

This paper argues that the Pseudo-Hesiodic *Scutum* was a primary model for the poetic structure of Virgil's shield ecphrasis in *Aeneid* 8, as demonstrated by key similarities in organization, diction, and theme. Although other commentators have noted individual parallels, there has been no comprehensive exposition of this important intertextual relationship. The extensive use of the *Scutum* complements the well-known allusions to Achilles' shield. It also recasts the passage in a manner which suggests interplay with the Apollonian elements of Augustan propaganda.

In both the *Scutum* and the *Aeneid*, the poet describes the arms in finished form. Inversions of the homeric arming type-scene serve to order each description with the hero's shield as focal point. By contrast, Hephaestus' creation of the armor evokes the ecphrasis of the *Iliad*, starting with the shield. In Homer, action and demarcation of space are key organizing elements; ἐν δ' plus a verb of manufacture marks each major image. Virgil preserves hints of this technique: e.g. *illic...fecerat* (8.626-28, 628-30), *nec procul hinc...addiderat* (8.635-38, cf. 8.666). However, use of spatial or temporal relationships is more frequent: *subitoque* (8.637), *post idem* (8.639), *haud procul inde* (8.642), *in summo* (8.652), *hic* (8.663), *haec inter* (8.671), *hinc* (8.678, 8.685), *parte alia* (8.682). This device closely mirrors the latter half of the *Scutum* ecphrasis: μετ' αὐτόν (229), ἐπὶ δ' (231, 233, 236), ὑπὲρ αὐτέων (237), μετ' αὐτούς (248), πὰρ δ' (264, cf. 270, 317), πὰρ δ' αὐτοῖς (305), ἀμφὶ δ' (314), κατ' αὐτόν (315). Moreover, in the opening half of this ecphrasis one finds the formula ἐν δ' ... [ῆν] marking a succession of violent images which culminates in a body of water (λιμῆν, 207) followed by Perseus, fresh from victory over the Gorgon (216 ff.). In both theme and order, these correspond closely to Virgil's *pugnata in ordine bella* (8.629), culminating in Actium (8.671) and Augustus, triumphant over Cleopatra and Antony (8.678 ff.).

Faber (49-54) has elucidated numerous points of diction in *Aeneid* 8.617-625 which are foreign to *Iliad* 18 but have clear parallels in *Scutum* 122-145. Additional borrowings of this type lie scattered throughout: e.g. *sparsi...sanguine* (8.645), αἵματι φοινικόεις (Sc. 194); *indignant similem similemque minanti* (8.649), ἀπορρίψοντι εἰκώς (Sc. 215), ἐρρίγοντι εἰκώς (Sc. 228), πλήθοντι εἰκώς (Sc. 314); *tumidi late maris... imago...circum... in orbem* (8.671-3), λιμῆν... ἀμαιμακέτοιο θαλάσσης κυκλοτερῆς... κλυζομένῳ ἕκελος (Sc. 207-9). A focus on the language of vision is a distinguishing feature of Heracles' shield in the *Scutum* (Becker, 32-38). Virgil likewise emphasizes sight at key moments, often where the *Iliad* employs verbs of making (cf. *aspiceres*, 8.650; *aspices*, 8.664; *cernere erat, videres*, 675).

The violent themes of the *Scutum* offer a natural foil for the *pugnata* of *Aeneid* 8 (Faber, 49). In addition, the series of "Hesiodic" images culminating in Perseus emphasizes icons for the triumph of civilization (e.g. Lapiths vs. Centaurs, Athena vs. Ares). These occur in a tale which portrays Heracles as Apollo's champion against a brigand who has usurped the god's sacred space. Virgil's depiction of Actium, and particularly the exceptional role of Apollo therein, offers a striking analog.

Narrative context and allusion clearly do evoke *Iliad* 18 (for recent work, see Putnam, 167-180), yet the *Scutum* provides the outline and key themes of Virgil's ecphrasis. These motifs provide symmetry with the Cacus episode earlier in book 8. They also offer a natural foil for Augustan propaganda with its emphasis on Palatine Apollo and Augustus as restorer and civilizing hero. At the same time, such allusion introduces great horror and violence (Faber, 55) and assimilates Aeneas, and thereby Augustus, to two icons of the destructive tension between heroism and *furor*. In short, this intertextual synthesis confirms and magnifies the enigmatic nature of Virgil's *clipei non enarrabile textum*.

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