité de telles tentatives. Alors même que les personnages de l'*Énéide* prennent le contrôle du paysage et en tirent des avantages, les perspectives changeantes du récit et de la focalisation temporelle de l'épopée soulignent que ce contrôle n'est que temporaire et a souvent un prix.

1. Introduction

The beginning of *Aeneid* 8 finds the epic's protagonist worried and restless. Aeneas has at last reached "Italy's fleeing shores" (*Italiae fugientis […] oras*, *Aen.* 6.61), but he finds that war awaits him there[1]. In a book where the poem's hero speaks with the god of the Tiber River, visits the future site of Rome, and sees the geographical reach of his descendants' empire emblazoned on a divinely-made shield, Vergil associates Aeneas' preparations for battle with questions of environmental agency:

1. The Latin text in this article is from Mynors 1969; all translations are my own.

Vita Latina 201 (2021), p. 142-163.

talia per Latium. quae Laomedontius heros
cuncta uidens magno curarum fluctuat aestu,
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc diuidit illuc
in partisque rapit uarias perque omnia uersat,
sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aenis
sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae
omnia peruolitat late loca, iamque sub auras
erigitur summique ferit laquearia tecti. (Verg., *Aen.* 8.18-25)

Such were the affairs in Latium. Seeing all these things, the Laomedontian hero wavers in a great surge of worries, and he moves his quick mind now here, now there, and he trains it on different matters and turns through everything, just as when darting light from the sun or the image of the shining moon, reflected in the water of a bronze basin, flits all about and is raised up to the breezes and strikes the ceiling of a high house.

Emphasized by its position as the book's first simile [2], lines 22-5 illustrate the rapid nature of Aeneas' thoughts. By offering such an extensive description of the hero's mental processes, the comparison emphasizes Aeneas' efforts to control the situation in Latium even as it hints that such control might be impossible. The hero's thoughts are likened to the trembling reflection of the light of the moon or sun in a bronze basin [3], a comparison that blurs the boundaries between humans and nature [4]. This blurring effect is heightened by the description of how the reflection, made in the basin itself, strikes the house's ceiling, as the natural elements of light and water play in and throughout the built environment [5]. Moreover, just as the divisions between humans and the environment and between the natural and built environments fail to hold, so too does the certainty that Aeneas can control this rapidly changing situation.

2. Beck (2014) argues for the programmatic importance of the *Aeneid*'s first simile, and this simile's position endows it with a similar significance for *Aeneid* 8. Along with the topics explored above, this passage raises questions about Aeneas' mental state as well as a host of intra- and intertextual associations. For discussion and bibliography, see Fratantuono & Smith 2018: *ad loc.*

3. Putnam (1965: 108) remarks how this simile brings together "outside forces of nature" and a human building. Putnam (1995: 119 n. 18) suggests that the dangers of Turnus and his allies "have become the 'constellations' which trouble Aeneas' mind". See also Otis (1964: 332-3) on Aeneas' mood at this moment.

4. Conington (1884: *ad* 8.19) notes how Servius comments that "the metaphor [in line 19] anticipates the following simile". Eden (1975: *ad* 8.21) remarks how while Homer illustrates mental agitation through "similes of great realism", Virgil instead chooses to explore "the aftermath of associations provoked by the image of troubled water in 19". Gransden (1976: *ad* 22-5) shows how the repetition of rare metrical patterns in lines 23, 25 and 26 closely link the simile with its context.

5. Feldherr (2014: 290) notes the emphasis on water in the simile: *aquae* is its first word and water is both "part of the substance of what the audience sees […] and the receptive transformer of other visual images".

The combination of these effects associates Aeneas' mission with issues of environmental control and foregrounds humans' relationship with the natural world as a significant theme in *Aeneid* 8.

Aeneid 8 sees Aeneas journeying through and engaging with territories that are as unfamiliar to him as they are central to his mission and Rome's empire, and here I examine how this book raises questions about human control and the environment. Beginning with the prophecy of the god of the Tiber River and ending with a description of the rivers emblazoned on the hero's shield, *Aeneid* 8 foregrounds the role the environment plays in Aeneas' efforts to understand the land where he is fated to found a city. As R. Armstrong notes in a recent monograph on plants in Vergil, "the simultaneous rift and overlap between the mysterious wild and the structures of civilization […] become such a theme in this book" [6]. Here, I explore these interactions between humans and the natural world with a particular focus on agency. Three groups of passages in *Aeneid* 8 highlight the characters' relationship with the world they inhabit: Hercules' defeat of Cacus; two natural omens delivered to Aeneas; and Evander's tour of Pallanteum. In each of these instances, humans' engagement with their environment shows how they attempt to control it both physically and mentally. I argue that *Aeneid* 8 simultaneously highlights these aspirations of mastery while also revealing their futility: even as the *Aeneid*'s characters gain control over and derive benefits from the landscape, the shifting perspectives of its narrative and temporal focus show how this dominion is only temporary and often comes with a price.

To explore such questions of environmental control, I draw on work in ecocriticism that elucidates how humans imagine, interact with, and attempt to control their environment. A main area of focus in this field is how agency is exercised by human beings and their environments alike, as "human and nonhuman players are interlocked in networks" [7]. This conception of networks and agency provides a framework for specific ideas that advance my argument in the article's three sections. First, drawing on E. Eidinow's writing on myth and the environment [8], I examine Hercules' battle against Cacus. E. Eidinow illustrates how stories can embody humans' aspirations for their relationship with the environment, and here the religious ceremonies commemorating

6. Armstrong (2019: 88), Jenkyns (2013: 272) and Crofton-Sleigh (2016: 385) also see the relationship between humanity and nature as one of the central themes of *Aeneid* 8. Kronenberg (2014) offers an overview of the oppositions and overlaps between nature and culture in Vergil's works. Armstrong (2019) is one of many recent works that explore questions about the natural world, ecocriticism, and Greco-Roman culture; others include Quartarone 2002; Spencer 2010; Jones 2013; Worman 2015; McInerney & Sluiter 2016; Schliephake 2017 and 2020; and Fitzgerald & Spentzou 2018.

7. Iovino & Oppermann 2014: 5. See also Cohen 2014.

8. Eidinow 2016. Hawes (2013) analyzes the relationship between myth and Greek landscapes, while Giesecke (2014) considers the relationship between myth and plants.

Hercules' victory reify the Arcadians' hopes of environmental control. Next, I evaluate how these hopes play out when characters interpret omens from the natural world, first when the river god Tiberinus visits Aeneas and later when celestial omens signify the Trojan's divine weapons are ready. Through bringing in ideas of how landscapes "represent […] not only our relationship with place, but also the problematic nature of that relationship" [9], I highlight how the Trojans view the world as something they can control, even as the narrative of *Aeneid* 8 underscores the costs of these aspirations. The article's final section analyzes how humans have interacted with the environment over time at the site of Rome. The idea of niche construction considers how a creature modifies its environment according to its beliefs and needs [10], and, as past, present, and future are joined in Evander's tour of Pallanteum, this concept elucidates the different sorts of relationships that occur between humans and the environment. I argue that these temporal interlacings bring together strong currents of both human and nonhuman agency. Lastly, in the article's conclusion, I explore what these characters' engagements with the environment signify in regards to Jupiter's promise of "empire without end" (*imperium sine fine*, *Aen*. 1.279) and to overall interpretations of the *Aeneid*.

2. Hercules' Conquest: Mythical Aspirations of Agency

When Aeneas arrives at Evander's city, the Arcadians are in the midst of a religious ritual that honors Hercules [11]. Evander tells the Trojans "Since you have come here as friends, celebrate these annual rites which it is sinful to delay" (*sacra haec, quando huc uenistis amici, / annua, quae differre nefas, celebrate*, *Aen*. 8.172-3). With this invitation, the Trojans join the Arcadians in their commemoration of Hercules' victory over Cacus, a battle where the environment plays a significant role and the line between human and nonhuman is blurred. In an article that considers the link between myths and environmental wisdom, E. Eidinow proposes that "conscious narratives that are told and retold" are "crucially interrelated with ecological wisdom" [12]. Here I leverage this idea to consider the ecological wisdom embedded in the Arcadians' story of Hercules' destruction of Cacus [13]. The tale that Evander tells is rich with themes of

9. Casey 2011: 21.

10. See Maran (2014: 150) who writes: "By manipulating the environment for its aims, an organism transfers its modeling activities back to the environment; it changes the environment in a way that makes more sense to it and corresponds to the semiotic resources (sign systems) used by the organism".

11. For an overview of the bibliography on this episode, see Fratantuono & Smith 2018: *ad* 184-212; for readings of this episode in relation to Roman history, see Morgan 1998 and Marinčič 2001.

12. Eidinow 2016: 48.

13. As Crofton-Sleigh (2016: 384) notes, Vergil innovates in centering this myth on the landscape and in emphasizing Cacus' monstrous aspects; on this latter point, see also Eden

environmental control and disorder. It couples a fear of harm at the hand of nonhuman actors with a desire to celebrate human control over the natural world. Through inviting the Trojans to share in this ritual, Evander asks them to join in his society's aspirations of environmental mastery.

The early part of Evander's story highlights the fear that a nonhuman actor may harm the community and remain outside of its control. Prior to Hercules' arrival, Cacus terrorized the Arcadians:

> *'hic spelunca fuit uasto summota recessu,*
> *semihominis Caci facies quam dira tenebat*
> *solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti*
> *caede tepebat humus, foribusque adfixa superbis*
> *ora uirum tristi pendebant pallida tabo.*
> *huic monstro Volcanus erat pater'.* (Verg., *Aen.* 8.193-8)
>
> 'Here there was a cave, extending far back in its depth, which, impervious to the rays of the sun, the dreadful appearance of the half-human Cacus used to occupy; the ground was always warm with fresh slaughter, and fixed to his haughty door posts, the heads of men were hanging, pallid with woeful gore. This monster's father was Vulcan'.

The nouns that frame Cacus' introduction, "half-human" (*semihominis*) and "monster" (*monstro*), as well as the periphrasis "the appearance of Cacus" (*Caci facies*) [14], emphasize his nonhuman appearance, which seems all the more terrifying for its closeness to human form [15]. They envelop a grisly depiction of the violence he metes out on the Arcadians. The details of this brutality reveal Evander's perception of how Cacus' nonhuman characteristics threaten to dehumanize the Arcadians. While Cacus transforms his large and gloomy cave into a built environment with the addition of doors, here he displays the remains of those he has killed. By separating their heads from their bodies and leaving them to rot, Cacus dehumanizes his victims. In Evander's rendition of this horror, Cacus' nonhuman agency strips away the human characteristics of the dead.

The question of who exerts environmental control stands at the center of Hercules' battle with Cacus. At first, Cacus seizes mental and physical dominion over the environment: stealing eight of Hercules' cattle, he drags the beasts backwards to his cave, so that their tracks' direction confuses their owner. This environmental trickery is undone when "from under the great cave one of the captive cows responded and mooed back and betrayed Cacus' hope" (*reddidit*

(1975: XXII) and GRANSDEN (1976: 107-8). CASALI 2020 analyzes some of the changes in the Cacus/Hercules story from the perspective of Evander and his presentation of the history of this site.

14. EDEN (1975: *ad loc.*).

15. *Cf.* also the use of *semiferi* to describe Cacus at 8.267, which, as FRATANTUONO & SMITH (2018: *ad* 194) note, creates a ring composition. PUTNAM (1965: 131) remarks how "Cacus seems neither wholly man nor wholly beast".

una boum uocem uastoque sub antro / mugiit et Caci spem custodita fefellit, *Aen*. 8.217-8). Correctly reading this natural sign, Hercules realizes that his cattle have been stolen. With his mental control of the environment reestablished, Hercules moves toward regaining physical agency [16]. After Cacus bars the door to his cave, Hercules shoves aside the stone that forms the roof of this abode. The result is felt throughout the surroundings: "Highest heaven thunders with its blow, the river's banks spring back, and its terrified water flows backwards" (*impulsu quo maximus intonat aether, / dissultant ripae refluitque exterritus amnis*, *Aen*. 8.239-40) [17]. Facing a foe who threatens his control over his cattle and hides himself within an environment fashioned to his own purposes, Hercules shatters the natural world's boundaries. Not only does the Tiber flow backward, but sunlight streams into the darkest depths of Cacus' cave, seeming to reach the underworld itself. Hercules' transgression of these limits paradoxically allows him to regain control over the environment [18]. After Hercules kills Cacus and departs, the nonhuman threat to Evander and his city is no more.

Considered from the perspective E. Eidinow proposes, the Arcadians' story of Hercules' victory reveals their ecological beliefs. In doing so, it shows a fear of the loss of human agency in the face of powerful nonhuman actors. Coupled with his dismemberment of human bodies, Cacus' cattle rustling strips humans of their control over the environment. In order to kill Cacus, Hercules enacts his own environmental transgressions when he removes the cave's boundaries and causes the Tiber to flow backward, but these violations are only momentary and serve to reestablish environmental dominion for Pallanteum's human inhabitants. Near the end of her article, E. Eidinow suggests that "the day-to-day experience of engaging with different stories helps to develop our understanding of the theoretical wisdom of our culture … and means that we 'rehearse' practical situations" [19]. Through their annual celebration of Hercules' victory, the Arcadians engage with this story and reaffirm their cultural understanding of the proper relationship between human and nonhuman actors. Now, by inviting Aeneas and the Trojans to share in their ritual, Evander asks the Trojans to join the Arcadians not just in a military partnership but also in a common cultural perspective. Vergil's final description of these rites reifies the Trojans and Arcadians' joint understanding of the natural world. As the rites draw to a close, "The whole grove resounds with

16. Crofton-Sleigh (2016) considers Hercules' actions throughout this episode from the perspective of shaping the landscape.

17. Eden (1975: *ad* 239 f.) remarks how scholars are divided over whether the rock falls into the river (in which case, line 240 is "a very forceful way of representing the natural consequence") or not (in which case, line 240 "is an exaggerated piece of pathetic fallacy, with personalised reactions of the banks and the stream").

18. Crofton-Sleigh (2016: 395-7) likewise notes the paradoxical implications of Hercules' actions and analyzes them in terms of Vergil's political context.

19. Eidinow 2016: 50.

the din, and the hills echo back" (*consonat omne nemus strepitu collesque resultant*, *Aen*. 8.305). P. Hardie notes how this verse shows "a sympathetic reaction on the part of nature itself" and "a harmonious counterpart" to the earlier transgression of natural boundaries [20], and this harmony reflects the Arcadians and Trojans' beliefs about human control over nature embodied by this mythical story.

3. Controlling the Landscape: Omens and Interpretations

Evander's rendition of this myth establishes how humans aspire to mental and physical mastery of the environment, and when the Arcadian king shares this story with the Trojans he invites them to subscribe to these same beliefs. Here, I consider two passages where the environment seems to offer Aeneas control over both itself and the situation at hand. Since these passages concern omens that appear to Aeneas in the environment, it is productive to turn to work in ecocriticism that explores how humans conceive of the world surrounding them. In an essay on landscape, E. Casey argues that humans' perception of the world is as much about their relationship with place as it is about the challenges of that relationship: "The problem of landscape is thus that landscape represents to us, not only our relationship with place, but also the problematic nature of that relationship – a relationship that contains within it involvement and separation, agency and spectacle, self and other" [21]. Through applying Casey's ideas, I claim that Aeneas' engagement with the natural world reveals a desire that it aid his progress, even as the epic's narrator shows how this understanding may be incorrect or destructive. By considering the river god Tiberinus' prophecy and Venus' celestial omens, I argue that these scenes show how even though Aeneas gains control over his environment, this control does not match the aspirations for complete dominion voiced in Evander's story of Hercules.

Early in *Aeneid* 8, as Aeneas sleeps on the Tiber's bank, Tiberinus rises from the river to reveal a pathway to success in Italy [22]. Near the start of his prophecy, the river god assuages Aeneas' worries: "Don't be terrified by threats of war; all the passion and anger of the gods have subsided" (*neu belli terrere minis; tumor omnis et irae / concessere deum*, *Aen*. 8.40-1). Later, Tiberinus promises to make Aeneas' journey upriver an easy one: "I myself will lead you up the banks and straight river so that, sailing up, you may overcome the opposing current with

20. Hardie 1986: 147-8 n. 67.

21. Casey 2011: 21. See also Buell (2005: 143), who notes how the term landscape contains within it the notion of a human gaze and "should also be thought of as being shaped by the mind of the beholder, as well as by sociohistorical forces"; and Cosgrove (1984: 269), who writes that "landscape denotes the external world mediated through subjective human experience".

22. Michels (1981: 141) remarks on how the god offers assurance to Aeneas in the midst of his confusion. Armstrong (2019: 132-3) notes how the details of Tiberinus' appearance link him with Hercules.

your oars" (*ipse ego te ripis et recto flumine ducam, / aduersum remis superes subuectus ut amnem*, *Aen.* 8.57-8). As a nonhuman actor, Tiberinus makes two promises that are singularly important on the epic's human level [23]: the divine anger that caused the Trojans so much suffering has passed, and Aeneas will overcome the challenge of progressing against a river's current [24].

While Aeneas presumes he will gain all Tiberinus promised, the audience's view of the god's assurances is less sanguine. A consideration of the deity's words in light of the epic's context shows that communication between the human and nonhuman worlds is not as clear as Aeneas hopes. First, as scholars like P. T. Eden, J. J. O'Hara, and R. A. Smith have shown, Tiberinus' claims that the gods' anger will subside prove to be false, as the river god "conceal[s] the truth to encourage Aeneas" [25]. Indeed, the rage of Juno, Aeneas' chief immortal foe, persists from *Aeneid* 1 through 12. *Irae* at *Aen.* 8.40 is a "direct echo" of the proem's question "Do heavenly hearts possess such anger?" (*tantaene animis caelestibus irae? Aen.* 1.11) [26], and this very same word describes Juno's emotions at the epic's end, when Jupiter says "You roll such waves of anger under your chest" (*irarum tantos uoluis sub pectore fluctus*, *Aen.* 12.831) [27]. Moreover, the correspondences between these structurally important moments are furthered by Jupiter's metaphorical use of "waves" (*fluctus*). This word not only recalls the sea-storm Juno caused in *Aeneid* 1 [28], but also the prophecy at the start of *Aeneid* 8, where the river god makes promises about a journey by water. These links with the epic's beginning and ending show just how misleading Tiberinus' words are: Aeneas' chief divine foe will be just as angry in *Aeneid* 12 as she was in *Aeneid* 1 [29], and whatever actions Aeneas takes will have no effect [30].

---

23. In an analysis of the Tiber's role in *Aeneid* 7 and 8 that includes this scene, Vuković (2020: 479) finds that the river is "a powerful force" and "an active agent". On the different perspectives of suffering that mortals and immortals hold in the *Aeneid*, see Barchiesi 1995.

24. *Cf.* Verg., G. 1.199-203 and Thomas (1988a: *ad loc.*), a passage where Vergil likens the consequences of letting go of the oars when sailing upstream to the repercussions of any brief pause in the *labor* farming demands.

25. Eden 1975 : *ad* 41. On the disjunction between Tiberinus' promises and the reality of the epic, see Eden 1975: *ad* 8.41; Lyne 1987: 83; O'Hara 1990: 31-5 & 2007: 82; and Smith 2005: 48.

26. Fratantuono & Smith 2018: *ad* 40.

27. *Contra* Gransden (1976: *ad* 40-1), who argues that Juno's anger does subside in *Aeneid* 12.

28. Tarrant (2012: *ad* 831) and Seider (2013: 176-7).

29. On the anger Juno shows during her so-called "reconciliation", see Feeney (1984) and Lyne (1987: 97).

30. Just as Tiberinus' promise about the gods' anger is belied by the rest of the epic's actions, the same occurs in regard to his claims that Aeneas should not be terrified of future wars. Instead, Newlands (1995: 64) notes, this prophecy "by skimming over the dreadful war […] encourages Aeneas to persevere".

While a comparison of Tiberinus' promises with the epic's depiction of Juno's anger illustrates how the landscape simultaneously misleads and cheers Aeneas, the Trojans' trip up the Tiber showcases their control over nature even as it calls into question the cost of that control. With Tiberinus having promised aid, the Trojans voyage to Pallanteum:

> *Thybris ea fluuium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem*
> *leniit, et tacita refluens ita substitit unda,*
> *mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis*
> *sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.* (Verg., *Aen.* 8.86-9):
>
> For that whole long night the Tiber calmed its swollen river and, with its waves quiet, flowing back it stood still in such a way so that it smoothed its surface with its waters in the manner of a still pond or a quiet swamp, so that there was no toil for their oars.

As K. W. Gransden notes, "the idea of the river yielding to the hero on a civilising mission is a very Roman one" [31], and here Aeneas and the Trojans' enjoy an easy trip to Rome's future site.

Yet, this passage also implies their trip comes at a cost, as it alludes twice to the death of Palinurus on a similar journey in *Aeneid* 5 [32]. At this earlier point in the epic a voyage over water also brings the Trojans significantly closer to their goal, and two phrases from their trip upriver in *Aeneid* 8 recall this voyage from Sicily to Italy. First, in Tiberinus' speech to Aeneas, the words "I myself" (*ipse ego*, *Aen.* 8.57) recall the only other occurrence of that phrase in the epic, *Aen.* 5.846, where it also starts a line [33]. In *Aeneid* 5 *ipse ego* appears in the context of the death of Palinurus, Aeneas' helmsman whose sacrifice is demanded by Neptune as the price of the Trojans' safe passage. Furthermore, a phrase describing the Trojans' travel on the Tiber likewise connects with this earlier scene. The words "it smoothed its surface with its water" (*sterneret aequor aquis*, *Aen.* 8.89) recall a nearly identical phrase in *Aeneid* 5, "the surface is smoothed with its waters" (*sternitur aequor aquis*, *Aen.* 5.821). [34] Here, these words describe how Neptune agrees that the Trojans can pass safely from Sicily to Italy, so long as one life is

31. Gransden 1976: *ad* 86-9.

32. While these allusions to *Aeneid* 5 are the clearest signs that Aeneas' journey will not be altogether easy, there are other aspects of his trip which also raise questions. Jones (2005: 66-7) compares Tiberinus' promise with a description of how the Trojans proceed upriver. See Fratantuono & Smith (2018: *ad* 87) on the possible allusions from *leniit* (*Aen.* 8.87) to *Aeneid* 4 and from *substitit* (*Aen.* 8.87) to *Aeneid* 2, and see Eden (1975: *ad* 171 and 173) on how the depiction of Aeneas' arrival at Pallanteum likewise echoes "Dido's welcome" of the Trojans.

33. Fratantuono & Smith 2018: *ad* 57. Although each of these words is a common one in Vergil's corpus (forms of *ipse* appear 414 times and forms of *ego* appear 528 times), the only two times the phrase *ipse ego* occurs in the *Aeneid* are at 5.846 and 8.57, and their shared metrical seat further confirms the passages' connection. (These statistics come from Wacht 1996).

34. Vuković (2020: 476) likewise notes this allusion and also remarks how these two passages share a setting at night, which emphasizes "the more sinister aspect of navigating calm waters".

sacrificed for many [35]. These two allusions to Palinurus' death hint that Aeneas' purportedly painless trip up the Tiber will also result in suffering [36]. With only the poem's audience aware of these verbal echoes, it highlights how incomplete the characters' interpretation of the landscape may be.

The omen announcing the delivery of Aeneas' new arms further problematizes how humans interpret the landscape. While the undercurrents of the passages involving the Tiber were visible only to the epic's audience, this celestial augury prompts the poem's characters to experience different emotional reactions. As the Trojans prepare to leave Pallanteum, although Evander promises martial assistance, Aeneas' response is not enthusiastic:

> *uix ea fatus erat, defixique ora tenebant*
> *Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates,*
> *multaque dura suo tristi cum corde putabant,*
> *ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto.* (Verg., *Aen.* 8.520-3)
>
> Scarcely had Evander spoken these things and Aeneas, Anchises' son, and faithful Achates were holding their faces downcast, and they were thinking over many harsh things with their gloomy heart, if Venus had not given a sign in a cloudless sky.

Aeneas and Achates' reaction to Evander's speech is one of gloom. While the cause of their dismay is opaque [37], the striking syntax of line 523 utterly erases this mood. [38] The shift from the imperfect indicative in 520 and 522 to the pluperfect subjunctive in 523 moves the narrative's focus from the hero's worry to Venus' portent and its power to shift reality. Soon, all focus on the clear sky, where lightning flashes, thunder sounds, horns blare, and weapons appear. After this omen, the narrative returns to the characters: "The others fell silent in their hearts, but the Trojan hero recognized the sound and the promises of his divine parent" (*obstipuere animis alii, sed Troius heros / agnouit sonitum et diuae promissa parentis, Aen.* 8.530-1). The emotional situation is reversed: as Aeneas prepares to speak, "joyful and self-confident" [39], the others fall silent, perhaps terrified by the blood red glow of the clouds or the crashing thunder [40].

35. See Fratantuono & Smith (2018: *ad loc.*) for how these verses recall Palinurus' death and open up connections with the underworld. Eden (1976: *ad loc.*) also observes the connection between 8.89 and 5.821.

36. See Fratantuono & Smith (2018: *ad* 57) on how this may also foreshadow Pallas' "sacrificial death". See also Eden 1975: *ad* 521 f., where this loss is presaged again.

37. Eden 1975: xxi and *ad* 521 f.; Gransden 1976: *ad* 521-2; Maclennan 2017: *ad* 520-3; and Fratantuono & Smith (2018: *ad* 520) discuss Aeneas' potential disappointment in Evander's military help as well as the costs of the future war and the fate of Pallas.

38. Fratantuono & Smith 2018: *ad* 523.

39. Eden 1975: xxii.

40. Putnam (1965: 144); Di Cesare (1974: 143-4); and Fratantuono & Smith (2018: *ad* 530) explore this omen's connection with Pallas. O'Hara (1990: 52) remarks that these heavenly portents bring martial victory to Aeneas as well as "disaster to Aeneas and the Arcadians in that they help to provide the situation in which Pallas can and will die".

Moreover, Vergil's contemporary audience may share the Arcadians' horror. As A. Barchiesi writes, for Vergil's Romans, with their own fresh memories of civil wars and destruction, the prodigy may evoke "a specific negative connotation […] the wrath of the gods and the onset of a catastrophe" [41].

When Aeneas does speak, he imagines the martial destruction he will inflict on his enemies and their landscape. After announcing that these celestial portents indicate his divine arms are ready, Aeneas predicts what will happen when he wields these weapons:

> *heu quantae miseris caedes Laurentibus instant!*
> *quas poenas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa sub undas*
> *scuta uirum galeasque et fortia corpora uolues,*
> *Thybri pater!* (Verg., *Aen.* 8.537-40)
>
> Alas, how great a slaughter comes to the wretched Laurentians! What penalties you, Turnus, will pay me! How many helmets and shields and strong bodies of men, father Tiber, will you roll under your waves!

This tricolon crescendo reveals the havoc Aeneas anticipates wreaking. From the perspective of ecocriticism, what is most remarkable is that the longest of these descriptions concentrates on the Tiber. As P. T. Eden (1975: *ad* 538 *ff.*) shows in his commentary, the hero's words allude to passages in the *Aeneid* that both describe Achilles' slaughter of the Trojans in the River Simois at Troy and show Aeneas' fulfillment of his boasts. First, *Aen.* 8.539 almost exactly repeats *Aen.* 1.101, where Aeneas remembers the Trojans corpses that piled up in the Simois [42]. Later, this same image appears as part of the Sibyl's prophecy about Aeneas' Italian future, where she reveals:

> '*et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.*
> *non Simois tibi nec Xanthus nec Dorica castra*
> *defuerint*'. (Verg., *Aen.* 6.87-9)
>
> 'I see the Tiber also frothing with much blood. The Simois and Xanthus rivers will not be absent for you, and neither will the Greek camps'.

The Sibyl promises that the past will repeat itself in a new location and in a new way. [43] Her words are shown to be true in *Aeneid* 12, when Latinus says "The Tiber's waters are still being made warm with our blood" (*recalent nostro Thybrina fluenta / sanguine adhuc*, *Aen.* 12.35-6) [44]. As E. S. Casey notes,

---

41. Barchiesi (1984: 83). Translation above from Barchiesi (2015: 60-1). The original Italian is: "una precisa rappresentazione negativa […] l'ira degli dei, il primo avvio chi una catastrofe".

42. Fratantuono & Smith (2018: *ad* 539) note how "the verse is a virtual copy of 1.101 […] of the armor and corpses that were carried off by the Simois at Troy". The one difference is the appearance of *uoluit* rather than *uolues* in *Aen.* 1.101. On this scene in the *Iliad*, see Holmes 2015.

43. Seider 2013: 32.

44. See Tarrant 2012: *ad* 35-6 on these verses' connection with *Aen.* 6.87.

landscape represents both humans' relationship with place as well as "the problematic nature of that relationship" [45], and Aeneas ignores the implications of his claim about the Tiber. Achilles' slaughter of the Trojans choked the Simois and occasioned an elemental battle between divine forces, yet Aeneas neglects to consider how his actions will harm the very river that helped him the day before.

The ending of *Aeneid* 8 is linked both with Tiberinus' prophecy and Venus' celestial omen, and these verses further explore questions about human control of the environment. A. Feldherr has pointed out how depictions of the Tiber and the Araxes rivers frame both the entirety of *Aeneid* 8 as well as the ekphrasis of Aeneas' shield [46]. The gift of this shield was announced by Venus' heavenly signs, and Vergil's final description of it focuses on human control of the landscape. Here, the representation of Augustus' triumph culminates in a parade of conquered rivers:

> *Euphrates ibat iam mollior undis,*
> *extremique hominum Morini, Rhenusque bicornis,*
> *indomitique Dahae, et pontem indignatus Araxes.* (Verg., *Aen.* 8.726-8)
>
> The Euphrates was going by, already rather tame in its waves, the Morini, most distant of humans, and the two-horned Rhine, and the wild Dahae, and the Araxes, angry at his bridge.

The final image of the shield ends with the focalization of the Araxes River, which bristles at the bridge set over it. As A. Feldherr notes, at the time of the *Aeneid*'s publication, no such structure existed: "Roman forces had not yet reached the Araxes, much less bridged it" [47]. Within this historical context, the shield promises Roman control over the environment even as it emphasizes, via the Araxes' anger, the contentious and potentially transitory nature of this control [48]. Here, the depictions on the shield showcase the human aspiration to forge a relationship with the landscape that reflects their dominance. Yet, the narrative soon describes how Aeneas, "ignorant of the shield's contents, rejoices in their depiction" (*rerumque ignarus imagine gaudet*, *Aen.* 8.730) [49], and this contrast thematizes the same disjunction between aspirations for control over the landscape and the impossibility of achieving that control. The aspiration for environmental control always beckons further, both in time and space, even as these outer temporal and geographical limits work against human agency.

---

45. Casey 2011: 21.

46. Feldherr 2014: 283-4. Gransden (1976: *ad* 86-9 and 726) also notes the connection between the Tiber's reversal of course and the timid waves of the Euphrates.

47. Feldherr 2014: 298.

48. Putnam (1998:158) explores how this bridge over the Araxes "can be seen also as mastery that encroaches on natural freedom". This moment with the Araxes River is, of course, only one image on a shield that offers many pictures that celebrate Roman control and political dominance; for readings along these lines, see Hardie 1986: 120-4 and 336-77.

49. Eden (1975: *ad loc.*) notes that *rerum* is to be taken both with *ignarus* and *imagine*.

4. Natural Time at The Site of Rome

While Aeneas' shield pushes the epic's geographic limits, the hero's tour of Pallanteum extends the *Aeneid*'s temporal explorations[50]. In this section of the article, I consider the depiction of the site of Rome from the perspective of niche construction. This ecocritical term focuses on how human beings influence and are influenced by the environments in which they live[51]. J. D. Hughes writes that the human species is part of a community of life in which it has evolved "by competing against, cooperating with, imitating, using, and being used by other species"[52]. Chr. Schliephake builds on this concept by emphasizing how "the human niche within the ecosystem [...] was an integral part of a material network with a resilience and agency of its own"[53]. By drawing on these ideas, I analyze how *Aeneid* 8 constructs multiple temporal perspectives on how humans have been impacting and being impacted by Rome's location. Through analyses of Aeneas' arrival at Pallanteum and Evander's subsequent tour, I argue that these passages emphasize how, while both human and nonhuman actors alike possess agency, neither enjoys permanent dominance.

The Trojans' initial glimpse of Pallanteum thematizes humans' ability to effect change as well as their inability to perceive that change. Vergil's description of this moment blurs the epic's time with his own:

> *sol medium caeli conscenderat igneus orbem*
> *cum muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum*
> *tecta uident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo*
> *aequauit, tum res inopes Euandrus habebat.* (Verg., *Aen.* 8.97-100)
>
> The fiery sun had climbed the middle arch of heaven when they see from afar the walls and citadel and scattered tops of the houses, which now Roman power has made equal with the sky, which then Evander was holding as his humble kingdom.

This passage first focuses on the Trojans' perspective, but then creates a powerful clash between "epic time" and "real time"[54]. What before made up Evander's modest city, Roman power has brought to the sky. The enjambment of the verb "has made equal" (*aequauit*) emphasizes the transformation humans have wrought, a change that emphasizes Rome's control of natural space in two ways. Firstly, while line 97 underscores the sun's power and majesty, the use of "sky" (*caelo*) in line 99 associates that same height with Roman accomplishments. Secondly, this focus on vertical construction confirms the teleological view of

50. For a consideration of human movement and understanding in Roman urban environments, see Laurence & Newsome 2011.

51. See Schliephake (2020: 14-7) for further discussion of niche construction.

52. Hughes 2015: 15.

53. Schliephake 2020: 15.

54. Gransden 1976: *ad* 99-100.

Roman power adumbrated in the epic's opening verses. As L. M. Fratantuono & K. A. Smith remark, lines 98-9 recall the *Aeneid*'s early emphasis both on "the walls of high Rome" (*altae moenia Romae*, *Aen.* 1.7) and on "what a great task it was to found the Roman race" (*tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*, *Aen.* 1.33) [55]. With Aeneas now arriving at the site of Rome, Vergil focuses on how that city will one day conquer natural space. This spatial movement matches the epic's march, a shared progression that offers a teleological characterization of Roman history and power.

This temporal interlacing also marks the tour of Pallanteum Evander offers to Aeneas. Here, the epic moves back and forth between Evander's and the narrator's voices, and their descriptions of the landscape reveal the ceaseless shifts in agency between human and nonhuman. These sections initially posit a consistent increase in humans' mastery over their surroundings, a characterization subsequently undermined by a display of the power of nonhuman agency [56]. When Aeneas asks his host about this land's history, Evander's answer reveals how humans have been gaining a larger amount of power over their surroundings. The beginning and end of the king's speech show this evolution most clearly. As Evander tells Aeneas, Pallanteum's first inhabitants were scarcely separate from their environment:

> *'haec nemora indigenae Fauni Nymphaeque tenebant*
> *gensque uirum truncis et duro robore nata,*
> *quis neque mos neque cultus erat, nec iungere tauros*
> *aut componere opes norant aut parcere parto,*
> *sed rami atque asper uictu uenatus alebat'.* (Verg., *Aen.* 8.314-8)
>
> 'Native Fauns and Nymphs, as well as a race of men born from trees and hard oak, were inhabiting these woods, and they had neither custom nor culture, and nor did they know how to yoke oxen or heap up wealth or to be thrifty with what they acquired, but branches and the hunt, cruel with its nourishment, were strengthening them'.

Born from trees and wood and without custom and culture, these early humans find food from branches and hunting [57]. Soon, though, power moves from nature

55. Fratantuono & Smith 2018: *ad loc.*

56. Like so many sections of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas' visit to Pallanteum shows those multiple voices elaborated by works such as Parry 1963 and Lyne 1987. Along with the theme of human agency which is explored here, see, e.g., Stahl (2016: 251-345), who argues that this episode highlights and supports Augustan ideology, and Harrison (2006: 174-8), who remarks how the reference to the "golden Capitoline" (*Capitolia* […] / *aurea*, 8.347-8) alludes to and praises Augustus' repair of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on this site, a connection Gransden (1976: *ad* 347-8) also notes.

57. Armstrong (2019: 29) remarks how Vergil emphasizes the "arboreal […] origin" of these humans, "intimating an especially close connection between trees, primitive man and woodland *numina*". On such beliefs in antiquity, see Eden (1975: *ad* 315) and Gransden (1976: *ad* 315). Casali (2020: 151-61) analyzes the contradictions in Evander's account of the history of this site.

to culture. Saturn "brought the untrained and spread-out race together from the high mountains and gave them laws" (*genus indocile ac dispersum montibus altis / composuit legesque dedit*, *Aen*. 8.321-2). After that kings, war, and possessions followed [58]. The end of Evander's speech shows how human culture presently frames the understanding of nature:

> *'tum reges asperque immani corpore Thybris,*
> *a quo post Itali fluuium cognomine Thybrim*
> *diximus; amisit uerum uetus Albula nomen'*. (Verg., *Aen*. 8.330-2)
>
> 'Then kings came and Thybris, violent in his huge body, after whom we Italians called the river the Tiber; it lost its true, old name, Albula'.

At the end of Evander's speech, the reversal of agency between human and nonhuman is complete. While Pallanteum's first inhabitants came from and lived on trees, people now show their dominion over the environment even in death, as the river Albula is renamed after the deceased Thybris. [59]

The narrator's ensuing description of Pallanteum initially confirms but later complicates this view of human control. As Aeneas and Evander make their way around the city, Vergil associates a gate with its Roman name; reveals a specific grove that will become Romulus' asylum; and marks out how "Evander leads Aeneas to the Capitoline, golden now, once bristling with woodland shrubs" (*Capitolia ducit / aurea nunc, olim siluestribus horrida dumis*, *Aen*. 8.347-8) [60]. As E. J. Kondratieff remarks, "Aeneas sees mostly raw terrain or rustic huts where Vergil's audience could envision fully monumentalized spaces" [61]. Thus, it is the epic's audience that appreciates the changes effected by the Romans, who have made the site's environment their own niche. With the narrator's mention of the Capitoline, though, his focus moves to the land's religious power: "Already then the dreadful sanctity of the place was terrifying the rustic folk, already then they were trembling at the woods and rock" (*iam tum religio pauidos terrebat agrestis / dira loci, iam*

58. Thomas (2004-5: 139) considers the cultural progression or decline in these verses.

59. On potential origins of the name Albula, see Eden (1975: *ad* 330 ff.). Vuković (2020: 473) remarks how Evander's description of this change in name reveals connections between the landscape and battles over identity and control.

60. Wiseman (1984: 123) points out how the audience could imagine seeing all these locations in an easy walk; and Hardie (2014: 203) notes the "charm and fascination" that Vergil's audience may have experienced in the "defamiliarization of very familiar Italian and Roman landscapes". Spencer (2010: 50) notes how this tour "configures space as a synchronous sequence of tagged landmarks: a hypertext". Eden (1975: *ad* 348) notes Augustan poets often explore "the contrast between the past and present state of Capitol". See also Rossi (2004: 189) on these different time periods and Vout (2012: 211-3) and Stahl (2016: 251-345) on the route Aeneas and Evander take.

61. Kondratieff 2015: 98. On some of the Roman spaces recalled by Evander's Pallanteum, see Rees 1996.

tum siluam saxumque tremebant, *Aen*. 8.349-50). Here the narrator recognizes the force of the natural world, which does not leave its human inhabitants entirely comfortable.

Evander's next speech to Aeneas elaborates on this religious awe and introduces the idea that human agency might only be fleeting. As the pair look at where the Capitoline will one day be, the Arcadians' king speaks:

> *'hoc nemus, hunc ' inquit ' frondoso uertice collem*
> *(quis deus incertum est) habitat deus; Arcades ipsum*
> *credunt se uidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem*
> *aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.*
> *haec duo praeterea disiectis oppida muris,*
> *reliquias ueterumque uides monimenta uirorum.*
> *hanc Ianus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit arcem;*
> *Ianiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen'.* (Verg., *Aen*. 8.351-8)
>
> 'This grove, this hill with its leafy top', he said, 'a god inhabits (it's uncertain which one); the Arcadians believe that they have seen Jupiter himself, when he often shakes his dark aegis and moves the clouds. Furthermore, you see these two cities with their walls thrown down, the remains and monuments of ancient men. This citadel founded by Janus, that by Saturn; this one was called the Janiculum, that one was called Saturnia'.

These words undermine the notion that humans experience an increasing and consistent agency over the nonhuman. Along with the religious awe associated with the hilltop grove [62], Evander points out the ruins of two earlier towns. These details testify to the power of the nonhuman environment in influencing and controlling humans: the religious power terrifies the Arcadians and, from a larger temporal perspective, the foundations, destructions, and re-foundations of various cities show the overwhelming temporal power of the nonhuman [63]. The final verses emblematize this tension. The repetition of *Ianus* / *Saturnus* and *Ianiculum* / *Saturnia* [64] calls attention to the impact of humans on the environment, as these two earlier foundations, now in ruins, leave behind their names in Evander's times. For Vergil's readers, though, as J. J. O'Hara points out, there is a difference between these names, and this difference emphasizes the name that has been lost: the name Janiculum survives, the name Saturnia does not [65]. Indeed, the evidence of the rise and fall of these earlier civilizations raises questions about the agency of Rome.

---

62. Goldschmidt (2014: 579) notes how groves in Vergil's poems are often sacred and associated with divinities, and Thomas (1988b) considers how the violation of such places emphasizes the loss implicated in the progress of civilization.

63. On these multiple foundations and their connections with time and memory, see Novara 1986: 69-88; Feeney 2007: 163; Rea 2007: 91; and Seider 2013: 54.

64. See Wills 1996: 184 and 471 on this sort of repetition and its link with etymologies in Vergil.

65. O'Hara 2017: 211.

A last passage that interlaces these different times confirms these questions. As Evander and Aeneas end their conversation, "they were watching herds of cattle mooing here and there both in the Roman Forum and in the chic Carinae" (*passimque armenta uidebant / Romanoque foro et lautis mugire Carinis*, *Aen*. 8.360-1). Here, the temporal distance between Rome and Pallanteum is collapsed; no temporal adverbs occur, such as are seen with "now" (*nunc*, *Aen*. 8.347) and "once" (*olim*, *Aen*. 8.348) in the description of the Capitoline's different states. No longer do Evander's modest huts give way to Rome's golden houses, but Pallanteum's cattle inhabit contemporary Roman spaces. As P. T. Eden (*ad* 361) points out, this is the sole time the adjective "chic" (*lautus*) appears in Vergil's works, and this word draws attention to the differences between Evander's and Vergil's times, even as these verses place the Arcadian king's cattle in the midst of Augustus' city. Indeed, S. Mack notes that "Vergil has blended Evander's present and the Roman present to create a sense image which, by its very incongruity, encourages his audience to apprehend how intricately the Roman past is contained in the Roman present and vice versa. The experience of 'time' has been incorporated in a landscape" [66]. This collapse of time hints at how even Rome is subject to nonhuman forces and nonhuman agency, and that this civilization too may one day have cattle grazing at its center.

5. Conclusion: Imperium Sine Fine?

Using ideas and perspectives from the field of ecocriticism, this article argues that humans' relationship with the environment is a central theme of *Aeneid* 8. Specifically, I claim that this book emphasizes its characters' efforts to control the environment, only to show that while humans may sometimes succeed in their aspirations for mental and physical dominance, these achievements are neither permanent nor without loss. First, the article builds on E. Eidinow's work on mythology and nature to elucidate how the Arcadians' story of Hercules and Cacus invites the Trojans to share their hopes for environmental mastery. Against this backdrop, I then investigate two clusters of scenes: Tiberinus' prophecy and Venus' omens; and Aeneas' visit to the future site of Rome. In my analysis of the two natural portents, I use E. S. Casey's ideas of landscape to explore how the *Aeneid*'s characters imagine their relationship with the environment: Aeneas believes in his interpretation of these signs in the landscape, even as the poem's narrator undermines this assumption and opens up other perspectives on the costs of his actions. Lastly, my reading of this book's treatment of the future site of Rome turns to the idea of niche construction to study the influences that exist between humans and the environments they inhabit. Here, I find that agency is shared by humans and nonhumans alike, and neither achieves lasting dominance.

66. Mack 1978: 54.

In conclusion, I would like to briefly explore the repercussions of these arguments in regards both to a specific prophecy in *Aeneid* 1 and to overall interpretations of the epic. First, it is worthwhile to ponder how this view of human aspirations for environmental control engages with Jupiter's promise in *Aeneid* 1 to Venus of how the Romans will enjoy "empire without end" (*imperium sine fine*, *Aen*. 1.279). Three different snapshots from *Aeneid* 8 show how the fulfillment of this promise seems unlikely, if not impossible. First, at the beginning of the book Aeneas journeys successfully up the Tiber, but the trip recalls the sacrifices that attend such movements through the natural world. Then, Vergil's description of the site of Rome emphasizes that Roman power now reaches the sky, yet the presence of an awesome religious force as well as the ruins of earlier civilizations point toward the impermanence of this control [67]. And, lastly, at the very end of the book, Aeneas' shield depicts a bridge that is yet to be built over an indignant river. Just as this points toward future Roman geographic expansion and hegemony, it also destabilizes the very notion of control that is "without end" (*sine fine*).

Indeed, the theme of the environment in *Aeneid* 8 may add nuance to larger interpretations of the epic, which have often been advanced in terms of pro- or anti-Augustan, positive or negative readings. In his commentary on *Aeneid* 12, R. Tarrant advocates "an 'ambivalent' reading of the poem, in which ambivalence is to be understood neither as a gentler name for pessimism nor as a compromise position, but rather as a continuing tension of opposites" [68]. In its portrait of humans and nonhumans and its invocations of multiple times and perspectives, *Aeneid* 8 brings out this tension in terms of how humans engage with the world they inhabit. It suggests that, for humans, any control over Rome's landscape is shifting and ephemeral, much like how "darting light from the sun or the image of the shining moon, reflected in the water of a bronze basin, flits all about" (*aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aenis / sole repercussum aut radiantis imagine lunae / omnia peruolitat late loca*, *Aen*. 8.22-4) [69].

67. Armstrong (2019: 92) remarks how "this instinctive, primaeval *horror* generated by the grove and thick-grown hill is felt as much by Vergil's urban contemporaries as Evander's rustics".

68. Tarrant 2012: 17.

69. I am grateful to Emmanuelle Raymond-Dufouleur for encouraging me to submit a paper on *Aeneid* 8 to *Vita Latina*; to Régine Utard for her guidance and consideration throughout the editorial process; and to the anonymous referee for their feedback.

Bibliographical References

Ancient texts

P. Vergili Maronis Opera, R. Mynors (ed.), Oxford, Oxford Classical Press, 1969.

Critical studies

Armstrong R. 2019, *Vergil's Green Thoughts: Plants, Humans, & the Divine*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Barchiesi A. 1984, *La Traccia del Modello: Effetti Omerici nella Narrazione Virgiliana*, Pisa, Giardini Editori e Stampatori.

—— 1995, "Rappresentazioni del dolore e interpretazione nell'*Eneide*", *A&A* 40, p. 109-24.

—— 2015, *Homeric Effects in Vergil's Narrative*, translated by I. Marchesi and M. Fox, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Beck D. 2014, "The First Simile of the *Aeneid*", *Vergilius* 60, p. 67-83.

Buell L. 2005, *The Future of Environmental Criticism: Environmental Crisis and Literary Imagination*, Blackwell Publishing.

Casali, S. 2020, "Evander and the Invention of the Prehistory of Latium in Virgil's *Aeneid*", in M. Aberson, M. C. Biella, M. Di Fazio, & M. Wullschleger (dir.), *Nos sumus Romani qui fuimus ante…: Memory of Roman Past*, Bern, Peter Lang, p. 145-68.

Casey E. S. 2011, "The Edge(s) of Landscape: A Study in Liminology", in J. Malpas (dir.), *The Place of Landscape: Concepts, Contexts, Studies*, Cambridge, MIT Press, p. 91-110.

Cohen J. J. 2014, "Ecology's Rainbow", in J. J. Cohen (dir.), *Prismatic Ecology: Ecotheory beyond Green*, Minneapolis, Minnesota University Press, p. xv– xxxv.

Conington J. 1884, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera: The Works of Virgil with a Commentary*, 4th edition, 3 vols, revised by H. Nettleship, London, reprinted with introduction by P. Hardie, 6 vols., Exeter, Bristol Phoenix Press.

Cosgrove D. E. 1984, *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape*, London, Croom Helm Press.

Crofton-Sleigh L. 2016, "The Mythical Landscapers of Augustan Rome", in J. McInerney & I. Sluiter (dir.), *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity*, Leiden, Brill, p. 383-407.

Di Cesare M. A. 1974, *The Altar and the City: a reading of Virgil's* Aeneid, New York, Columbia University Press.

Eden P. T. 1975, *Virgil: Aeneid VIII*, Leiden, Brill.

Eidinow E. 2016, "Telling Stories: Exploring the Relationship between Myths and Ecological Wisdom", *Landscape and Urban Planning* 155, p. 47-52.

Feeney D. 1984, "The Reconciliations of Juno", *CQ* 34, p. 179-94.

— 2007, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

FELDHERR A. 2014, "Viewing Myth and History on the Shield of Aeneas", *CA* 33, p. 281-318.

FITZGERALD W. & E. SPENTZOU (dir). 2018, *The Production of Space in Latin Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

FRATANTUONO L. M. & R. A. SMITH (dir). 2018. *Virgil, Aeneid 8: Text, Translation, and Commentary*, Leiden, Brill.

GIESECKE A. 2014, *The Mythology of Plants: Botanical Lore from Ancient Greece and Rome*, Los Angeles, Getty Publications.

GOLDSCHMIDT N. 2014, "Groves", in R. F. THOMAS & J. M. ZIOLKOWSKI (dir.), *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, Hoboken, Wiley-Blackwell, p. 579-80.

GRANSDEN K. W. 1976, *Virgil: Aeneid Book VIII*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

HARDIE P. 1986, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

— 2014, *The Last Trojan Hero: A Cultural History of Vergil's* Aeneid, London, I. B. Tauris.

HARRISON S. 2006, "The Epic and the Monuments: Interactions between Virgil's *Aeneid* and the Augustan Building Programme", in M. J. CLARKE, B. G. F. CURRIE & R. O. A. M. LYNE (dir.), *Epic Interactions: Perspectives on Homer, Virgil, and the Epic Tradition Presented to Jasper Griffin by Former Pupils*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 159-85.

HAWES G. 2013, *Myths on the Map: The Storied Landscapes of Ancient Greece*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

HOLMES B. 2015, "Situating Scamander: 'Natureculture' in the *Iliad*", *Ramus* 44, p. 29-51.

HUGHES J. D. 2015², *What is Environmental History*, Cambridge, Polity, (2006).

IOVINO S. & S. OPPERMANN 2014, "Introduction: Stories Come to Matter", in S. IOVINO & S. OPPERMANN (dir.), *Material Ecocriticism*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p. 1-20.

JENKYNS R. 2013, *God, Space, and City in the Roman Imagination*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

JONES F. 2013, *Virgil's Garden: The Nature of Bucolic Space*, London, Bloomsbury.

JONES P. 2005, *Reading Rivers in Roman Literature and Culture*, Washington, Lexington Books.

KONDRATIEFF E. J. 2015, "Future City in the Heroic Past: Rome, Romans, and Roman Landscapes in *Aeneid* 6-8", in A. KEMEZIS (dir.), *Urban Dreams and Realities in Antiquity: Remains and Representations of the Ancient City*, Leiden, Brill, p. 165-228.

KRONENBERG L. 2014, "Nature and Culture", in R. F. THOMAS & J. M. ZIOLKOWSKI (dir.), *The Virgil Encyclopedia*, Hoboken, Wiley-Blackwell, p. 886-7.

LAURENCE R. & D. J. NEWSOME (dir.) 2011, *Rome, Ostia, Pompeii: Movement and Space*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

LYNE R. O. A. M. 1987, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Mack S. 1978, *Patterns of Time in Virgil*, North Haven, Archon Books.

Maclennan K. 2017, *Virgil: Aeneid Book VIII*, London, Bloomsbury.

Maran T. 2014, "Semiotization of Matter: A Hybrid Zone between Biosemiotics and Material Ecocriticism", in S. Iovino & S. Oppermann (dir.), *Material Ecocriticism*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, p. 141-56.

Marinčič M. 2001, "Roman Archaeology in Vergil's Arcadia (Vergil *Eclogue* 4; *Aeneid* 8; Livy 1.7)", in D. Levene & D. P. Nelis (dir.), *Clio and the Poets: Augustan Poetry and the Traditions of Ancient Historiography*, Leiden, Brill, p. 143-61.

McInerney J. & I. Sluiter (dir.) 2016, *Valuing Landscape in Classical Antiquity: Natural Environment and Cultural Imagination*, Leiden, Brill.

Michels A. K. 1981, "The *Insomnium* of Aeneas", *CQ* 31, p. 140-6.

Morgan L. 1998, "Assimilation and Civil War: Hercules and Cacus", in H-P. Stahl (dir.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*, Richmond, Duckworth, p. 175-97.

Newlands C. 1995, *Playing with Time: Ovid and the Fasti*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press.

Novara A. 1986, *Poésie Virgilienne de la mémoire : questions sur l'histoire dans l'Énéide 8*, Clermont-Ferrand, Adosa.

O'Hara J. J. 1990, *Death and the Optimistic Prophecy in Vergil's Aeneid*, Princeton, Princeton University Press.

— 2007, *Inconsistency in Roman Epic*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

— 2017, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, new and expanded edition, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Otis B. 1964, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.

Parry A. 1963, "The Two Voices of Virgil's *Aeneid*", *Arion* 2, p. 66-80.

Putnam M. C. J. 1965, *The Poetry of the Aeneid: Four Studies in Imaginative Unity and Design*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press.

— 1995, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press.

— 1998, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*, New Haven, Yale University Press.

Quartarone L. N. 2002, "*Pietas*, *Furor*, and Ecofeminism in the *Aeneid*", in W. S. Anderson & L. N. Quartarone (dir.), *Approaches to Teaching Vergil's Aeneid*, New York, Modern Language Association of America, p. 147-58.

Rea J. A. 2007, *Legendary Rome: Myth, Monuments and Memory on the Palatine and Capitoline*, London, Bloomsbury.

Rees R. 1996, "Revisiting Evander at *Aeneid* 8.363", *CQ* 46, p. 583-6.

Rossi A. 2004, *Contexts of War: Manipulation of Genre in Virgilian Battle Narrative*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Schliephake C. (dir.) 2017, *Ecocriticism, Ecology, and the Cultures of Antiquity*, Washington, Lexington Books.

— 2020, *The Environmental Humanities and the Ancient World*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Seider A. M. 2013, *Memory in Vergil's Aeneid: Creating the Past*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

SMITH R. A. 2005, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*, Austin, University of Texas Press.

SPENCER D. 2010, *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

STAHL H.-P. 2016, *Poetry Underpinning Power: Vergil's Aeneid: The Epic for Augustus, A Recovery Study*, Swansea, The Classical Press of Wales.

TARRANT R. 2012, *Virgil: Aeneid Book XII*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

THOMAS R. F. 1988a, *Georgics: Virgil*, Vol. 1, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

— 1988b, "Tree Violation and Ambivalence in Virgil", *TAPhA* 118, p. 261-73.

— 2004-5, "Torn between Jupiter and Saturn: Ideology, Rhetoric and Culture Wars in the *Aeneid*", *CJ* 100, p. 121-47.

VOUT C. 2012, *The Hills of Rome: The Signature of an Eternal City*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

VUKOVIĆ K. 2020, "Silvia's Stag on the Tiber: The Setting of the *Aeneid*'s *casus belli*", *Mnemosyne*, 73, p. 464-82.

WACHT M. (dir.) 1996, *Concordantia Vergiliana*, Hildesheim, Georg Olms AG.

WILLS J. 1996, *Repetition in Latin Poetry: Figures of Allusion*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

WISEMAN T. P. 1984, "Cybele, Virgil, and Augustus", in T. WOODMAN & D. WEST (dir.), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p. 117-28.

WORMAN N. 2015, *Landscape and the Spaces of Metaphor in Ancient Literary Theory and Criticism*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Suite du sommaire, vobis legimus

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

VOBIS LEGIMUS

VITA LATINA

Anno MMXXI N° 201

INDEX

L'astérisque (*) signale, parmi les auteurs, les jeunes chercheurs, doctorants ou post-doctorants.

Pour la suite du sommaire, voir page intérieure